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THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN;

WITH

NOTES,

AND

A CONTINUATION TO THE UNION IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

By JAMES AIKMAN, Esq.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS
OF
VOLUME SECOND.

BOOK IX.

	<i>Page</i>
David II. to death of Robert II.	1—63

BOOK X.

Robert III. to death of James I.	64—116
--	--------

BOOK XI.

James II.	117—167
-------------------	---------

BOOK XII.

James III.	168—221
--------------------	---------

BOOK XIII.

James IV. and to the regency of Albany,	222—267
---	---------

BOOK XIV.

Regency of Albany to death of James V.	268—324
--	---------

BOOK XV.

From the death of James V. to the Queen Dowager's departure for France,	425—379
--	---------

CONTENTS.

BOOK XVI.

From the Queen Dowager's visit to France till her death,	<i>Page</i> 380—432
--	------------------------

BOOK XVII.

From the death of the Queen Dowager Regent to the birth of James VI.	433—484
---	---------

BOOK XVIII.

From the birth of James VI. to his coronation, . . .	485—527
--	---------

BOOK XIX.

Regency of the Earl of Moray,	528—573
---	---------

BOOK XX.

From the assassination of Regent Moray to the death of the Earl of Marr,	574—630
---	---------

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK IX.

I. **THE** Scottish nobles, immediately after the funeral of the late king, called an assembly of the states for the purpose of choosing a regent, in which Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, who, during the king's life, had for several years performed the duties of chief magistrate, and who had been recommended to the people by him on his deathbed and in his last will, was appointed with universal approbation to the office.

XCVIII. DAVID II.

The coronation of the king was delayed till the 24th November, in the following year, that by the permission of the pope he might be anointed, and by this new ceremony appear more sacred in the eyes of the Scots. The first act of the regent, after his election, was to ratify the peace with the English. Next he bent his attention to secure internal tranquillity; and, in order to repress open robbery, he always kept a strong body of young men armed about him, prepared for every emergency. Thus, on a journey to Wigton, in Galloway, being informed that the roads in that country were infested by a numerous banditti, and travellers plundered with impunity, he immediately despatched a detachment of his guard in pursuit of the delinquents, and having taken them by surprise, inflicted capital punishment on the whole. Against murderers he was perfectly inexorable; insomuch, that when one who had been at Rome, and obtained the pope's

pardon, returned as if completely secure, the regent ordered him to be apprehended, tried, and executed:—observing, that although the pope could forgive the sins of the soul, it belonged to the king to punish the crimes of the body. To check thefts, which among other taints left by the war, were still too frequent, he enacted, That the farmers should leave the instruments used by them in agriculture in the fields; nor should they shut their houses or folds during the night; and that if any theft occurred, the amount of the loss was to be demanded from the sheriff of the county, who would be repaid by the king, and the king reimbursed from the effects of the robbers when apprehended. Among the rest, a rustic, either too greedy, or who thought the regulation absurd, hid his farming implements; and then, as if he had lost them by stealth, applied to the sheriff for indemnification, who instantly paid him their full value; but, upon making more diligent inquiry, when he found that the countryman was the author of the theft himself, he ordered him to be hanged, and his goods confiscated. He interdicted strolling players and musicians, under the severest penalties; and whoever obstructed a traveller, or any public officer, he allowed to be put to death with impunity; so that, when some time after, at the village of Halidon, thirty persons were killed by the attendants of a public minister, he pronounced the slaughter justifiable homicide.

11. Nor was the regent more feared by the guilty at home for his severity, than he was formidable to his enemies abroad by his courage. Wherefore, the English, who, after the death of king Robert, eagerly watched every opportunity for revenge, when they perceived they durst attempt nothing openly during the life of Randolph, turned their attention to secret fraud. The speediest method of removing their enemy appeared to be by poison; and as a fit agent for executing their designs, employed a monk of that species, who, being educated in idleness, for want of teachers to instruct them in useful pursuits, often apply a fine genius to the acquisition of mischievous attainments. In this wretch were conjoined two professions, monachism and medicine. The first was calculated to procure him access to his victim, and the other

enabled him to perpetrate his villany. When he came to Scotland, he announced himself as skilled in every branch of medicine, but particularly in the cure of the stone. He thus easily obtained an introduction to the regent; and being employed to cure him, he mixed slow poison with his medicine; then taking a few days' provisions, he returned to England, as if to procure more drugs. When he arrived there, he solemnly assured Edward that Randolph would die before a certain day. In expectation of this, the king levied a great army, and marched to the borders; which, when he had reached, hearing that a large Scottish force was encamped not far distant, he sent a herald under pretence of demanding reparation for some border offence, but in fact to learn who commanded.

III. Randolph finding his disease increase, and the monk not having come back at the appointed time, suspected the worst: but, concealing his distemper as much as possible, he received the messenger seated on a chair before his tent, and dressed in a splendid robe, heard his demands, and returned an answer, as if he had been in perfect health. The herald, on his return, related to the king what he had seen and heard: on which, after punishing the monk as an impostor, Edward gave orders for a retreat, leaving only a guard to protect the borders against incursions; and Randolph, prevented by the violence of his disease from marching farther, returned homewards, after dismissing his army. He died at Musselburgh,* about four miles from Edinburgh, A. D. 1331, having governed the kingdom two years from king Robert's

* In opposition to the statement of Randolph's death having been occasioned by poison, it has been remarked, that as he was afflicted by the stone, it is more likely that he died of that disorder—perhaps it is—but we have positive assertion against a supposed probability. It has also been doubted, whether Edward was privy to the assassination, because he was too far distant from the scene. This, however, is no argument against his being acquainted with the attempt; and if there be good reason for supposing that, at the age of fifteen, the English king was not ignorant of the murder of his father, it is of very little moment to attempt vindicating him from a charge not half so heinous; especially as his conduct towards Scotland, immediately after the death of the regent, proves that he was not a person who would have stuck at trifles, if he had had an end, however infamous, to attain.

death. He was inferior in bravery and military skill to none of our Scottish kings, and in the arts of peace far superior to them all. He left two sons, Thomas and John, both worthy of so great a father. On the death of Randolph, Donald earl of Marr,* was elected guardian of the kingdom, as they styled him, August 2d, the king being then only ten years old, on which day the alarming news was received, that Edward Baliol, on the 31st of July, had arrived in the Frith of Forth, with a numerous fleet. In order to explain his arrival, it is necessary to advert to some previous circumstances.

iv. After the decease of king Robert, Laurence Twine,† one of the Englishmen who had received, as rewards of their military services, lands in Scotland, and who resided there, a man of an honourable family, but flagitious habits, expecting greater license upon the death of the king and during the minority, indulged more freely in unlawful pleasures than before, and although often caught in adultery, and at the same time admonished by the judge of the ecclesiastical court, yet would not desist. Being at last excommunicated by the official, as he is called, of the bishop of Glasgow, he, as if greatly injured, waylaid the judge, and having seized him as he was going to Air, kept him a long while prisoner, until, upon paying a sum of money, he purchased his liberty. When Twine understood that James Douglas was highly displeased at this action, and sought to bring him to punishment, dreading his power, he fled into France, and there attaching himself to Edward Baliol, the son of John, who had been king of Scotland for some years, he informed him of the state of Scotland, and urged him not to lose such an oppor-

* Donald, earl of Marr, was nephew to the late king. While a child, he had been carried into England, by Edward I., where he remained many years. No military service of his is known.

† Laurence Twine. He is called Twynham Lowrison, in the Annals of Scotland. Although his representations are said to have excited Baliol, the Englishmen, whose claims had not been satisfied, particularly Henry de Beaumont, who claimed the earldom of Buchan, in right of his wife, one of the heirs of Comyn, and Thomas Lord Wake, who claimed Liddel, may, perhaps, with more propriety, be considered as the chief instigators. Beaumont accompanied the expedition.

tunity for recovering his father's kingdom; for the king, said he, is but a boy, surrounded with more enemies, exasperated against his father, than friends; of whom some have had their fathers executed at Perth; others, exiles, who have had their estates confiscated; several mulcted of a great part of their lands; besides many of English extraction, deprived of the rewards bestowed upon their ancestors, who would cheerfully become companions in his expedition. And there were at the same time, he added, in both kingdoms, numbers of desperate and needy characters, who, either induced by the prospect of gain, or hoping to escape the punishment of the law, or desirous of any kind of change, wanted only a leader to begin a revolution. And now, James Douglas being killed in Spain, and Randolph, through disease, incapable of acting, there remained none to whose authority the discordant multitude would submit; therefore, however small the force, it would be sufficient for seizing a kingdom prepared and offering itself to him, or to overturn it, already tottering to its base.

v. Baliol, who knew that much of what Twine told him was true, and having heard of the great army about to be led against Scotland by Edward, ambitious of power and desirous of glory, was easily persuaded by the crafty intriguer to collect as many vessels as he could, and bear a part in the present expedition. But ere the arrival of Baliol in England, Edward had dismissed his army. He, however, by means of the Scottish exiles, and the English who had been dispossessed of their estates in Scotland, who flocked to him, raised, notwithstanding, a considerable army. Some say, that for this great enterprise he had only six hundred men, but this does not appear likely; they are more probably correct, who assert that six thousand foot soldiers were furnished him by the English. While these preparations were going forward, news arrived of Randolph's death, which inspired all with a greater eagerness for the expedition, and raised their spirits as a happy omen. Wherefore, having set sail, he arrived at Kinghorn on the 1st of August, and disembarked with his naval forces. The land troops were led by David Cumin, formerly earl of Athole, Moubray and Beaumont; and the English auxiliaries by Talbot. At the report of the arrival of the fleet, Alexander

Seton,* a nobleman who was accidentally residing in that quarter, hastened to oppose them, hoping he might find some convenient opportunity for attacking them with advantage during their disembarkation; but not being supported by the inhabitants of the district, on coming to an engagement with the enemy, he was cut off, with the greatest part of his followers. Baliol, after resting a few days to recover his men from the fatigue of the voyage, marched directly for Perth, and encamped on the Earn, not far from the water mills. The regent, with a large body of forces, being stationed beyond, and Patrick Dunbar, with another not inferior, on this side the river, about five miles distant from each other. Baliol, although his army amounted to more than ten thousand men, the report of his success having induced many to join him, yet, being placed between the two armies, and fearing lest he should be surrounded and overwhelmed by both, judged it most expedient to attack them separately and unexpectedly, and resolved first to attempt the regent Marr, who appeared the most likely to be unprepared, as being at the greatest distance from the enemy.

VI. For this purpose he procured Andrew Murray of Tullibardin as a guide, who, not daring openly to join himself to the English, fixed during the night a stake in the river, at the place where it was fordable, to point out the passage to Baliol's army. Having approached near the enemy, under cover of the wood which clothed the opposite bank, the invaders learned that the Scots passed the night as if in time of peace, with few sentinels or outposts. Trusting to this negligence, they marched against the camp in the utmost silence; and thinking they would find the greatest security on the farthest side, they made the attack there; but on that

* Alexander Seton. Fordun styles him the son. Some editions read Alexander Seton and his son. After a long dissertation on the family of the Setons, Lord Hailes arrives at a conclusion agreeing with the statement by Buchanan—that he was a nobleman who happened to be in these parts, and about whom we know nothing more. Hemingford says the earl of Fife opposed the landing of Baliol. Fordun does not mention that nobleman, nor is it likely that he was there; he was afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Duplin.

part where they expected the greatest negligence, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, Mordac, earl of Monteith, and Alexander Fraser, kept watch. These, with a strong body of friends, sustained bravely the first charge of the enemy upon the edge of a ditch, which the gush of the mountain torrent had made. In the mean time, the whole camp was a scene of noise and tumult, every one seizing arms, and hurrying to the conflict; and the crowd rushing forward rashly, without order, and without standards, first threw into confusion their own men who resisted the assailants; then the last ranks impelling the first, precipitated them into the ditch, and falling above them, were involved together in one common ruin. Many were there killed by the enemy, but more, both men and horses, were crushed to death, while by far the greater number were so much disabled that they could neither fight nor flee.

VII. There fell of the Scots about three thousand.* Many of those who escaped fled to Perth; but being without arms, and without leaders, the city easily surrendered to the English who followed them. Next day, Dunbar, when he heard of the destruction of the regent's army, the capture of Perth, and was likewise informed of the small number of the English, marched straight to the town, with the design of besieging it, hoping to destroy the enemy whilst they were yet unfurnished with any supplies; but, on consulting the chiefs, and a difference of opinion arising, the design was dropped. Baliol having succeeded so far beyond his expectation, and so quickly, now applied himself to gain the rest of the Scots, either by

* This battle is generally known by the name of the battle of Duplin. With regard to three of the noblemen said to have fallen, there is considerable confusion. Robert Keith is not mentioned by Fordun or the English historians; and as the only doubts respecting him arise from his being mentioned by Boece, he may therefore, perhaps, be allowed to have fallen. Boece mentions a *David Lindsay*, of course Buchanan's Alexander is a different personage, not answerable for the objections urged against David. The greatest difficulty lies with the chief of the Hays. That a nobleman of that family was killed, is probably true, the rest of the story appears doubtful. Robert Bruce was a natural son of Edward Bruce, and had received the title of earl of Carrick.

conciliatory measures, or to subdue them by force. In a short time the concourse of all ranks to his cause increased so much, that the present seemed a proper opportunity for proclaiming himself king; and this design he could execute more securely, because the greatest part of the slaughter had fallen upon families in the neighbourhood of Perth. There were slain in battle:—the regent; Robert Keith, with a great number of his relations and vassals; eighty of the family of Lindsay, with Alexander their chief. The name of Hay would have been wholly extinct, had not William, the head of the family, left his wife pregnant. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, and Mordac, earl of Monteith, also fell. William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, and Duncan Macduff, earl of Fife, being taken prisoners, in the then desperate situation of affairs were forced to take an oath of allegiance.

XCIX. EDWARD BALIOL.

VIII. Baliol, trusting to his present good fortune, proceeded to the neighbouring abbey of Scoon, and was crowned on the 25th August, 1332. Although the power of David Bruce was grievously wounded by this blow, yet his adherents were far from being disheartened by the adverse state of his affairs; and in order to place him, during his minority, beyond the reach of danger, they sent him, along with his wife, to his father's friend, Philip, king of France, while they prepared themselves for every accident—either to fall honourably in battle, or to restore their country to its ancient eminence. Their first step was to appoint Sir Andrew Moray, sister's son of Robert Bruce, regent, in the room of Donald; and next they sent messengers every where, partly to confirm their old friends, and partly to rouse the indolent to avenge their present wrongs. The first who took up arms, were Robert Keith, and James and Simon Fraser, sufferers by the recent misfortune, their fathers and relations having been killed at Duplin. They besieged Perth about the autumnal equinox; and though the siege lasted longer than they expected, yet they took it after three months. Macduff, earl of Fife, who held the town in the name of Baliol, with his wife and children, were sent prisoners to the castle of Kildrummie, in Marr.

Andrew Murray, of Tullibardin, who had pointed out the fords of the river Earn to the English, was put to death. The Book of Paisley affirms, that the walls of the town were levelled with the ground, which appears to me more likely, than what others write, that it was kept and garrisoned, especially during a time when there was such a scarcity of faithful adherents and of military men.

ix. Nearly about the same time, Baliol was engaged in Annandale, receiving the homage of the noblemen of the neighbouring counties, whom such a sudden change of circumstances had so astonished, that even Alexander Bruce,* lord of Carrick and Galloway, despairing of his kinsman David's fortune, submitted to him. This flow of prosperity produced in Baliol contempt for his enemies, and that contempt produced negligence, which, when the regent understood by means of his spies, he sent thither Archibald Douglas, the brother of James who fell in Spain, to take advantage of any favourable opportunity which might occur. He, having along with him William Douglas, lord of Liddisdale,† John, the son of Thomas Randolph, and Simon Fraser, with a thousand horse, came to Moffat. Thence, after exploring the country all around, he advanced upon Baliol by a night march, and attacking him while asleep, he struck his army with such astonishment and terror, that in the confusion and alarm, he himself fled almost naked, upon horseback, without either saddle or bridle. In this affray, a great many of his particular friends were slain. Alexander Bruce was taken, but pardoned at the request of his relation John Randolph. Henry Baliol, on that occasion, obtained great praise for his courage from both parties; for, in the disorderly flight, while defending his men from their pursuers, he wounded many of the enemy, killed several, and at last died bravely fighting. There fell, besides, John Moubray, Walter Cumin, and Richard Kirby,

* Alexander Bruce, a natural son of Edward Bruce, and brother to Robert, who was killed at the battle of Duplin.

† Sir William Douglas, better known in Scottish history by the title of the knight of Liddisdale.

distinguished chiefs of the English faction. This exploit was performed on the 25th December, A. D. 1332.

x. The Brucean party being somewhat elevated by these successes, frequent consultations were held with Andrew Moray, the regent, respecting the state of the realm, for they all believed that Baliol did not seek the kingdom for himself, but for the king of England, by whose orders he acted. Wherefore, considering Edward as their real enemy, they pressed, with their utmost diligence, their preparations against this more powerful adversary. They fortified Berwick by a strong garrison, as they thought the English would commence the war by an attack upon it, and appointed Alexander Seton, an illustrious knight, commander of the town, and Patrick Dunbar, governor of the castle and surrounding district. William Douglas, lord of Liddisdale, who possessed the highest reputation for bravery and prudence, was sent to protect the western borders of Annandale. Andrew Moray marched to Roxburgh, where Baliol then was. Having thus arranged the command at home, John Randolph was sent to France, to visit king David, and, also, to inform Philip of the precise state of the country, and request from him some assistance against the common enemy. Moray, who had gone to Roxburgh, having defeated Baliol in a sharp contest at a bridge beyond the city, while he pursued the English, who were retreating by the bridge back into the town, being cut off from his own forces, was taken prisoner, and thus lost a victory which he had already gained. At the same time, in the opposite quarter, William Douglas of Liddisdale, in an engagement with the English, was wounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy; which disaster so dispirited his men, that they were thrown into confusion, and put to flight.

xi. These inconstant freaks of fortune again tore Scotland into two factions, according as love, hatred, hope, fear, or private interest, prevailed. In the mean time, the king of England, thinking that these dissensions afforded him a favourable opportunity for seizing that kingdom, received Baliol, now too weak to protect himself, into favour, and exacted from him an oath of fealty; then, without regarding his affinity to Bruce, the sacredness of a treaty, or the sanctity

of an oath, that he might indulge his immoderate ambition, he at once declared, and made war upon the Scots, destitute of a king, and distracted among themselves. But that this outrage might seem to have a shew of justice, he sent an embassy to demand Berwick, which town his father and grandfather had possessed for many years, and he himself immediately followed with his army. To his ambassadors it was replied, that Berwick had always belonged to the Scots, till Edward, his grandfather, had seized it by the foulest injustice; and that when Robert Bruce, their last king, had recovered all the rest of Scotland, he likewise reconquered that town from Edward—the father of him who now asked it to be returned—and restored its ancient form of government. Nor was it long since the present Edward himself, by a solemn act of his parliament, renounced all right which he or his ancestors had ever said they possessed, either over the whole of Scotland, or any single town or place; since which time they were not conscious of having violated the treaty to which they had sacredly sworn, and which was confirmed by a matrimonial alliance, although, within a few years, they had been twice assaulted by secret fraud and open violence. In these circumstances, they besought the ambassadors to enforce upon the mind of the English monarch, a respect for equity, and the impropriety of his taking advantage of the times to endeavour to rob an absent king—harmless by his years, and the husband of his sister; that they, on their part, would refuse no terms of accommodation, if they were honourable; but if he attempted any unjust violence, they, in defence of the guardianship of the king committed to them, would rather die an honourable death, than consent to any peace disgraceful to themselves and to the kingdom.

XII. This answer being returned by the Scottish council, the king of England, who sought not peace but victory, commenced the siege of Berwick by sea and land, with a powerful army of his own subjects, increased likewise by foreign auxiliaries; nor did he omit any thing which might contribute to the capture of the city; and trusting to his numbers, he gave the besieged no respite, never intermitting his attacks by day nor night. Nor did the besieged on their

part less fiercely annoy him by their incessant sallies. They burned a great part of the fleet which was lying in the river, by throwing firebrands among them; in which achievement, William Seton, an illegitimate son of the governor's, an uncommonly brave youth, and much lamented, perished, while endeavouring to leap on board an English vessel; his own ship being driven too far back by the force of the waves, he fell into the sea, and in such confusion it was impossible to assist him. Another son of Alexander's, but born in wedlock, in one of the sallies, pushing forward with too much eagerness, was separated from his associates, and taken by the English. But when the siege, which began on the 13th of April, had now lasted three months, and the besieged, besides their fatigue and watching, beginning to be in want of provisions, appeared incapable of longer resisting the power of the enemy, it was agreed with the English that, unless they were relieved by the 30th July, they would surrender the city to them, Thomas, the eldest son of Alexander, being given as an hostage.

XIII. Whilst these transactions were going forward at Berwick, the Scottish parliament assembled to deliberate on the state of the nation; and the regent being taken at Roxburgh, that they might not be without a leader, they chose Archibald Douglas, * as their chief, and determined that he should have an army to march into England, and waste the neighbouring districts, in order to draw away the king from the siege. According to this determination Douglas proceeded for England; but hearing of the agreement of Alexander, he altered his design, and, in opposition to the more prudent counsels of the wisest of his officers, marched directly towards the English, and on St. Magdalen's eve was descried both by friends and enemies. The king of England, although the day had not arrived for the surrender of the town, when he saw the Scottish forces so near, sent a herald to the commander of the garrison, who announced to him, that unless he immediately delivered up the place, he would put

* Archibald Douglas, commonly called Tyneman—Tiny man, the small or slender man, from his diminutive appearance.

his son to death. In vain did the governor contend that the day for surrendering the city had not arrived; in vain did he appeal to Edward's pledged faith; for while affection, tenderness, anxiety, and his duty to his country, variously agitated his paternal bosom, the king of England, thinking he would be moved were the terrible object brought nearer, ordered a gallows to be erected on a situation where it could be easily seen from the town, and the two sons of the governor, the one a hostage, the other a prisoner of war, to be brought thither for execution. At this dreadfully distressing spectacle, when the mind of the father wavered, his wife, the mother of the youths, a woman of masculine fortitude, by various arguments encouraged and strengthened his resolution. She placed before him his fidelity to his king, his love to his country, and the dignity of a most noble family. She reminded him that they had other children still remaining, neither did his age or her own preclude the hope of having more; and these, although now they should escape, yet, in a short time either a fortuitous death, or, at best, old age, would sweep them away; but if any spot should stain the family of Seton, it would remain for ever, and the infamy would attach to their innocent descendants; that she had often heard praised, in the speeches of the wise, those who had devoted themselves and their children as victims for the safety of their country; but he, if he delivered up the city intrusted to him, would betray his country, without securing the safety of his children; for how could he hope, that a tyrant, who now violated his faith, would afterwards observe his promises? She therefore entreated him not to purchase an uncertain, and, even if procured, a momentary advantage, by certain and perpetual disgrace. When she had, by such reasoning, in some measure tranquillized the mind of her husband, lest he might not be able to avert his eyes from the detestable execution, she led him to another quarter of the city, from whence it could not be observed.*

xiv. The king of England, after this execution, which was disapproved of even by some of his own army, removed his

* For remarks on the siege, vide note Book iv. cap. 1.

camp to Halidon hill, in the neighbourhood of Berwick, and there awaited the enemy. Douglas, whom the advice of his experienced officers could not persuade before to draw off the besiegers upon himself by ravaging the English lands, now burning with rage, and afraid lest, if, after so infamous a transaction, perpetrated almost before his eyes, he should retire without a battle, it would appear that he dreaded the enemy, determined to fight, and marched straight towards them. When his army had stood for a considerable time drawn up in order of battle, and the king of England still remained in his station on the height, nor would descend into the plain, Douglas led out all the Scottish army against them on the hill. This rash proceeding produced its natural consequences; for while they were struggling hard, to get up the acclivity, the enemy annoyed them dreadfully, by rolling down huge rocks, and by a furious discharge of arrows, before they could come to close fighting; and when they did approach, their opponents rushed upon them in such compact bodies, that they precipitated them headlong to destruction. There were upwards of ten thousand killed; some say that fourteen thousand fell. Almost all the nobles who had escaped at the unhappy battle of Duplin perished, among whom were Archibald, the general, James, John, and Allan Stuart, uncles of Robert who reigned next after the Bruces, Hugh, earl of Ross, Kenneth, earl of Sutherland, Alexander Bruce, earl of Carrick, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraser, brothers. This slaughter of the Scots happened on St. Magdalen's day, A. D. 1333.

xv. After this battle, all hope of relief being cut off, Alexander Seton surrendered the city, and Patrick Dunbar the castle of Berwick, to Edward, on condition of having all their property preserved. Both were obliged to swear fealty to the king of England; and Dunbar, in addition, was ordered to rebuild immediately, at his own expense, the castle of Dunbar, which he had destroyed that it might not afford a strong hold for the English. Edward having remained a few days, committed the charge of the city, and the farther prosecution of the war, to Baliol, and retired to his own kingdom, leaving Richard Talbot, a man

of high rank and prudence, in Scotland, with a few troops, to assist Baliol in subduing the rest of the country. Nor did that seem a very difficult task, almost all the nobility being extinct; and of those who remained some submitted to the conqueror, while the others retired to fortified or uninhabited places. But a few garrisons still held out for David. On this side the Forth, an island in a lake, whence the river Doon flows, scarcely of size sufficient to contain a moderate castle, and Dunbarton. On the other side the Forth, a castle situated in Loch Leven, likewise Kildrummy and Urquhart.

xvi. Next year ambassadors came from the pope and Philip king of France, to settle the disputes between the kings of Britain. But the king of England, elated by the uninterrupted course of his prosperity, refused even to admit them into his presence, for he thought the spirits and strength of the Scots were so broken, that they neither would dare, nor were able, to rebel again. From a very trifling occasion, however, and whence it was least expected, a dispute arose among the English themselves at Perth, which changed the greatest tranquillity into the most grievous war. John Moubray had possessed lands in Scotland, which were given to his ancestors by Edward I., then lost in the vicissitudes of the times, and again recovered during the reign of Edward Baliol. He dying without male heirs, Alexander their uncle commenced a lawsuit against his brother's daughters for the estates. Henry Beaumont, who had married one of the daughters, as also Richard Talbot and David Cumin, chiefs of the English faction, favoured the cause of the ladies. Baliol countenanced the claim of Alexander, and, in the suit, adjudged the lands to him, which so irritated his opponents that they openly complained of the decision, and when their complaints did not seem to receive due attention, they retired from the court, each to his own estate. Talbot, whilst he was going to England, was seized and carried prisoner to Dunbarton. Beaumont garrisoned Dundarg, a strong castle in Buchan, and took possession not only of the land in dispute, but also of all the neighbouring country. Cumin went to Athole, and fortifying some advantageously situated places, prepared himself to resist violence, if any

were attempted. Baliol dreading the effects of a conspiracy of such powerful men, reversed the sentence, gave Beaumont the disputed lands, and reconciled Cumin, by bestowing on him many valuable estates which belonged to Robert Stuart, the heir apparent to the crown. Alexander de Moubray, enraged at this affront, joined himself with Andrew Moray, regent of Scotland, who had lately ransomed himself from the English by a large sum of money. These different transactions, which took place at various times, I have joined together, that I may not interrupt the course of my history.

XVII. In the meantime, Baliol, in another quarter, took or destroyed all the fields around Renfrew; and having settled every thing there according to his wish, he sailed for the island of Bute, and fortified Rothsay castle, of which he made Allan Lisle governor, whom he had before made lord justice general. He eagerly pursued Robert Bruce, grandson of Robert Bruce by his daughter, to put him to death; but he, by the assistance of William Huish, and John Gilbert, escaped in a boat to the opposite continent, where horses were waiting him, and proceeded to Dunbarton, to Malcolm Fleming, the governor of the castle. Baliol, when he had arranged affairs in Bute, crossed over to the neighbouring continent, and took Denoon castle in Cowal, which struck such terror into the nobility in the vicinity that they almost all submitted to him.

XVIII. Returned from thence, next spring he besieged the castle of Loch Leven; but the siege appearing to proceed slowly, he left John Stirling, a powerful knight of his party, to whom he joined Michael Arnot, David Wemyss, and Richard Melvin, to prosecute it. They, after having built a fort opposite, where the passage was shortest, and vainly tried every method to take the castle by force, as it was vigorously defended by Allan Wepont, and James Lambine, citizens of St. Andrews, attempted to overflow it by shutting up the outlet of the river Leven, which flows from the loch through a narrow strait worn in the rock. At this place they endeavoured to erect a mound with turf and stones to obstruct the passage; but the work proceeded slowly, for the summer being hot, the torrents which flowed into the lake were almost dry, and the

extended surface of the waters received but a small increase; in this manner the siege was protracted till the month of July, in which occurs the festival of St. Margaret, a holiday kept in honour of a former queen of Scotland, on which day a fair was wont to be held in Dunfermline, where the body of the saint is buried. On this day John Stirling with a great part of his men went thither, some for the purpose of merchandise, and some for the purpose of religion, leaving the camp with a small guard at the mound, for they dreaded no enemy, knowing that except the few shut up in the castle, none of the adverse faction were in the neighbourhood. The besieged, when they ascertained the absence of Stirling by the silence of the camp, having placed on board small vessels the engines they had previously prepared for perforating the embankment, proceeded in the beginning of the evening, when the guards were asleep, and bored it through in several places at once. The water, having thus found some small openings, at first flowed gently; but by degrees widening passages for itself, at last rushed with such violence, that overwhelming whatever was opposed to it, it inundated the whole plain, and swept tents, huts, some half sleeping soldiers, and their baggage, with a tremendous noise into the sea. They who were in the vessels, then landing, rushed upon the astonished besiegers with loud shouts, and increased the unexpected tumult; at which the whole were seized with such terror, that no one thinking of any thing but safety, left all to the enemy, and fled in every direction. Allan then, at his leisure, carried into the castle from the camp, not only spoil, but provisions sufficient for a long siege. In another sally upon the guards who were in Kinross, he was equally successful, and the fort being taken and demolished, the siege was raised.*

* Ruddiman, in a note on this passage, supposes there is a mistake in the date, and that the siege must have taken place in some other year than 1535, because the feast of the translation of St. Margaret was celebrated at Dunfermline on the 19th June, and there was a truce, he alleges, from the 4th April to the 24th June 1535; to prove which, he refers to an instrument in *Fœdera*, tom. iv. p. 640; but that instrument only shews that proposals had been made for a truce, not that a truce had been concluded. *Hailes' Ann.* vol. ii. p. 218.

XIX. During these transactions in Fife, the English entered Scotland with powerful armaments both by sea and land. The fleet sailed up the Forth; but the admiral's vessel being driven on the rocks in a storm, and the rest much shattered, they returned home with more damage than plunder. The army penetrated to Glasgow: there the king of England called a convention of the nobles of his faction, when having understood that the opposite party had neither leader nor army, and that his presence would be no longer necessary, he returned to England, carrying Baliol—in whose disposition he did not altogether confide—along with him, and leaving David Cumin, earl of Athole, to command in Scotland. Cumin immediately seized all the extensive possessions of the Stuarts, which comprehended Bute, Arran and Renfrew, the whole of Kyle, and part of Cunninghame: he confirmed Allan Lisle in the chief justiceship of Bute, which some call sheriff, others lord lieutenant, and ordered the adjacent countries to obey him. He himself marched into different parts of the country, and reduced Buchan and Moray; but although he had increased his possessions far beyond the bounds of a private station, yet he framed all his charters, and whatever public orders he issued, in the united names of Edward king of England and Baliol. At that time, although no person in Scotland, except boys in sport, durst acknowledge Bruce as king, yet Robert Stuart, who then lurked in Dunbarton, thinking something might be attempted, in the absence of Cumin, acquainted the Campbells, a powerful family in Argyleshire, with his design; and Colin,* their chief, having collected about four hundred men, met him at Denoon castle, in Cowal, which he immediately seized. At the report of this, the inhabitants of Bute, separated only by a narrow sound, rose simultaneously, and hastened to meet their former lords. Allan Lisle, in order to arrest their progress, proceeded, with what force he could muster, to meet them. The crowd, for the most part unarmed, who had assembled rather from the impulse of the moment than from any con-

* Colin Campbell. Fordun calls him Dougal Campbell of Lochow, lib. xiii. cap. 29.

certed plan, struck with a sudden panic, fled to the nearest hill; there, having found a great quantity of stones, they overwhelmed, as with a shower of hail, the soldiers, who despising them, had advanced rashly to attack their position. The greater part were wounded before they could come to a close engagement; and were so hardly pressed in their retreat, that Lisle, with the bravest of his troops, were killed, and John Gilbert, governor of Bute castle, taken prisoner. The Islanders armed a number of themselves with the spoil of the slain, and this not bloodless victory was followed by the surrender of the castle.

xx. At the report of these successes, Thomas Bruce, earl of Carrick, with his partisans from Kyle and Cunninghame, also William Carruder, of Annandale, who had always refused subjection to the English, accompanied by his friends and relations, leaving their lurking places, hastened to Stuart; John Randolph, earl of Moray too, lately returned from France, brought the hopes of external assistance. Upon this, the royalists, encouraged to attempt greater enterprises, having collected an army, and their efforts being seconded by Godfrey Ross, sheriff of Ayr, they in a short time drew over the whole of Carrick, Kyle, and Cunninghame to the party of the Stuarts; the inhabitants of Renfrewshire likewise cheerfully returned to their ancient chiefs. The vassals of Andrew Moray following their example, the rest of the men of Clydesdale, some willingly, and some by constraint, joined that interest. Their confidence being increased by such auspicious beginnings, that there might be some resemblance of a government, they assembled the principal men of their party, and chose as regents, Robert Stuart, who, although a youth, yet in these unsettled rambling expeditions, had given proof of his devotion to his country, and John Randolph, worthy of his illustrious father and brother. The latter, being sent with a strong force to the north country, the inhabitants, who were tired of the oppressive rule of the English, received him with open arms; and David Cumin, terrified at the sudden revolution, fled to Lochaber, where Randolph pursued him, and having shut him up in a narrow corner, and surrounded him, he was compelled by want to surrender. After having obliged

him to swear fealty to Bruce, Randolph dismissed him; and so much confidence had he in his promises, that he left him his deputy at his departure, nor was Cumin deficient in his pretensions of zeal for the Brucean cause.

XXI. Randolph, on his return to Lothian, joined himself to his old friend, William Douglas, who, lately come back from England, had avenged his long melancholy imprisonment by the immense slaughter he inflicted on his enemies. Andrew Moray, who had been taken at Roxburgh, had also returned. There being now a sufficient number of nobles, the regents summoned a parliament to meet at Perth,* on the first of April; but, after they had assembled, nothing could be effected, on account of a violent quarrel between William Douglas and David Cumin, the alleged ground of which was, that the intrigues of Cumin had caused Douglas to be so long detained by the English. Stuart favoured Cumin, but almost all the rest supported Douglas. Cumin alleged these differences as the reason why he came with a numerous retinue to the assembly, for he had brought so many of his friends and vassals, that he appeared formidable to all the rest; and his fickle temper, ambitious disposition, together with certain intelligence of the approach of the English, with whom it was generally believed he would join, increased their suspicions; nor indeed, was it long after, that the king of England invaded Scotland with a large force both by sea and land, bringing Baliol with him. The fleet, consisting of one hundred and sixty vessels, entered the Forth, while he in person marched forward with the army to Perth, wasting the country on every side, and there waited for Cumin.

XXII. Randolph, in the meantime, went to John, governor of the Æbudæ; but not being able to induce him to join his party, was content, in these troublous times, to conclude a truce for some months. On his returning from the Islands he found Robert, the other regent, dangerously ill. In this distracting situation, the whole burden of the state devolving

* Fordun says this parliament met at Darvesey, *Dairsy*, near Cupar, in Fife, and through the tyrannical behaviour of David, earl of Athole, their proceedings only exposed them to contempt, lib. xiii. chap. 34.

upon him, when he found he durst not meet the English in a general engagement, he divided his forces, that he might harass them in detached parties. Having heard that a strong body of Flemings were marching through England to join Edward, he hastened to the borders. On his march he was met by Patrick, earl of March, William Douglas of Liddisdale, and Alexander Ramsay, esteemed the first soldier of the age; and having joined his forces with theirs, waited for the Flemings in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. As soon as they approached he attacked them, and after a furious conflict, * the Flemings being vanquished, fled to a neighbouring hill, where there was a castle in ruins; and next day, compelled by want, they surrendered on condition only that their lives should be spared. Randolph, as a mark of regard to Philip Vallois, said to be his particular friend, not only dismissed them safe, and supplied them with provisions, but himself undertook to escort them back. In this march, having fallen into an ambush laid by the partisans of the English faction, he was taken prisoner, and brought to Edward, who then besieged Perth. About the same time, David Cumin, all whose movements depended upon the turn of fortune, rejoicing in the calamity of his enemy, came to the king of England, and promised him that he would in a short time drive the whole of Bruce's adherents out of the kingdom; nor was he tardy in performing what he had promised. Perth having surrendered, and the walls being demolished, Edward prepared to return to England, as he was so wretchedly supplied with provisions; for the Scots, at his approach, had driven their flocks to the mountains, and conveyed every other moveable away to a distance, or to some fortified place, destroying what they could not remove. Nor did his fleet, to which he had trusted for supplies, much avail him; for having, at their first entrance into the Frith, plundered the monastery of Inchcolm shortly after, while at anchor in the open sea, a furious storm

* This action took place in the *Borough-moor*. In the engagement Richard Shaw, a Scottish esquire, was singled out by a combatant in the Flemish army; they rushed to the fight, and both fell transfixed with mutual wounds. On the Fleming's body being stripped of its armour, the brave stranger was discovered to be a woman!

arose, which occasioned great devastation among them. Part of the vessels with difficulty reached the neighbouring but barren island of Inchkeith, and others were driven to a greater distance by the violence of the winds. They, therefore, when they began to collect, imputed the cause of the tempest to the anger of St. Columba, whose monastery they had sacrilegiously and cruelly plundered; and, in consequence, carried thither all the spoil they had taken as an expiatory offering. Nor was any memorable transaction afterwards performed by the fleet during the whole year.

XXIII. These causes although they strongly influenced the king of England, yet what chiefly hastened his return, was a projected French war, upon which he was then chiefly intent. Wherefore, when he had apparently almost finished the war in Scotland, he led back his army, and carried Edward Baliol along with him, leaving Cumin regent, to finish what remained. Cumin, that he might prove his zeal for the interest of both kings, and avenge himself on his enemies, exercised his office with the utmost cruelty, which appeared the more base because, having only a few months before been reduced to the greatest extremity, he had so easily obtained his pardon. Among the Scottish nobles, there stood, almost alone, three, whom no promises could entice, nor any dangers force to submit to the English—Patrick, earl of March, Andrew Moray, and William Douglas. These having joined their forces, marched against Cumin, who was besieging Kildrummy castle, and engaged him at Kilblaine-wood; on which occasion, Cumin, who exceeded them in number, had nearly surrounded them, when John Craig, the governor of Kildrummy, advancing with three hundred fresh men, turned the day, and gave a decisive victory to the adherents of Bruce. The bravest of Cumin's followers fell, either in the battle, or in flight. Many took refuge in Canemore, a neighbouring castle belonging to Robert Menzies; but there not being provisions for such a multitude, they surrendered next day, and, upon taking an oath of fidelity to Bruce, were pardoned. There fell in this action, besides the chief, Robert Brady and Walter Cumin, two of Cumin's intimate friends. Thomas, his brother, was taken and beheaded the day following.

xxiv. This achievement, as Randolph was a prisoner, and Stuart sick, procured the regency for Andrew Moray, by military suffrage; for letters having arrived from the king of France respecting the truce, when the nobles of the Bruce party assembled to receive them, they unanimously restored to Moray his former honour, of which a misfortune had deprived him. He, after a truce of a few months was ended, besieged Lochindore castle, which was kept by the wife of David Cumin, who, foreseeing what would happen, had begged assistance from the English; and they, without delay, landed a force in Moray, and raised the siege. They then advanced as far as Elgin, a town situate on the river Lossy, wasting all before them. On their march to Perth they burned Aberdeen, and garrisoned all the castles in the Merse, Dunnottar, Kinfauns, and Laurieston. The six monasteries, nearest to Perth, were ordered to rebuild the walls which had been destroyed, and having intrusted the government of Scotland to Edward Baliol, who had again returned, they departed for England. The English having departed, and the strength of the Scots being broken, Henry Beaumont, thinking this a proper time for avenging the death of his son-in-law, the earl of Athole, seized and put cruelly to death, without distinction, all that he could find who had been engaged in the battle of Kilblaine. Andrew Moray, therefore, besieged him in Dundarg, and compelled him to surrender; and after having made him swear solemnly that he would never again return as an enemy to Scotland, dismissed him. Moray, by an uninterrupted course of victory, having also obtained possession of all the fortified places beyond the Forth, except the castle of Cupar, and the town of Perth, after expelling the garrisons, demolished them. Thence he marched into England with his army, where he obtained great booty, and refreshed his men, who were worn out with penury at home; for the whole of Scotland, that year, having suffered by war, the fields either lay uncultivated, or were wasted by the constant incursions of both parties; and, in consequence, such a famine ensued, that the English abandoned the strong castle of Cupar for want of provisions. On which occasion, a Scottish seaman, who had been ill treated by them, being employed to transport the garrison by night

to Lothian, disembarked them upon a sand bank left bare by the ebbing of the tide; they, thinking they had been landed on the continent, proceeded a little forward, when being met by the sea again, they all perished, calling in vain upon the sailor for assistance.

xxv. Next year, A. D. 1337, the English besieged the castle of Dunbar. Agnes, wife of the earl of March, commonly surnamed Black Agnes, a woman of a masculine spirit, defended it; and the earls of Salisbury and Arundel directed the operations against it. This siege lasted beyond all expectation. Two different armies, sent to the assistance of Baliol, entered Scotland, the one led by Montford, the other by Richard Talbot. Laurence Preston encountered the army under Montford, and defeated it, their leader being killed; but he himself was so severely wounded, that he died in a few days after; and his soldiers, enraged at the loss of their general, satiated their vengeance on the prisoners, whom they inhumanly butchered. Talbot was taken prisoner by William Keith, and his army destroyed. Still the siege of Dunbar continued. The sea being shut up by the English, the besieged began to suffer from scarcity, and, without doubt, the castle must have surrendered, had not Alexander Ramsay, by a bold attempt, opportunely relieved it. In a tempestuous night, having deceived the guard who watched the coast in Genoese gallies, he brought his vessel to the castle, and landed forty chosen men, and a great quantity of provisions; then, with part of the garrison added to his men, he rushed out at midnight with a great noise upon the English guard, and made terrible slaughter among them, who expected nothing less than a sally from men they considered as already conquered. Having performed this exploit, he returned back the following evening as secretly as he had come. At last, in the sixth month, the English troops, who had fatigued themselves, and tried every expedient in vain, being called away by the king to the French war, the siege of Dunbar was raised. Andrew Moray, his country being now almost freed from foreign soldiers, first besieged Stirling, and then Edinburgh castle, but departed without reducing either; however, he subdued Lothian, and brought it back to the king. After

which, having gone to relax himself a little, by a visit to his estates in the north, he fell sick and died. He was buried at Rosemark, greatly and universally lamented; for the splendid actions he performed during two years and a half, in which he held the regency, were such as would have illustrated the greatest captain of any age.

xxvi. After him, the Stewart, quite a youth, was regent till David's return from France. He had the honour of several skirmishes which were gained this year in his name, by William Douglas, with much risk, and at the expense of several wounds. Douglas expelled the English out of Teviotdale, and took the hermitage in Liddisdale; and surprising a great quantity of provisions at Melrose from the enemy, he fortified that place. He had such a sharp and obstinate battle with Berkley, that he and three of his companions with difficulty escaped under covert of the night. He defeated the forces of John Stirling in a severe engagement, but shortly after he was nearly surrounded by him; recovering himself, however, from the unexpected attack, after a keen struggle, he put Stirling to flight, slew thirty of his companions, and took forty prisoners. He so stuck to William Abernethy, that although he had been five times defeated by him in one day, yet, before night, having disabled all his men, he at length took Abernethy himself prisoner. Nor was he less fortunate in overcoming Laurence Vaux, a man of great strength. Soon after, he went to France to inform king David of the state of Scottish affairs.

xxvii. Next year, A. D. 1339, the Stewart intending to follow up his good fortune, collected an army, and arranging it in four divisions, proceeded to attack Perth; but it being gallantly defended by the English, he was wounded and repulsed. In the third month of the siege, when almost despairing of success, William Douglas returned with five piratical vessels he had hired, and brought a re-enforcement of soldiers and machines. Having landed part of the soldiers, he ordered the rest in the ships to secure the mouth of the river Tay, while he himself went to recapture the castle of Cupar, which, having been abandoned by the English, was occupied by a Scottish garrison, under William Bullock, an English priest,

who was also treasurer. With him Douglas entered into an agreement, that upon receiving lands in Scotland, he should join their party; to this he was the more easily persuaded, because he neither expected any assistance from the English, nor could he entirely rely upon the troops he had in the castle. His bravery and fidelity were often afterwards of much advantage to the Scots. The siege of Perth had already lasted four months, and seemed as if it still would be more tedious, when the earl of Ross having drained off the water of the ditches by mines, advanced with his men close to the wall, whence the defenders being driven by the force of powerful weapons thrown from the machines, a capitulation was entered into, and the place delivered up to the Scots. The English were allowed to march out with the honours of war, and the whole of their property. A few days after, Stirling was besieged, and surrendered upon the same conditions. Maurice Moray, the son of Andrew, was made governor. Baliol, terrified at this sudden change of affairs, left Galloway, where he had usually resided, and went into England.

xxviii. Shortly after, Edinburgh castle was taken by stratagem. William Currie, a merchant who happened accidentally to have a vessel laden with provisions, lying at Dundee, in the Frith of Tay, was despatched by William Douglas to the Forth. On his arrival, having communicated the design to Bullock, in the assumed character of an Englishman, he carried two bottles of his best wine, and some other little presents to the governor of the castle, and requested that he might be freely allowed to dispose of the rest of his provisions in the garrison; at the same time, he requested the governor to say in what manner he could serve either him or the garrison, and he would cheerfully attempt it. The governor then ordered him to bring some hogsheads of wine, and a certain quantity of ship biscuit, promising him access whenever he chose; and Currie, pretending to be afraid of the Scots, who made frequent excursions in that quarter, replied, he would come at the dawn of morning. That night, Douglas, with twelve of his most chosen companions, in sailors' dresses above their armour, brought the provisions to the castle, and having placed soldiers in ambush, as near as

possible, he ordered them to await his signal; Douglas and Simon Fraser, who went a little before—the rest being ordered to follow at a moderate distance—when let within the pallisadoes, by the porter, perceiving the keys of the doors suspended from his arm, killed him, and opened the castle gate without noise. Then, as had been agreed upon, they gave the signal to their companions, by blowing a horn. The sound of the horn, at the same time, informed those who were in ambush, and they who were guarding the castle, that the fortress was entered by the friends of the one, and the enemies of the other; and both hastening to the spot, the Scots threw down their burdens in the entrance of the gate, lest the doors should be shut before the arrival of their comrades, who could advance but slowly up the steep declivity. A sharp conflict ensued, with considerable bloodshed on each side. At last the garrison gave way, the whole being killed or wounded, except the governor and six soldiers.

xxix. Some authors place in this year, and some in the former, the expedition of Alexander Ramsay into England. Ramsay ranked first in military glory among the Scottish commanders of the age, and such was the opinion entertained of his skill, that he who had not served in his school, was never considered a finished soldier. Numbers, therefore, of youth flocked to him, as the only master in the art of war. After having successfully conducted many excursions against the enemy, with a small force, thinking, in the present wretched state of affairs in Scotland, that something greater might be attempted, he assembled a considerable number of his vassals and friends, and ravaged Northumberland. On his return, the English followed him with a much superior army, collected from all the neighbouring countries and castles. When Ramsay found it impossible to avoid coming to an engagement, and perceived the spirits of his soldiers depressed on account of the multitude of the enemy, he sent the plunder on before, placed his infantry in ambush, and ordered the horse to scatter themselves over the country as straggling fugitives, with instructions to halt after they had passed the place where the ambush lay, and upon a signal by trumpet, rally in a body. The English deceived by the flight of

the horse, which they imagined to be real, followed in as disorderly a manner. When the Scots, being recalled by signal, turned upon them in a moment, and the foot starting up on every side from their lurking places, the enemy, terror-struck at this unexpected attack, fled with greater speed than they had before pursued. Many being slain, and more taken prisoners, the plunder was driven safe home. Among the captives was the governor of Roxburgh, who having brought nearly the whole garrison along with him, Ramsay attacked the town thus left almost empty, and took it at the first assault. Having also obtained possession of the lower part of the castle, those who escaped fled into a strong tower; but being closely besieged, and having no hope of any relief, they surrendered. Some relate that the earl of Salisbury was taken here, and exchanged for John Randolph; I, however, rather incline to follow those writers who tell us that Salisbury was taken by the French, and in France. Randolph, marching into Annandale, took his castle at Lochmaben from the English. And the commanders in the three borders, Alexander Ramsay on the east, William Douglas on the middle, and Randolph on the west, drove the English beyond the ancient boundaries of the kingdom, as possessed during the reign of Alexander III.; nor did the enemy retain any place in Scotland except Berwick. There are some who say that Roxburgh was taken by Ramsay, by escalade in the night, while the guards were asleep, in the year 1342. The Book of Paisley says the same.

xxx. In the same year, on the 2d of July, David Bruce arrived with his wife at Inverbervie, nine years after his departure, and his arrival was the more grateful, as the prospect of Scottish affairs was extremely discouraging; for Edward, having concluded a three years' truce with king Philip, at Tournay, and being thus freed from the French war, had determined to attack Scotland with his whole strength. He had an army of forty thousand foot, and six thousand horse; and to provide against any scarcity of supplies, he had fitted out a large fleet to carry provisions for his land forces. Scarcely, however, had the fleet set sail in the month of November, when they were overtaken with a severe tempest,

and after being long tossed at sea, were thrown upon the Dutch and German coasts, and rendered useless for the present war. While Edward lay with his army in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, in the greatest want of provisions, ambassadors being sent to him from Scotland, a truce was concluded for four months, upon condition, that if king David did not return home before the first of June, all Scotland would yield obedience to Edward. But David, having heard of the preparations of the English, had set sail before the ambassadors reached him.

XXXI. Among others who came from every part of the kingdom, to congratulate the king on his return, was the illustrious Alexander Ramsay, renowned for his splendid military achievements, but particularly for his late brilliant exploit. He was received with particular marks of favour by David, and beside the governorship of Roxburgh had the sheriffdom of the whole of Teviotdale bestowed upon him. Douglas, the knight of Liddisdale, was exceedingly displeased that Ramsay should have been preferred to this dignity, for, after he had driven the English almost entirely out of Teviotdale, he had acted as sheriff, although without the king's commission, for several years, and trusting to his own services, and the rank and power of his family, he did not expect to have had any competitor for that magistracy. Wholly intent upon revenge, he, however, concealed his anger for the present, but in three months after, he unexpectedly surprised his rival, while holding his court in the church of Hawick, and after killing three of his attendants, who endeavoured to protect him, he placed him wounded upon a baggage horse, and carrying him to the hermitage, starved him to death. Nearly about the same time, and in the same manner, William Bullock, distinguished for fidelity to the king, was put to death by David Barclay. These two deeds of inhuman cruelty, rent all Scotland into factions, and filled it with animosities. They likewise strongly affected the king, still a youth, and unaccustomed to the savage disposition of soldiers. But although he discovered the utmost anxiety to bring Douglas to punishment, yet that chief, by the influence of his friends—for his brave actions in defence of his country's independence had procured

him many—and particularly of Robert Stuart, the king's nephew, obtained a pardon, and, besides, the magnificent, but true enumeration of his exploits, and the state of the times, peace abroad being uncertain, and tranquillity at home disturbed, which strongly tended to embolden and exalt military men, had great influence. Wherefore Douglas was not only pardoned, but received the command of Roxburgh and Teviotdale—a clemency perhaps requisite at the time, but a most injurious precedent for the future.

xxxii. David, when he had thus settled matters at home, proclaimed an expedition against England, although the greater part of the nobility dissuaded him from it, on account of the great scarcity of provisions. He, however, levied a great army, and intrusted the command to John Randolph, he himself going with it in disguise. After having ravaged Northumberland for nearly two months, they returned home laden with spoil. A few days after, the king himself assuming the command, they again entered the enemy's country; the English, however, being inferior in strength, would not risk a battle, during the absence of their king in France, but assembled a numerous body of cavalry, and with it prevented the Scots from extending their devastations. Five of the chief nobles, lately created knights by David, who rashly advanced too far, after all their attendants were either killed or taken prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy, and the king, in order not to spend his time uselessly, returned with his army. He afterward undertook a third expedition. Having assembled his forces as secretly as possible, that he might unexpectedly inflict a severe blow upon his enemies, he entered England during a stormy autumn, but the small brooks were so swollen with the rain, that they rendered the country impervious, and prevented the carriage of provisions; wherefore, not to appear as having made such mighty preparations in vain, he demolished a few castles and returned home. Not long after, several embassies were interchanged, in order to treat respecting a two years' truce, to which the Scots agreed upon condition, that Philip, king of France, consented; for, in the treaty between the Scots and French, there was a clause, that neither nation should conclude any separate treaty of peace, or truce

with the English. The negotiations in the mean time, kept Scotland quiet.

xxxiii. In the fourth year after the return of King David, the French having lost a great battle, and Calais, a town of the Morini being besieged, Philip, by his ambassadors, earnestly urged the Scots to invade England, on purpose to divert part of the English force from him. An army was therefore ordered to rendezvous at Perth. When the barons were assembling, David, earl of Ross, having laid wait for his old enemy, Reginald, lord of the Isles, attacked him in the night, and slew him, together with seven of his noblest companions. * This murder greatly diminished the army, as not only the friends and vassals of both parties, but likewise many of their neighbours, dreading a civil war between such powerful families, departed to their homes. Wherefore, William Douglas of Liddisdale, strongly advised the king that, deferring the expedition for the present, he should endeavour to preserve domestic tranquillity. † But despising this counsel, the king—his friendship for Philip overcoming his love for his country—led his army into England, and wasting all before him, in sixteen days advanced into the bishopric of Durham. ‡ The English having here assembled a numerous

* This murder was perpetrated in the monastery of Elcho. The family of Reginald, or Raynald, is still a matter of dispute among the Macdonalds.

† The advice of Douglas is differently related by Fordun. After the Scots army had advanced, David stormed the castle of Liddel, and beheaded Walter Selby, the governor. This castle was connected with the territory of W. Douglas, and served as a frontier garrison to his castle of the Hermitage, and it was *then* that the knight of Liddisdale advised the king to abandon his enterprise against England, and dismiss his army. On which the rest of the barons exclaimed, "Must *we* fight merely for *your* gain? You have got your share of the spoils of England, and would you prevent us from getting ours?"

‡ The Scots army, when mustered at Hexham, consisted of two thousand men at arms, completely accoutred, and a great irregular body of light infantry. Fordun, lib. xiv. cap. 2. The English were "in number, twelve hundred men at arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand footmen, besides a choice band of expert soldiers, newly come from before Calais, the whole amounting to sixteen thousand complete." Barnes, quoted in the Ann. S. Hist. Besides an immense crowd of ecclesiastics, "who were all," says Aiscue, "good tall Trencher-men, such as were not afraid of a crack'd crown, though they had no hair to hide the wounds." Froissart supposed that

army, partly composed of levies raised by Percy, and partly of soldiers sent back from the siege of Calais, showed themselves to the Scots in battle array, much sooner than they had dreamed of. David, who feared nothing less than the advance of an opponent, and had sent William Douglas to spoil the neighbouring country, gave his men the signal for battle. Douglas, who had unexpectedly fallen in with the enemy, after losing five hundred of his bravest men, fled back to the camp in disorder. Nor was this unfortunate commencement of the conflict followed by any happier termination. The fight was for a while contested fiercely by the right wing, where John Randolph, earl of Moray, was slain, and this division routed. The centre, which the king commanded in person, was then attacked by two bodies of the English, of whom the one had been victorious, and the other was entire, and here the Scottish nobility, determined to die with their monarch, were almost entirely cut off. The king himself was disarmed, and taken prisoner by John Copeland, two of whose teeth he knocked out, after being disarmed, with a blow of his fist, although he had previously been severely wounded by two arrows. The third line, commanded by Robert Stuart, and Patrick Dunbar, having beheld the slaughter of their friends, retired almost untouched.

XXXIV. After this battle, the nobility being so dreadfully thinned, Roxburgh, the Hermitage, and many other castles immediately surrendered to the English, and the Scots were

Philippa, the consort of Edward III., was their leader, but no English writer mentions a circumstance, which if true, they could not possibly have omitted. Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 93. is of opinion, that Baliol commanded in chief, having Henry de Percy, and Ralph de Nevil, as his seconds in command as it appears by the *Fœdera*, tom. v. p. 831, they were hired to serve under Baliol for a year, 26th January, 1346-7. Barnes and Tyrrel support the opinion of Abercrombie. The more ancient writers, however, only mention Percy and Nevil. Among the prisoners taken at this disastrous battle, were John de Graham, earl of Menteith, in right of his wife, who had formerly sworn fealty to Edward, and Duncan, earl of Fife, who had sworn fealty to Baliol, the vassal of England. These Edward ordered to be tried as traitors, and together with that order, transmitted to the judges a schedule, containing the sentence of condemnation; they were of course found guilty. The earl of Menteith suffered as a traitor. The earl of Fife was not executed.

forced to yield up, besides the territories they held in England, March, Teviotdale, Liddisdale, and Lauderdale, the English boundaries being extended to Cockburnspath and Soutra hill. Baliol, not content with having recovered his paternal estates in Galloway, marched over Annandale, Nithsdale, and the countries adjoining the Clyde, wasting every where with fire and sword, and having joined himself to the English Percy, he spread similar devastation over Lothian, nor for some years could a respectable army be raised in Scotland. To these miseries was added a dreadful plague, which carried off nearly a third of the inhabitants; yet, in the midst of these calamities there was no cessation of domestic dissensions. Sir David Barclay, who had formerly killed Bullock, was, about this time, also present at the murder of John Douglas of Dalkeith. William Douglas, of Liddisdale, * still a prisoner in England, since the battle of Durham, in requite, caused him to be murdered by his vassals; nor did Liddisdale himself long survive his return to Scotland, for, while hunting in Ettrick forest, he was killed by William Douglas, the son of Archibald, then lately come back from France, in revenge for the death of Alexander Ramsay. The clans of the ancient Scots too, a race impatient of repose, added to the general disorder, by their feuds.

xxxv. Amid these disasters pressing on every side, William Douglas† collected a band of his relations and vassals, and having driven out the English, recovered Douglas, the ancient

* During his captivity, the knight of Liddisdale forfeited all the merit of his former services against the English, by an infamous treaty, which he entered into with Edward, to aggrandise himself, and procure his liberty at the expense of his allegiance to his king, and his fidelity to his country. By it he bound himself and his heirs, to serve the English king and his heirs, in their wars against all persons whatever, excepting his own nation, with a proviso, "that he might at pleasure renounce the benefit of the exception," and in a war between the two nations, he was to remain neuter, but to permit the English to pass and repass through his lands without molestation. Were there such a thing as honour ever known in the transactions of kings and politicians, where interest happens to be concerned, it would be perhaps difficult to say whether Edward or Douglas in this transaction, best merited the palm of infamy.

† William Douglas, son of Archibald Tineman, mentioned in the former chapter, in which the assassinations are not mentioned in chronological order.

patrimony of his fathers, and the confidence of his countrymen in him, increasing from these small successes, he proceeded and reduced a great part of Teviotdale. In the meantime, John, king of the French, who had succeeded both to the kingdom and the wars of his father Philip, fearing lest the Scots, broken by so many misfortunes, should yield to * their powerful enemy, sent to them Eugene Garranter, attended by forty gallant companions, to desire them to conclude no peace with the English, without consulting him. He brought also, forty thousand crowns along with him for raising soldiers, and by magnificent promises, he induced the nobility to espouse his cause. They accepted the money, and divided it among themselves; they raised, however, no regular army, but carried on the war after their own manner, by predatory excursions. When intelligence of this embassy was brought to the English king, he reduced Lothian, which was already but thinly inhabited, almost entirely to a desert; to revenge which, Patrick Dunbar, and William Douglas, having collected a large force as secretly as possible, sent William Ramsay of Dalhousie, a brave and active soldier, with a small detachment to burn the village of Norham, on the banks of the Tweed, while they themselves lay in ambush. When Ramsay had accomplished his object, he retired as directed, followed by the English, and led them forward to the snare, there being surrounded, and several of them killed, the rest, perceiving the wide disparity of numbers, surrendered themselves prisoners.

xxxvi. This success having raised the spirits of the Scots,

* The Scots were at this time negotiating or had actually concluded a treaty for the release of their king, whose ransom was fixed at 90,000 merks sterling, to be paid at the rate of 10,000 merks annually, for nine years, during which time, there was to be a truce between the two nations. And it was to prevent this treaty from being carried into effect, that Philip sent Garranter, or Garencieres, as Fordun calls him, with money and a small body of forces. Had the Scottish nobles known, that at that very time, Edward negotiated with Baliol, and had commissioners treating with the widow of Sir William Douglas, to admit an English garrison in the Hermitage, and accept her homage as his subject, they would probably have required little encouragement from France, to induce them to break their engagements with that monarch. *Fœdera*, tom. v. pp. 788, 812.

when the same leaders had joined their forces, Thomas Stuart, earl of Angus, resolved to attempt Berwick. In order to perform this privately, he procured ships, and having put on board scaling ladders, and every other apparatus for attacking a city, he informed Patrick [Dunbar, the earl of March] of his proceedings. At the hour appointed, the Scots approached the walls as quietly as possible, yet not unperceived by the guard, whom, however, after a sharp action, they drove from their stations, and obtained possession of the city, though with considerable loss. They then attacked the castle, which was still kept possession of by the enemy, with great fury, but without success. The king of England, on hearing of the situation of affairs in Scotland, collected a numerous army, and hastened thither by forced marches. The Scots, on hearing of his approach, being unprovided for a long siege, after plundering the city, set it on fire, and returned home. Edward, who had brought with him every kind of artificer, soon restored the damage which the fire had occasioned—but he himself remained at Roxburgh. Thither Baliol came, and resigned the kingdom of Scotland to him, * earnestly entreating him not to forget the injuries he had received from the Scots. The king of England, as if in obedience to this request, immediately after invaded Lothian by sea and land, and destroyed whatever had been spared in the former devastation. Edward had determined by this expedition, so to exhaust Scotland, that it should never be able to recover strength again to rebel; but this design was frustrated by a furious tempest, which dispersed, shattered, and distressed the fleet that carried his provisions, and few of the vessels could be again col-

* Edward, in return for the surrender, became bound to pay Baliol five thousand merks, and to secure to him an annuity of two thousand pounds sterling. In the preceding year, The Scottish government debased the coin, which till then had been the same with that of England. In consequence, Edward had issued a proclamation, forbidding it to be received in England, but as bullion; the preamble runs thus. "Whereas, the ancient money of Scotland was wont to be of the same weight and alloy as our sterling money of England, and on that account had currency with us, yet of late, money bearing the resemblance of the ancient money, has been coined in Scotland, of less weight, and of baser alloy, and begins to have currency, whereby the English nation will be deceived," &c.

lected. The English king, thus forced to retreat for want of provisions, wreaked his vengeance on Edinburgh, Haddington, and the other towns of Lothian. When this army had returned into England, William Douglas having expelled the enemy from Galloway, Roger Kirkpatrick, from Nithsdale, John Stewart, the son of the regent, from Annandale, these counties were restored to the Scots.

xxxvii. Almost at the same time, John, king of France, was vanquished in a great battle at Poitiers, by the English, and taken prisoner. Edward, with two kings his prisoners, passed the winter in the highest exultation, amid the congratulations of his friends. The Scots, thinking that his mind satiated with glory, might be bent more easily to justice, sent ambassadors to treat with him about the liberation of their king. Bruce, that he might the more easily communicate with his people, was sent to Berwick, but, when they could not agree about the conditions, he was brought back again to London. Not long after this, ambassadors sent by the pope, with much difficulty, effected a peace between England and France; they negotiated one also for the Scots, who engaged, according to our writers, to pay to the English, one hundred, or, according to Froissart, five hundred thousand merks of English money, part immediately, and the rest by instalments, and, that it might be the more easily raised, the pope gave authority to draw the priests' tenths for three years. In the meantime, a truce being concluded, the most noble youths were given as hostages, who almost all died in England, of the plague. David, in consequence, returned home, having been eleven years prisoner in England,* and his first act was to punish those who had fled

* King David, before the treaty at Newcastle, was allowed, in 1351, to visit his dominions, on making oath to return, and giving seven young noblemen as hostages for his return. *Fœdera*, tom. v. p. 711, 722-27. In 1353 he was carried down to Newcastle, from whence he returned to London, *Fœd.* tom. v. 756, but it does not appear that he went back to London from Berwick, till after the treaty was concluded there, and afterward ratified at Scoon; but in a few months after that, he was, at his own request, permitted to visit England, for which he seems to have contracted a liking, and where indeed he appears to have been honourably entertained, though at the expense of his own subjects, after the first four months of his captivity; for in

from the battle at Durham. From Patrick Dunbar, he took away part of his estates, and from Alexander Stuart, his eldest sister's son, the hope of the succession, and in his place substituted Alexander, son of the earl of Sutherland, by his second sister, and caused his nobles to swear fealty to him. The father of this youth, to conciliate the affections of the nobles to his son, gave extensive and fertile estates to the most powerful, but Alexander dying, David was reconciled to Stuart, and in a full assembly of the estates, by a unanimous decree, restored him to his rank as heir apparent—but this happened some years after.

xxxviii. The king employed almost the whole of the next five years in appeasing civil discords, in which time two disasters happened. The one, which was only partial, arose from an inundation. So great a quantity of rain fell, that the brooks and rivers of Lothian, overflowing their banks, covered the face of the country, and carried away, by the violence of their currents, not only bridges and mills, but even farm houses, with their owners and cattle into the sea; trees were torn up by the roots, and even some towns, near the banks of the rivers, were almost destroyed. This calamity was followed by a plague, which cut off great numbers of every rank and age. The country being restored to tranquillity, the king, in the year 1363, in an assembly of the estates, proposed, to the lords of the articles, that in case of his death, the king of England, or his son, should be offered the Scottish crown.* This proposal, whether originating from his

May 1347, about four months after he was committed to the Tower of London, "William de Toures, and three others, all Scottishmen, were allowed by Edward, to go to Scotland, in order to procure money to defray the charges of David Brus, and the rest of the Scottish prisoners." *Fœdera*, tom. v. p. 562.

* Since the days of Buchanan, the publication of various official documents has brought to light a transaction of David's, which had probably been in embryo at the time he made this proposition to his Parliament. In November of the same year, 1363, in a conference at London between the two kings, the heads of which were committed to writing, it was agreed, that in default of the king of Scots, and his male issue, the king of England, for the time being was to succeed to the kingdom of Scotland, as an independent kingdom and be crowned at Scoon king of the Scots; and the whole succession by Marjory, Robert I.'s daughter, as settled in the king's will, and by the

being tired of war, or looking forward to the advantage of both nations, or, as many thought, from his having been forced to swear, by the king of England, that he would make it, was so disagreeable and offensive to the whole, that without waiting to be asked their opinion in order, they all, with tumultuous clamour, execrated the proposition; and some even who had opposed it most strongly, fearing his anger, projected a revolt. But he, perceiving their alarm, repressed his displeasure, and received them into favour. When the country was every where else at peace, the Highlanders still continued in arms, and not only raged with cruel and savage barbarity among themselves, but likewise wasted the adjacent counties. The king having in vain tried every other method to produce concord among them, at last sent emissaries to increase their dissensions, till the most ferocious being destroyed by mutual slaughter, the rest might be rendered more mild and tractable. Having finished these transactions at home and abroad, he died in Edinburgh castle, in the forty-seventh year of his life, and the thirty-ninth of his reign, May 7th, A. D. 1377. He was a man of distinguished virtue, just and humane, and, tried both by adverse and prosperous circumstances, appears to have been unfortunate rather than incapable.

Scottish Parliament, was to be set aside. The only advantage to be gained by the Scots, for changing the succession from a family they loved, to one they abhorred, was a remission of the payment of the part of the king's ransom which was not paid. There were a number of stipulations for securing the independence of the kingdom and its honour distinct from England, which would have been observed as all articles of union between a weaker and more powerful nation generally are, as long as it is for the advantage of the strongest. It is highly probable that this paper was merely a formal extension of what had been the subject of much previous discussion. Lord Hailes' supposition that it was a *new* treaty, after the expressed aversion of the Scottish nobles, would make it an act unaccountable even in a prince more capricious than David II. The articles are inserted at length in the Annals of Scot. vol. ii. p. 307-12. and Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 130-2. They were originally published in vol. vi. of the *Fœdera*.

C. ROBERT II.

xxxix. David being dead, when the nobles met at Linlithgow, to congratulate Robert,* who had before been designated king by his uncle, on his accession to the throne, the ambition of William, earl of Douglas, almost occasioned a sedition, for he demanded the crown as his hereditary right, being descended both from Baliol and Cumin; but perceiving that his claim was disapproved of by all, and in particular by his intimate friends, George Dunbar, earl of March, John, earl of Moray, his brother, and Robert Erskine, governor of the three strongest castles, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, he withdrew his claim, and professed his allegiance to Robert as king; and the king, to bind him closer in the ties of friendship, gave his daughter in marriage to earl William's son.

xl. This year the truce which had been concluded for fourteen years was violated by the English. There was a great fair usually held† on the 11th August, at which multitudes assembled from the most remote parts of both kingdoms, and, many of the inhabitants of March being present, one of George Dunbar's intimate friends was killed. George, having demanded, according to the laws of the borders, that the authors of the murder should either be delivered up to him, or punished by themselves; when he saw justice overcome by favour, dissembled the injury, but prepared secretly a band

* This prince was the first of the house of Stuart who ascended the Scottish throne. The origin of the family is still involved in considerable obscurity, and cannot well be made plain to persons unacquainted with genealogical antiquities, except by details at once tedious and uninteresting. It is certain, however, that the family of the Stuarts, a patronymic derived from Walter, who held the office of high steward of Scotland, was opulent and powerful in the reign of David I. before the middle of the twelfth century, Hailes' Ann. App. No. x. and it naturally follows that even then it may have been ancient. Mr. Pinkerton suggested the idea that it was derived from the noble English family of Fitz Alan. Hist. of Scot. vol. i. p. 4. The author of Caledonia, from old charters and other documents, has shown that the supposition was correct. He traces the Stuarts of Scotland to Shropshire in England, and to the Fitz Alans, progenitors of the earls of Arundel. Caledonia, vol. i. p. 572-3-4.

† At Roxburgh.

against the next yearly fair; and then, attacking the town unawares, he slew all the young men, burned the houses, and returned home with great spoil. The English, to revenge this slaughter, wasted with equal cruelty the lands of John Gordon an illustrious knight. Not long after, Gordon entered England, and seized a great booty of men and cattle, on which, John Lilburn, collecting a much greater band, met him on his return, and both, inflamed with the most deadly hatred, fought long with determined obstinacy, till victory at last declared for the Scots, the English chief, with many of his relations and vassals, being taken.

XLI. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, a high spirited nobleman, who was then lord warden of the eastern marches, indignant at the devastation of his estates, collected above seven thousand men, and encamped near Dunse, a village only remarkable as being the birthplace of John Scotus, surnamed the subtle.* The countrymen and shepherds, armed only with rattles, such as they use to frighten the deer and cattle which wander every where wild in that district, assembled in the Lammermuir hills, in the neighbourhood of the village, during the night. The form of the rattles is this—At the end of a long spear they fasten wooden twigs, bent like a semi-circle, over which they stretch a skin, exactly the form of those lanterns which they call Falots † in Paris; in the inside they enclose a few small pebbles which, when shaken, make a loud noise, and scare the animals away from the corn—with this species of rattles having raised a tremendous noise on the hills which overhang Dunse, the horses of the English terrified at the sound, broke loose from their bindings, and running about disorderly, became the prey of the countrymen. In the army all was confusion and calling to arms; and be-

* John Duns Scotus was born at Dunse, about 1265. When very young he entered into a monastery of Franciscans, at Newcastle, whence he was sent to prosecute his studies at Merton college, Oxford, where, in 1301, he was professor of Theology. Afterwards he went to the continent, and died at Cologne, 1308. Part of his works have been printed in twelve volumes folio. The subtilty, which procured him the greatest reputation, was his puzzling doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin.

† Or Bouets in Scotland.

believing the enemy to be close upon them, they passed a sleepless night. Discovering the mistake in the morning, and many of their draught horses being missing, they retreated like fugitives six miles—for the village is that distance from the English borders—leaving their baggage behind. The same day in which Percy retired from Dunse, Thomas Musgrave, governor of Berwick, who had marched from that garrison with some troops to join him, fell into an ambush laid by John Gordon, and thinking the number of the enemy greater than what it was, fled, but was pursued and taken with the whole of his men. On the western borders, John Johnston, likewise, acquired both plunder and glory; he so harassed his neighbours by short but frequent excursions, that he did them not less damage than greater armies are accustomed to do.

XLII. Every thing having thus succeeded happily in the two first years of his reign, in the beginning of the third, Euphemia, the queen, daughter of Hugh, earl of Ross, died. By her the king had three children—Walter, afterwards earl of Athole, David, earl of Strathearn, and Euphemia, whom he had married to James Douglas, as formerly mentioned. After her death, Robert, induced not so much by an impatience of celibacy, as by affection for the children he had formerly had by Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Adam More, married this lady; for while quite a stripling, he had fallen violently in love with her—then young and beautiful—and had three sons and two daughters by her. He afterwards procured her marriage with Gifford, a nobleman in Lothian; but almost about the same time, Euphemia, the queen, and Gifford, the husband of Elizabeth, died, and the king, either from a revival of his old affection, or to legitimate the children, took her to wife, and immediately promoted her sons to wealth and honour. John, the eldest, he made earl of Carrick, Robert, earl of Menteith, and Alexander, earl of Buchan, to which he added Badenoch. But not content with these munificent establishments, he assembled a meeting of the estates at Scoon, where he obtained an act to set aside the children of Euphemia, and to follow the right of primogeni-

ture in the succession to the kingdom; which act afterward almost proved the ruin of his numerous family.*

XLIII. For nearly the next two years, there was neither settled peace nor open war, but the strife was kept alive by slight incursions, or rather robberies, on both sides. In the mean time, Edward III., king of England, died. To him succeeded Richard II., his grandson, by his son Edward, born at Bourdeaux, a child of eleven years of age; at which time, ambassadors from Charles V., king of France, came to Scotland. The cause of their coming was to renew the ancient league with Robert, and persuade him to invade England, and draw off part of the war. While these treaties were in discussion before the estates, Alexander Ramsay, as the English writers, following Froissart, narrate, attended by forty chosen youths in a tempestuous night, while the guards were asleep, seized the castle of Berwick, and killed or took prisoners all the garrison. The townsmen, amazed at this unexpected blow, sent for Percy, who quickly arrived with ten thousand armed men, and surrounding the castle on every side, assaulted it furiously. Intelligence of these proceedings having reached the assembly of estates, Archibald Douglas, anxious for the safety of his kinsman, instantly set out with a body of only five hundred horse to his relief; but all access to

* In the account Buchanan gives of Robert's wives, he has fallen into a mistake common to most of the early writers on Scottish history who copied it from Russel, a continuator of Fordun. It appears from documents discovered after Buchanan wrote, that Robert, at an early age, had formed a connexion with Elizabeth More, and had several children by her before their marriage; but having obtained a dispensation from the Pope, he married that lady formally, and legitimated her children, 1349. After her death, 1355, he married Euphemia, daughter of the earl of Ross, by whom he had the children mentioned in the text. The mistake, it is said, originated in Robert's having a concubine of the same name of More, who also had a son, John; and it was she who was married to Gifford, and has occasioned this confusion. Walter, earl of Athole, afterwards attempted to bastardize the eldest children of Robert, on account of their not being born in wedlock, and before the date of the Papal dispensation; which circumstance, when added to the other, easily accounts for the error in our historians, without supposing it a deliberate falsehood invented by Buchanan, as Mr. Chalmers, with his usual charity for our author, chooses to insinuate.—Stewart's Hist. of the Stewarts.—Abercrombie's Life of Robert.—Ruddiman's Note.

the besieged being cut off, he returned without performing any thing. A few days after, notwithstanding a vigorous defence, the castle was taken by storm, and all, except Alexander alone, put to the sword. Such is the English account. Our writers assert, that the castle was taken by six countrymen of March, who, not being able to keep it, left it.

XLIV. Not long after the meeting of the estates, William, the first earl of Douglas, entered England with twenty thousand men, and took by surprise the town of Penrith during a great fair, and, after plundering, burned it, and brought back his army safe laden with the spoil; but along with the plunder he brought a pestilence, which raged with great violence over the whole kingdom for two years. The English, in order to retaliate, having passed the Solway, entered Scotland with fifteen thousand men, commanded by Talbot, a brave officer. Trusting to his numbers, he spread devastation far and wide, and having collected a large booty, was returning home. When not far distant from the English borders, he rested in a narrow valley. In the night, about five hundred Scots entered the valley, and rushing upon the enemy, as they lay secure and unprepared, and for the most part unarmed, killed those who first opposed them, and spreading terror and confusion on every side, they put the whole army to flight. Many were slain there; two hundred and forty were taken, a greater number, in rashly attempting to cross the river, were drowned, and the rest, leaving their plunder behind, returned home every one by the nearest road he could find.

XLV. All this while, a vigorous war, both by sea and land, was carried on by the English against the French, besides which, they had a considerable army in Portugal. It was therefore determined by their Parliament, that John, duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, should be sent into Scotland to treat for peace; that while stunned with the noise of war on every side, they might secure tranquillity in that quarter which was most exposed. There were sent by the Scots, who had been apprized of his approach by an herald, William, earl of Douglas, and John Dunbar, earl of Moray, to negotiate with him, and a truce, was concluded for three years. But while the negotiations were going forward, a civil war

raged furiously in England, the chief instigator of which was said to be John Ball,* a mass priest, who, perceiving the people greatly discontented with a poll-tax of four English pennies levied on every person, first, at confessions, † and by hints in secret meetings, and then, when he found his language agreeable, by more open harangues endeavoured to inflame the minds of the commons against the nobles. But besides this recent, there was an older cause of complaint arising from the condition of the peasantry—a great part of the country population having been kept almost in a state of slavery—these rising in insurrection, were joined by a mob of artisans, and others, who had neither fortune nor character to lose; and such a tumult was excited, that the stability of the government was seriously endangered. Although all this was well known at the meeting of the ambassadors, yet both parties concealed their knowledge until, after peace was concluded, the Douglas told Lancaster:—That he had been acquainted from the first with the state of England; yet so far was he from wishing to take any advantage of the critical situation of the times, either for carrying on the war, or exacting more favourable terms of peace, that even now, if necessary, he might remain securely their guest till the insurrection should cease, or, if he wished to return, five hundred horse were ready to escort him. Lancaster handsomely acknowledged his courtesy, but hoped he would not require at present to take advantage of either of his offers. On his return home, however, being shut out of Berwick by the governor, he accepted of the earl's pledged honour, and returning to Scotland, remained there till the popular sedition was quelled.

XLVI. When the three years' truce was finished, in the year 1384, in the month of January, Archibald Douglas of Galloway, assisted by William Douglas, earl of Douglas, and George, earl of March, besieged Lochmaben castle, whence daily excursions were made upon the neighbouring estates.

* The insurrection mentioned here, was that under the celebrated Watt Tyler, by whose name it is better known.

† i. e. When in the exercise of his office he received the confessions of the penitents, he seized the opportunity to inculcate sedition.

The governor of the castle, taken by surprise, agreed with the enemy, that if not relieved in eight days, he would surrender; on which, the Scots remained, notwithstanding they suffered grievously from the wintry storms and continual rains, till the ninth day, the 4th of February, when the castle was delivered up to them, according to the agreement. Those who lived near Roxburgh, fearing lest that castle should share a similar fate, procured the governorship for one Graystock, a rich nobleman, who was reported to be a skilful warrior; and he, on his appointment, sent not only ample provisions, but all his household stuff, thinking they could nowhere be lodged so conveniently for his own use, or so safe from the grasp of the enemy. Dunbar, who was made acquainted by his spies both with the road and the day of his march, having placed ambushes at convenient places, arose suddenly upon the long and confused line of soldiers, waggoners, and a promiscuous crowd of attendants, and, without a battle, obtained possession of immense spoil, together with the owner himself, and immediately retired without annoyance.

XLVII. The English, to revenge the injuries they had received, and prevent their repetition by some memorable chastisement, sent Lancaster to Scotland, with a powerful military and naval armament. The earl himself advanced through March and Lothian, as far as Edinburgh, having sent the fleet to ravage the maritime coast of Fife. His soldiers strongly wished to burn the capital, but their leader recollecting that a few years before, when exiled his own country, he had been there kindly and hospitably entertained, preserved the city from the flames. The sea forces did not display equal humanity. Having landed upon the island of Inchcolm, * they plundered and burned the monastery, and exercised similar cruelty in every place where they made any descent, until opposed by Thomas and Nicholas Erskine, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cunninghame. Many being killed, and some taken, they were compelled to fly with such

* Fordun mentions this descent and defeat to have taken place a little above Queensferry. Sir Thomas Erskine, afterward earl of Marr, in right of his wife, A.D. 1390, and Cunninghame of Kilmaurs, were the chiefs here

trepidation to their ships, that besides other loss which they received in their hurry, they allowed forty of their men to perish before their eyes, the cable to which they clung being cut. Scarcely had Lancaster returned home, when William Douglas, almost treading in his footsteps, partly taking, and partly destroying the castles, which the English had retained in Scotland ever since the battle of Durham, restored all Teviotdale to the Scots, except Roxburgh. He checked likewise the robberies, which had increased through the licentiousness of war; but he did not long survive these services, being soon after carried off by a fever, in Douglas castle. James Douglas succeeded him, a son in every walk of virtue, worthy of such a father.

XLVIII. In the meantime, a truce for a year was concluded at Boulogne, in the Netherlands, between the French, English, and Scots. The French, to whom was intrusted the charge of informing the Scots, having neglected to do so, the English noblemen on the Scottish borders, thinking this an excellent opportunity for inflicting some great blow upon the Scots, which they would not have sufficient time to revenge before the truce was announced, collected ten thousand horse, and six thousand archers, under the command of the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and committed extensive devastation, especially upon the estates of the Douglasses, and Lindsays. The Scots, who had heard some reports of the truce, and had laid aside all thoughts of war, enraged at their own negligence, and the perfidy of the enemy, resolved to be speedily revenged. At the same time, the news of the English invasion reproached the tardiness of the French, who had been ordered to publish the truce; and they, endeavouring by a late hurry to correct a previous delay, arrived at London during the very heat of the invasion, where, being received with plausible hospitality, they were detained by courteous and friendly invitations, until the return of the English out of the enemy's country was ascertained; then, at last dismissed, they came to Scotland and executed their commission. All the nobility, and chiefly those who had suffered by the late disaster, were exasperated, and exclaimed, that the deceit of the English was not to be endured. The king in vain endeavour-

ed to appease them, and preserve the truce inviolate; they prolonged a discussion about it with their disputations, till, having secretly collected by their friends fifteen thousand horse, upon an appointed day, Douglas, Lindsay, and Dunbar withdrew from the court, and joining their troops, marched into England with a hostile army, and ravaged Northumberland as far as Newcastle; then returning through the lands of the earl of Nottingham and Moubrays, whatever could be damaged by fire or sword they wasted and destroyed, and on their arrival home with an immense spoil of men and cattle, immediately took care to have the truce proclaimed.

XLIX. About the end of the truce, A. D., 1385, John de Vienne,* admiral of the French fleet, arrived in Scotland, sent by his king, with about two thousand auxiliary soldiers, of whom one hundred were cuirassiers, armed at all points, two hundred armed with scorpions, for discharging weapons—afterward called cross-bows—the rest were foot of a promiscuous kind. He brought also, money for six months' pay, besides presents, and forty suits of armour, which were to be divided among the bravest soldiers. The Scottish king having consented, he invaded Northumberland along with James Douglas, where they destroyed three castles, and would have proceeded farther, but the heavy autumnal rains obliged them to return, and besides, the reported advance of Richard, king of England, against them, accelerated their retreat; for that monarch was now immoderately incensed against the Scots, because they not only carried war into his kingdom themselves, but even sent for strangers, and that at a time too, when the French prepared to invade England with a formidable force. He therefore levied a large army, which the English writers say, consisted of sixty thousand foot and eight thousand horse, resolved to break the strength of the Scots, and prevent them for many years, from being able to bring any body of men into the field. At the same time, he ordered a fleet laden with provisions, to sail up the Forth, because he knew that that part of Scotland through which he must march, was com-

* John de Vienne, admiral of France, was the son of Guillaume de Vienne, lord of Rolleans, Burgundy, and the most celebrated French warrior of that age. He was slain at the battle of Nicopolis, fighting against the Turks, 1396.

pletely exhausted by continual warfare for so many years, or if any thing was left, the inhabitants would remove them to other places, and he considered himself now secure on the side of France, as he trusted the winter storms would prevent them from making any attempt that season. With these forces having entered Scotland, he spared no place, either sacred or profane, nor any man of an age fit to bear arms. In the meanwhile, John de Vienne, who paid more attention to the instructions he had received from his king at parting, than to the interests of the Scots, constantly urged Douglas to give battle, who, when he had often replied that the Scots did not decline battle from any lukewarmness towards the French, but from a consciousness of their own inferiority, at last took the admiral to a high station, from whence he could securely survey the hostile army, and he then, on observing attentively the long line of English forces on their march, readily acceded to the earl's opinion. It now appeared to them both, that the only method by which, in present circumstances, they could annoy the enemy, was to collect their forces, and march into England. Wherefore, taking a circuitous route, at a great distance from Richard's army, they entered Cumberland, and laid it and the neighbouring counties waste in every direction.

L. The English having inflicted every species of misery upon Lothian, for they durst not go farther from their fleet, lest their provisions should fail, at the approach of winter began to consult about returning home. Some were of opinion, that they should follow the route of the Scots, and intercepting their retreat, force them, whether they would or not, to come to an engagement. Others, better acquainted with the country replied, that the road was difficult, through marshes and mountains, and frequently through narrow passes; so totally barren, that the march was scarcely practicable for a small party of light armed troops with a few days provisions; then, though the difficulties of the journey were overcome, the country which would receive them, not naturally fertile, was wasted by the late incursions, and suppose even that disadvantage surmounted, they had to follow a nimble, roving enemy, whom it would be more difficult to find and bring to a battle, than to conquer, and when if found, it would not be

possible to force to fight, unless in places of his own choosing. The peril of such an enterprise, his grandfather, Edward III. had found to the greatest detriment of his own, and but little inconvenience to the Scottish army. On hearing this, and reflecting on the miseries which winter brings in a cold climate, and the recollection of their children and all that was dear to them at home, rushing upon their minds, they were easily persuaded to change their intentions, and marched back by the same route by which they had come. Thus both parties, each having freely plundered their enemy's country without seeing an enemy, returned to their own.

LI. The Scots, when they ascertained that the English could not attempt another expedition till next summer, determined to attack Roxburgh, a town at no great distance, and by far the most troublesome to the neighbouring districts. When they had assembled before it, a dispute arose between them and their allies about the town, which they had not yet taken for the French alleging, that they were more skilful in besieging towns than the Scots, from their great experience in their own domestic wars, and had been put to great expense in this, thought it but just, that the town, if taken, should be theirs, and remain in their possession. The Scots, on the other hand, contended, that it was unfair for auxiliaries to demand the whole rewards of the war; that whatever money they had expended, was not for a Scottish, but for a French object, in order to divide the strength of the enemy, and divert part of the storm from themselves; that, if the value of friendly offices was to be calculated, it would be more just for the French to repay to the Scots the whole expense of the campaign, than for them to ask a reward for their tardy assistance, and such a reward as in the memory of man was never either given by, or asked for from allies. But the iniquity of the demand would easily appear, if it was considered that the Scots might have remained at peace, without being disturbed by the English, and witnessed as spectators, the contest between the two powerful kings, a thing the French had it not in their power to do, without yielding up a large portion of their territories; neither could they perceive of what use the possession of this town could be to the French,

unless as a bridle, that the decision of peace or war might be lodged in their hands, and if this was their design, it would not only be much better, but much more honourable for the Scottish kings to want it, than for so trifling a cause to subject themselves to voluntary servitude; or, if by this unjust requisition, the French wished to excuse their return home, which they had already attempted, that was unnecessary, for, as they had come thither of their own accord, so they were at liberty to depart whenever they chose; no one would ask them to delay their departure, seeing if they remained unwillingly, their assistance would be of little service.

LII. Thus the siege of Roxburgh was broken up, and as there had before been heavy complaints on both sides, so they now threatened to break out into open enmity. The origin of the dissension, however, arose from the different manner of the two nations in carrying on war. Both the Scots and English behave, among their own countrymen, not less modestly in war than in peace, and pay honestly for whatever they receive in their quarters; but the French, as if publicly licensed, rob and plunder wherever they go, and having been accustomed to this way of living from their youth, what they have always seen done, they think they have a right to do. Wherefore, before that time, as the French could neither abstain from their usual rapacity, nor could the Scots submit to this unwonted servitude, often quarrels, and sometimes blows had arisen from the former seizing, and the other defending his property; but after the coldness at Roxburgh, the French commissaries, as they were to depart soon, foraged with greater licentiousness than before, and the country people, enraged at being plundered by a few strangers, often carried away their baggage horses, and wounded, and sometimes killed the straggling officers and soldiers sent out to plunder. Complaints being brought to the council, the countrymen unanimously replied, that they were worse pillaged by the French, who called themselves their friends, than by the English, their professed enemies, and the foreigners should not depart until they had compensated them for their losses, nor could the Douglasses, the most popular chiefs of the day, bend their obstinacy. Wherefore, the troops were dismissed, but

their leader was detained until the demands of all were satisfied. The French set sail on the first of November, and the Scots, either tired with the warlike labours of the former year, or satiated with the spoil of so many successful expeditions, remained at rest during the winter.

LIII. Next spring, William Douglas, son of Archibald, governor of Galloway, sailed over to Ireland, to revenge the frequent descents of the Irish upon that district, and prevent them for the future. William was the most distinguished of the Scottish youths, both for mental and corporeal endowments; of colossal stature and proportional strength, his appearance, which rarely happens with persons of uncommon size, was graceful and dignified. To his other advantages was added warlike renown, for he had often attacked the enemy with far inferior numbers, and returned victorious; nor had he ever engaged in any enterprise in which his valour had not been conspicuous; yet these advantages, which usually excite envy, were accompanied in him with so much modesty, that he rendered himself universally agreeable. Induced by his virtues, the king, although he knew he was illegitimate, gave him his daughter Egidia in marriage, the loveliest woman of the age, and sought by many of the chief young noblemen, and with her the county of Nithsdale, the next to Galloway, as a dowry. The expedition landed at Carlingford, a wealthy town in the county of Louth, and struck such terror into the inhabitants who were wholly unprovided for any attack, that they immediately sent to treat about a surrender, to which Douglas agreed, and in the meantime, dreading nothing from the enemy, sent Robert Stuart of Durisdeer, with two hundred soldiers, to bring in provisions to his ships. Time having been thus afforded to the inhabitants for deliberation, they sent to Dundalk for assistance, whence five hundred horse were despatched. The townsmen increased by this number, dividing themselves into two bodies, marched against the enemy, expecting from their numbers, to obtain an easy victory and the possession of their fleet; but both parties being defeated, the town was taken, plundered, and burned. Having laden fifteen vessels which they found in the harbour, with the spoils of the city, they crossed over to the island of Man,

which they also plundered, and afterward arrived safe, with their booty, at Loch Ryan, a bay that divides Galloway from Carrick. Douglas, on his arrival there, having heard that his father was gone on an expedition against England, he hastened to join him. The chief cause for undertaking this expedition, was,

LIV. Richard, king of England, who the year before had invaded Scotland, and spared nothing either sacred or profane, on his return home was involved in a great sedition, that changed the whole situation of the kingdom. In order to cure the evil, he removed, as is usual in these cases, all the magistrates, both the lords lieutenants of the counties, and inferior officers, but by this he rather covered than extinguished a flame, ready on the first opportunity to break out again. Scotland, on the other hand, enjoyed a profound, but a very uncertain tranquillity, for it possessed a hardy youth, and enterprising commanders. The nobility were therefore desirous of war, and complained loudly in all their meetings, that such an excellent opportunity for avenging their former injuries upon the English was neglected, especially as they never omitted to take advantage of the disturbed state of Scotland. But king Robert, a prince naturally of a quiet disposition, was, on account of his declining age, averse to war, and did not seem sufficiently alive to the wrongs of his country. John, his eldest son, naturally indolent, and lame besides, from a blow from a horse, was thought incapable of enduring the fatigue of a camp; the nobles therefore in a body, waited upon Robert, the second son, earl of Fife, and lamenting the imbecile state of the government, it was unanimously resolved, that the late devastations ought to be revenged, and all cheerfully offered their assistance. A levy was in consequence ordered against the 5th of August, but to be so secretly conducted, that both of the kings should be equally ignorant of their proceedings. They could not, however, deceive the English, who, when they had found out by their spies, the time and place of assembling, endeavoured to intrap their enemy by a counter stratagem. Their nobles mutually resolved, that they should each hold himself in readiness with

his vassals, not for a particular day, but always prepared to assemble on any emergency.

LV. Having thus settled their arrangements, when they heard that the Scots were in Teviotdale, not far from the borders, to the amount of thirty, or, according to Froissart, forty thousand strong, they determined that nothing should be attempted before the arrival of the enemy, and that they might in the interim conceal their design, every one should remain at home, until they discovered in what quarter the storm would burst, and then arrange their movements accordingly; pursuing a plan similar to what their enemies had done the preceding autumn, they would then enter Scotland in a different direction, and repay disaster for disaster. In the meantime, they sent a spy to procure certain intelligence respecting the enemy now in their neighbourhood, deeming it of the utmost importance not only to know their movements, but the last orders which were issued. Their messenger, who differed nothing in language, dress, and arms, was easily mistaken for a Scotsman, and having learned all that he wished to know, returning for his horse which he had left tied to a tree, found that some thief had taken him away. But proceeding on his journey, booted, spurred and accoutred as an horseman, he began to be suspected, and when he had got to a considerable distance, messengers were sent after him, who brought him back. On being interrogated who he was, and whence he came, and whither he was going, when he could give no satisfactory answer he was brought to the commanders of the army, and fearing a heavier punishment, he discovered to them the designs of the English.

LVI. The Scots having thus discovered the plans of the enemy, altered their own. They divided their army—the greater body to march towards Carlisle, under the command of the king's two sons, the earls of Fife and Strathern, assisted by Archibald Douglas of Galloway, and the earls of Marr and Sutherland; the other was directed to march into Northumberland, led by James Douglas, and the two brothers, Dunbar, George, earl of Moray, and John, earl of March; with them went three hundred horse, and two thousand foot, besides the attendants on the horse, for every horseman is

followed by at least one stout servant, who, being lightly armed, can almost keep pace with the horse, or engage with the enemy when requisite. The forces thus divided, they who marched to Cumberland and Carlisle, irresistible by their numbers, did not encounter any enemy. Douglas, in the opposite direction, when wasting on every side, had a different fortune. He had so planned his expedition, that by forced and secret marches, he should cross the Tyne, pass Durham, and then commence his devastations. This he accomplished with such celerity and silence, that the first intelligence the English had of an enemy, was by the smoke of their conflagrations. The elder Percy, the most powerful and richest nobleman in Northumberland and the adjacent counties, on being informed of the progress of the enemy, sent his two brave and high spirited sons, Henry and Ralph, to Newcastle, commanding the other nobility to meet him, with the design of intercepting the return of the Scots; but they having spoiled the country round Durham, by far the richest in that quarter, repassed the Tyne, laden with plunder, about three miles above Newcastle. There the noble commanders, ambitious of glory, and elated with their success, thinking it would be disgraceful only to have frightened rustics, and not to have alarmed the cities, galloped round Newcastle, and, threatening it with a siege, endeavoured, by their contumelious language, to draw forth the enemy.

LVII. When they had remained there two days, during which many skirmishes had been fought with various success, one combat took place, upon the evening of the last day, which attracted the attention of all. The two rival generals, being nearly equal in family, power, age, and spirit, resolved to engage in single combat, in presence of both the armies; and a challenge having been sent, James Douglas and Henry Percy encountered each other in the space betwixt them, when, on the first shock, in charging with the lance, Percy was unhorsed. The English running to his assistance, when Douglas could not take him prisoner, he carried off his spear, and shaking it, exclaimed so loud as to be heard—That he would carry his trophy into Scotland. The combat thus ended, the Scots doubled their watch, as being

near a city, full of citizens and enemies, and next day proceeded for Scotland, but slowly, being burdened with spoil. While the booty proceeded a little before, they attacked and destroyed an enemy's castle in the neighbourhood, and again resuming their march, proceeded to Otterburn, about eight miles distant from Newcastle. There they deliberated about their future route. The greater part were of opinion that they should march to Carlisle, to meet the other army, and that they should not fight, as had been originally agreed, till all the forces were united. On the other hand, Douglas advised that they should remain there two or three days, on purpose to confute the boast of Percy, that they should never carry his spear to Scotland; and, in the mean time, that they might not be idle, proposed to attack a neighbouring castle. This proposition, although to many it appeared unadvisable, yet, from deference to Douglas, it was agreed to by the whole. Wherefore, having erected a temporary fortification round their camp, which on one side was sufficiently protected by the marshes, they proceeded to besiege the castle.

LVIII. Percy, surnamed Hotspur from his fiery disposition, would immediately have followed the departing enemy, to wipe away the affront he had received, but was detained by the more experienced commanders, who feared an ambuscade; for they did not believe it credible that the Scots, with so small a force, would have dared to attack so strong a city, unless they had had some greater army lurking in the vicinity. That day, and the next, therefore, they employed in exploring the country better, when finding they had nothing to fear from the greater army, which was at a distance from Douglas, Percy set out with ten thousand of his bravest men, without waiting for the bishop of Durham, who, he was told, would that very night arrive, believing that he had a sufficient number for defeating an enemy who were inferior by one half. At the first appearance of the English, some of the Scots were at supper, and others, fatigued with the siege of the neighbouring castle, had laid themselves down to rest, when suddenly the cry was heard—to arms! Whilst the rest were arming, part of the foot, and the servants of the horsemen, assisted by the fortifications of the camp, sustained the attack

of the English. The horse had the advantage of anticipating the attempt, for, in their disputes about engaging the enemy's army, who they always expected would follow, they had perceived the benefit to be derived from the possession of a hill in the neighbourhood. Wherefore, riding round it, while the English assaulted the entrance to the camp, they attacked them in flank, made great slaughter, and occasioned much greater confusion. The English, however, from their superiority in numbers, quickly brought up subsidiaries, and easily restored their ranks. But the temporary confusion had this good effect to the Scots—the fight in front of the camp slackened, and space was afforded them for marching out, and arranging their forces in order of battle. In the mean time, night overshadowed both parties, but it was short, as in the month of July in northern countries. The sky was by chance clear, and the moon, almost during the whole night, supplied the place of the light of day. The battle, therefore, suffered no interruption, but continued to be keenly contested, as between men of noble rank, more anxious for glory than life. Percy strove to efface the stain he had suffered, and Douglas to illustrate the honour he had gained by a new achievement; and both with unequal numbers indeed, but with equal spirit, contended till midnight, when the moon becoming overcast, and rendering it difficult to distinguish friend from foe, the combat paused, till she again broke through the clouds, when the English charging with greater impetuosity, the Scottish foot fell back a little, and the standard of Douglas was nearly lost. At that moment, the two Hepburns, father and son, from the one wing, and Douglas from the other, rushing through their own ranks, flew to the front where the danger was greatest, and so furiously urged the battle, that after much mutual bloodshed, they succeeded in regaining, for their men, the situation from which they had been driven.

LIX. Yet, Douglas, not satisfied, pressed forward, accompanied by Robert Hart, and Simon Glendinning, his relation, into the thickest of the enemy; and his strength of body equaling his ardour of mind, wherever he went he spread slaughter around him. His men following, fought desperately; but before they could reach him, he was mortally struck in three

different places, and they found him upon the ground bleeding, with Hart near him dead, while the priest, who always adhered to him in every danger, preserved his exhausted body secure from any violence. In this situation, his relations, John Lindsay, and John and Walter Sinclair, asked him how he did? I am well, he replied, for I die, not sluggishly on a sickbed, but in the field, as almost all my ancestors have done. Hear my last requests—First, conceal my death from friends and enemies; next, do not allow my standard to be lost; and last, avenge my death. If I may trust to your performance of these, I can endure every thing else with equanimity. Before proceeding, they covered the body with a cloak, that it might not be known, then, raising his standard, they shouted, as the custom is—*A Douglas!* At that cry, such a charge was made, and with so much alacrity did the Scots rush upon the enemy, that they drove them far distant from the field of battle; for, at the name of Douglas, not only the common soldiers, but also John, earl of Moray, ran to that quarter, believing the greatest danger to be there. Moray had previously defeated the division of the enemy opposed to him, and taken the younger Percy prisoner, whom, as he was severely wounded, he sent to the camp to be cured. The battle being thus more feebly contested at other points, they who had rallied round the standard of Douglas dispersed the English, worn out by their day's march, and their nocturnal engagement, and, in the same charge, took Henry Percy, the general of the enemy, prisoner. On the loss of their leader, the flight became general and disorderly. There were killed of the English, about one thousand, eight hundred, and forty, wounded about a thousand, and fourteen hundred taken prisoners. The Scots lost one hundred slain, and two hundred were taken prisoners, as they pursued with a few a great number of English.

LX. In the pursuit, James Lindsay having singled out from among the crowd of fugitives, Redman, governor of Berwick, thinking him one of the chiefs, from the beauty of his armour, pursued him closely, who, when he had fled three miles, and his horse becoming fatigued, finding it impossible to escape, dismounted. Lindsay immediately did the same, and, at last,

after a pretty long combat, the Englishman, inferior in that kind of weapon, surrendered to Lindsay, who sent him home, he having sworn that he would return within twenty days. Such, at that time, was the courtesy of the neighbouring nations to their captives, and which, even now, is observed with the utmost punctiliousness among the inhabitants of the borders; whoever does not return at the day appointed, is thus punished:—At the meetings usually held for arranging any disputes which may arise, he who has been deceived, complains by exhibiting the figure of a hand, or a glove, on a long spear. This is held so infamous among them, that the violator of his faith becomes detestable to his friends and relations, and no man of any rank will either eat, speak with, or afford him shelter.

LXI. Lindsay, having on this condition dismissed his prisoner, perceiving a great body of armed men, rode straight up to them; nor did he discover them to be enemies, till he was so near that he could not retreat. They were the forces of the bishop of Durham, who had come rather late to Newcastle, and, not being able to overtake Percy, and, besides, thinking that he would not engage the enemy till next day, had ordered his men to halt and take supper, and a little after supper, recommenced his march; but before he had gone far from the town, he learned the fate of the battle, and returned to consult with his friends about pursuing the Scots. They having resolved that all should be in arms by sunrise next morning, about ten thousand horse and foot of different kinds assembled from the neighbourhood. This re-enforcement encouraged the bishop to march as quickly as possible against the enemy, and try the event of a battle; for he thought he would surprise them, tired with two days' fighting, stiff with their wounds, and negligent on account of their success, and easily obtain a victory. The approach of the bishop being discovered by the outposts, the earl of Moray, who, since the death of Douglas, enjoyed the whole confidence of the army, assembled the chiefs, and consulted respecting the fate of the prisoners, whom it appeared cruel to kill, after having given them quarter, yet dangerous to preserve, their number being nearly equal to that of his own troops. It was agreed, that, having

sworn them, that they would not stir during the engagement, and that although their countrymen might relieve them, still they were to consider themselves as prisoners, they should be left in the camp, under a small guard, with orders to kill the whole if any one attempted to move. Having thus disposed of their captives, the Scots, highly excited by their former victory, marched out to battle, their rear defended by the marshes, and their flanks by trees which they had cut down. Orders were at the same time issued, that each, as soon as he approached the enemy, should blow the rude trumpet, formed of a cow's horn, which he carried—for every individual carried one suspended from his neck—and raise as loud a noise as possible; which peal, sufficiently terrific in itself, multiplied by the echoes of the neighbouring hills, would occasion the appearance of a much greater number than were actually approaching. The English, who had advanced hurriedly, and were to fight among the carcasses of their countrymen, were astonished at the horrible sound, and the alacrity of the enemy, who were already drawn up in battle array against them, and as the leader could neither trust his raw soldiery, nor the soldier confide in his unexperienced leader, signal was immediately given to return. In the mean time, Lindsay, who was taken as mentioned, having been left at Newcastle, was seen and recognized by Redman, who treated him with the utmost courtesy, and sent him home without ransom.

LXII. The Scots having so easily repelled this sudden attack, determined to return home. At his request they released Ralph Percy, who, being severely wounded, could not bear the fatigue of the journey, and wished to be left at Newcastle for cure, he promising, so soon as he recovered, that he would appear at any place the earl of Moray should appoint, and pledging his faith for his return, as was the usual custom. Six hundred other prisoners followed his example, and obtained leave also to depart. Many, besides, of the common soldiers, from whom more trouble than gain was expected, were dismissed without ransom. Henry Percy, and with him about four hundred of the higher rank, were detained and carried into Scotland; but in a short time all were

liberated at the price which they chose to affix themselves as their ransom; for in that age, as Ennius expresses it, "they not as pedlars, but as warriors took the field;"* as men contending for liberty and glory. The bodies of Douglas, and the illustrious men who died with him, were, on the third day, carried to Melrose, and there buried with great military pomp.

LXIII. When these particulars were told to the other army that ravaged Cumberland, it marred their rejoicings for the victory, and changed their gladness into grief; for the loss of Douglas so affected all military men, that not only those who followed himself, but the soldiers of the other army returned home silent and sad, and as if they had suffered a defeat; and what added to the general commiseration was, that he fell in the flower of his youth, left no child, and almost alone was deprived of the fruit of the victory he had achieved. His estate upon his death, devolved to Archibald, of Galloway, surnamed the Grim, and like himself renowned in war. Thus ended the memorable battle of Otterburn, remarkable not only for the magnanimity and perseverance in fighting, the patient endurance of fatigue, and the moderation after victory, displayed both by the general and men, but chiefly by its varied issue. The victor, in the highest expectation of glory, was prevented by death from reaping the fruit of his labour. The vanquished, though his army was routed, and himself a captive, yet enjoyed after the battle many years of fame. It was fought on the 21st of July, A. D. 1388.

LXIV. By this victory, the situation of the country was rendered a little more tranquil, both at home and abroad. The king, who was by age unfitted for governing, perceived by the late expedition, which was undertaken without consulting him, that such also was the general opinion, and John, his eldest son, being of an indolent disposition, more inclined to consult his ease, than attend to any arduous business, called an assembly of the estates, and made Robert, earl of Fife, viceroy,

* This is the only quotation which Buchanan, although himself so eminent a poet, makes in his history from any of the Latin poets. They are part of a speech of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, uttered on a similar occasion—the redemption of the Roman captives; a passage highly praised by Cicero.—Cicero, *Offic.* I. 2.

under the title of governor, as they who exercised that magistracy before had been called guardians. During the time Henry Percy, illustrious both by his descent and his actions, remained captive in Scotland, the earl Mareschal, * commonly styled the Marshal of England, a man more courageous in words than in arms, was appointed in his room, who depreciating the bravery of the Scots, and inveighing against the cowardice of the English at the battle of Otterburn, procured for himself the hatred of both nations; and Robert, the regent of Scotland, was so much disgusted at his boasting, that he considered it a sufficient reason for undertaking an expedition against him. Having passed the hostile boundary, accompanied by Archibald, now earl of Douglas, he marched straight against the enemy, who was said to be waiting for him with a large army. When he came near, he immediately gave him an opportunity of fighting, and when he delayed accepting it, sent a trumpeter to defy him to equal battle, but as the Mareschal remained in his fastnesses and strongholds, nor gave any answer to the challenge, Robert, after waiting for some hours with his men drawn out in order of battle, sent his army to plunder the circumjacent country, and chiefly those places where the Mareschal used to dwell, which having done, he led back his troops, laden with spoil, without fighting. This expedition, although undertaken upon slight grounds, yet delighted both English and Scots who rejoiced to see the vanity of the man so humbled. But he, as often as it was mentioned, excused what he had done, by alleging his tenderness for his countrymen, whom he did not wish to expose to danger without a cause.

XLV. At this time, when it was hoped that the truce between France and England would, through the mediation of the pope and the neighbouring princes, issue in a peace, on condition, that the allies of both should be included, the Portuguese on the side of England, and the Scots and the Castilian Spaniards on the part of France, king Robert, against the advice of all his council, gave his useless assent, for he could neither make peace nor truce, except according to the opinion

* The earl of Nottingham, marshal of England, who was appointed lord warden of the eastern marches.

of the estates, nor any promise to be depended upon without their act; and the nobility could not conceal their resentment against the selfishness of the French, whose usual method it was, when the Scots were engaged with an enemy, to take the arms out of their hands in the moment of victory, that they might themselves enjoy the fruit of their present success, and turn to their own advantage the profit of their achievements. At last, after long altercation, the ambassadors who had come from France, persuaded, though with difficulty, the Scots to send ambassadors thither to treat, that the peace so nearly concluded, might not be hindered by their obstinacy.

LXVI. King Robert did not long survive this transaction, he died on the 19th of April, in his castle of Dundonald, in the year 1390, aged seventy-four, having reigned nineteen years, and twenty-four days. This king, who always carried on war by his generals, was almost always successful. He himself was present at few battles, which some ascribe to his age, and some to his cowardice, but all with one consent agree, that he was a most excellent man, and in the arts of peace few kings could be compared to him. He administered justice diligently and impartially, he severely restrained robbery, he was steady in his conduct, and faithful to his word. The kingdom which he received in turbulent times, he restored to internal tranquillity by his justice and equity, and so far recovered it from the enemy, that at the time of his death they had only three castles remaining in it.

LXVII. After the king's death, disturbances arose from a quarter, whence they were least expected. Alexander, earl of Buchan, youngest son of the king by Elizabeth More, incensed against the bishop of Moray for some trifling cause, when he could not lay hold on him to murder him as he desired, wreaked his vengeance on the cathedral of Elgin, then the most beautiful in Scotland, and burned it.* In the same year, William Douglas of Nithsdale—who, as mention-

* In June, 1390, he not only burned the cathedral, but all the other buildings, among which were the church of St. Giles, an hospital, called Maison de Dieu, and the dwellings of eighteen canons and chaplains. In the May preceding, he burned the town of Forres. For these cruelties he received the appropriate name of the *wolf* of Badenoch.

ed, was on account of his bravery, made son-in-law to the king—was killed at Dantzic, on the Vistula, by some assassins, hired by Clifford, an Englishman. Douglas, when there was peace at home, in order not to languish in indolence, set out to Prussia, to the holy war,* where he gave such proof of his valour, that he was made commander of the whole fleet, which was both great and well fitted out. Some dispute, however, having arisen with the Englishman, formerly his rival, and now envious of this honour, he was challenged by him to single combat; but the challenger, on reflecting upon the hazard of the enterprise, purchased his own safety, by procuring the murder of his opponent.

* The war here named holy, was carried on by the Teutonic knights against the infidel Prussians, in which they were aided by the English, Scots, and French. A treaty between England and the grand master of the order, was concluded 1387. The Scots seem to have been numerous, but chiefly adventurers. In the memoirs of Mareschal Boucicaut, written by a cotemporary, and published at Paris, by Godfrey, 1620, it is mentioned that Boucicaut went to Prussia for the third time, to avenge the death of Douglas, who had been slain by the treachery of the English, and defied them, but was answered, that vengeance belonged only to the Scots.

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book X.

I. **ROBERT II.** was succeeded by his eldest son, John, August 13th, A. D. 1390, whose name, upon his accession, was changed by act of the estates, from John to Robert. Whether this was done on account of the misfortunes of the two kings of that name, one in England and one in France, or because the two Roberts, who lately reigned in Scotland, were remarkable for their virtues and success, both in peace and in war, as our writers have not informed us, I also leave undetermined. Robert III. was characterized rather by an absence of vice, than distinguished by any remarkable virtues, and although he possessed the name of king, the direction of the government remained with his brother Robert. In the beginning of his reign he enjoyed external tranquillity, a truce with the English having been concluded for three years, which was afterward prolonged for other four. The first disturbance at home was occasioned by Duncan, or Dunach Stuart, son of Alexander, earl of Buchan, the king's brother, the ferocious son of a fierce father. He, upon the death of his grandfather, thinking this afforded an opportunity for plundering and rapine, descended into Angus, accompanied by a numerous band of robbers, and began to spoil as if he had been in an enemy's country. Walter Ogilvy, and Walter Leighton his brother, who endeavoured to oppose him, were slain, together with sixty of their followers. Elated with this success, the plunderers oppressed the people more outrageously, but hearing of the approach of the earl of Crawford, whom the king had sent to restrain their audacity, the nimblest retired by a

speedy flight to their lurking places. They who were more tardy had many killed, and many taken, who were afterward hanged; but the turbulence of this restless race being prevented from breaking out upon the low country, raged more violently among themselves at home.

II. In particular, there were two of the most powerful families, whose deadly hatred was displayed by acts of the most atrocious cruelty, and as they would neither determine their differences by law, nor submit to the arbitration of friends, Thomas Dunbar, earl of Moray, and David Lindsay—his father being dead—earl of Crawford, were sent by the king to quell them. These noblemen reflecting that they could not subdue a fierce banditti, regardless of repose, and who despised death, without much loss to their own party, resolved to accomplish by policy, what would have been hazardous to attempt by force. Addressing therefore, each of the chiefs separately, they represented to them, what danger threatened both from their mutual slaughter, for though one family might wholly destroy the other, yet that could not be done without very severe loss to the conqueror. Neither would it put an end to the contest, for the victor, weakened by repeated conflicts, would still have to encounter the king, whose displeasure they might easily judge of, from his having sent forces sufficient to destroy both, while yet undiminished; but, as he was more desirous of their safety than of their blood, if they chose to listen, he would inform them of a method, neither dishonourable to them, nor disagreeable to the king, by which a reconciliation might be effected. When they desired to hear this method, the following condition was proposed;—That thirty combatants, chosen from each side, armed with swords only, should decide the contention before the king, the vanquished to have a pardon for all past offences, and the victors to receive an honourable reward from the sovereign and his nobles.

III. Both being satisfied with this condition, a day was appointed for the combat, on which the chiefs, with the champions, having come to court, part of a large field on the south side of the city of Perth, separated from the rest by deep ditches, was assigned them for the encounter, and seats constructed around for the spectators. An immense number of

spectators having assembled, the battle was a little delayed, because one of the thirty of the one party had withdrawn through fear, and the lesser party were unwilling to engage with the greater, nor could they find a man to supply the place of the absentee ; neither would any one of the opposite side allow himself to be removed from the number of the combatants, lest he should seem to appear less courageous than they. At last, a common tradesman offered himself as a substitute, on condition, that, if victorious, he should receive half a gold French crown, and afterward be provided for as long as he lived, which offer being accepted, and the numbers thus again made equal, the battle commenced, and was fought with an eagerness, such as ancient hatred inflamed by recent injury, was culculated to produce in the minds of ferocious savages, accustomed to deeds of cruelty, especially when honour and advantage in addition, were proposed to the victors, and death and ignominy awaited the vanquished ; yet was not the fury of the combatants greater than the horror of the spectators at witnessing the unsightly wounds, the torn limbs, and the fell rage of the infuriated barbarians. This, however, was observed by all, that no one behaved more bravely than the mercenary to whose exertions a great part of the victory was ascribed. There remained in the battle, of the side to which he belonged, ten alive besides himself, but all severely wounded. Of the other party there remained one, but wholly unhurt, who seeing himself exposed to such fearful odds, threw himself into the river Tay, which was near at hand, and escaped to the other bank, his adversaries who followed, being retarded by their wounds. By this means, the fiercest of both parties being slain, and the multitude left without leaders, they desisted for many years from seditions, and returned to more peaceful pursuits. This combat took place, A. D. 1396.*

iv. Nearly about two years after, in an assembly of the estates at Perth, the king created his son David, then eighteen years old, duke of Rothsay, and his brother Robert, already

* The clans who fought upon this occasion, were the clan Kay, and the clan Chattan. The mercenary, whose name was Henry Wynd, a saddler in Perth, fought for the clan Chattan. The story is handed down in an old proverb, " He comes in for his ain hand, as Henry Wynd fought."

earl of Menteith and Fife, duke of Albany. This empty title, then first introduced into Scotland, displayed a great increase of ambition, but none of virtue, nor did it ever prove fortunate to any that bore it. The king wished to bestow a similar distinction on the earl of Douglas, but he, being a grave man, constantly refused this show of useless honour, and indignantly spurned the presumption that any of his race would ever deign to wear it. Some writers assert, that the appellation of governor, given to Robert by his father, was this year confirmed by his brother, and that the family of Lindsay had the earldom of Crawford added to their titles; but it does not appear certain whether Thomas or David were the first who bore the title.

v. Next year, Richard II. King of England, was obliged to abdicate his throne, and Henry IV. was appointed his successor. In the beginning of his reign, while the truce had not yet expired, the seeds of a new war with Scotland were sown. George Dunbar, earl of March, had betrothed his daughter Elizabeth, to David, the king's son, and had already paid a considerable part of her dowry, on which Archibald, earl Douglas, incensed that so powerful a nobleman and his rival, should be preferred to him, alleging, that the consent of the estates had not been asked, which had never before been omitted in any of the royal marriages, proposed his daughter Mary, with a larger portion, and by means of Robert, the king's brother, who then ruled the Parliament, effected that his offer should be accepted by the king, and the marriage confirmed by their decree. Indignant both at the injury and the affront, the earl of March expostulated strongly with the king, but as what was done could not be recalled, he demanded back at least his daughter's portion. Refused this reasonable request, when he perceived that he would not be able to obtain justice, the royal ear being prepossessed against him by his rival, he left the court, not only irritated but threatening revenge; and having committed the charge of the castle of Dunbar to Robert Maitland, his sister's son, he set out for England. Maitland immediately after, surrendered the castle to an herald, sent from the king to demand it, and Douglas was placed in it with a garrison, who refused the earl

admittance upon his return home, on which he went back to England, taking with him his wife, children, and some of his intimate friends, and there this injured, powerful, and renowned chief confederated with Percy, the most implacable enemy of the name of Douglas. Relying on the affection of the neighbouring Scots, the most of whom were either his vassals or relations, or bound by some good offices to him, he soon returned in an hostile manner, making incursions through all the Merse, and driving away plunder, especially from the estates of the Douglasses. The king of Scots on this, proclaimed Dunbar a traitor, confiscated his property, and then sent a herald to the king of England, to complain of the violation of the truce, and to demand the fugitive according to treaty.

VI. To these demands, it was shamelessly replied, by the king of England :—That he had pledged the public faith to Dunbar, nor ought a royal promise to be violated ; as if a private agreement with a fugitive was to be more sacredly observed than what had been publicly ratified by ambassadors and heralds, for the truce, which had been made with Richard, had not yet expired. In the mean time, young Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, and George Dunbar, incessantly harassed the neighbouring Scottish counties by their incursions, which having done so often with impunity, their audacity increased with their success ; and having collected two thousand men, they entered Lothian, wasted the country extensively round Haddington, and besieged Hailes' castle, though without success. When they had sat down before Linton, a village in Lothian situate on the river Tyne, they were surprised so unexpectedly by the sudden arrival of Douglas, that, leaving not only their plunder, but even their baggage, they betook themselves to flight, with such trepidation, that they never halted till they arrived at Berwick. These events took place about the beginning of February, A. D. 1400 ; in which year, on the return of the heralds, war was declared against England, and Archibald Douglas, surnamed the Grim, equal in renown to the most celebrated of his ancestors, died in an unfortunate crisis for his country, which had lately lost so many commanders by various accidents. A son of the same name succeeded him.

VII. On the 13th of August, the king of England entered Scotland with a large army. When he came to Haddington, he remained there three days; after which he advanced into Lothian, where he remained about the same time, and then laid siege to Edinburgh castle. To oppose the invader, the governor levied a great army, but so slowly, that it easily appeared he would not have been grievously vexed even although the castle, and with it David, the king's son, had been taken by the English; for his criminal ambition began already to discover itself, and that not obscurely. He despised his brother as a weak man, and endeavoured, by every means, to destroy his children, whose disasters he considered as his gain, in order to transfer the kingdom to himself. But the king of England, on the other hand, as if, by displaying the terrors of war, he only sought to obtain peace, carried on hostilities mildly, and, after a slight attempt on the castle, broke up his camp, and returned home without doing much mischief, receiving the praise of great clemency and moderation. Both in his advance and retreat, he treated those with humanity who submitted, abstained from all violence towards sacred places, and was even munificent to some, on account of the hospitality shown his father; which conduct, as it rendered him more esteemed, rendered the governor more hated, because he neither carried on the war with spirit, as against an enemy, nor endeavoured to secure the friendship of so gentle and beneficent a king.

VIII. After Henry's return into England, Dunbar infested the Scottish borders, with frequent, rather than great incursions. To repress which, as active and not numerous bands were necessary, Douglas divided the county forces into small bodies, with each their particular leader, who were ordered by turns either to repress the inroads of the enemy, or themselves to annoy their borders. The first lot fell upon Thomas Halyburton of Dirleton, who brought back a rich spoil from the neighbourhood of Bamborough. But Patrick Hepburn, who spread farther with a larger force, was not equally fortunate; for, trusting to his numbers, when he returned in an incautious manner with his booty, he was surprised by the English, and perished, together with the flower of the Lothian

youth. Archibald Douglas, in order to revenge this disaster, collected, by consent of the governor, above ten thousand men, with whom were the chief of the nobility, and among them Murdoc, the governor's son. Having over-run Northumberland, as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which they gave up every where to plunder, they engaged in a pitched battle with Henry Percy and George Dunbar, and were defeated. Many of the noblemen were slain. Douglas, after losing an eye, was taken prisoner; Mordac, earl of Fife, Thomas, earl of Moray, George, earl of Angus, besides many others eminent for rank and fortune, being taken along with him; nor indeed had the strength of Scotland been so much wasted in any one battle for many years before. It was fought at Homeldon, a village in Northumberland, on the 7th of May, A. D. 1401.*

ix. Percy, having gained so signal a victory, resolved to reduce, under the English dominion, all the country lying between Northumberland and the Forth; nor did he in this propose a very hazardous undertaking, because the nobility of these regions were either killed in battle, or detained in captivity. Wherefore, he immediately proceeded against the castle of Cocklaw, † in Teviotdale, with the governor of which he agreed, that unless the Scots should raise the siege within fifty days, he would deliver it up. These conditions being related to the king, and also to the governor, some were of opinion that the castle should be given up to the English, not thinking it worth the risk of another engagement, as the strength of the kingdom had been so much wasted in the last. This dejection of spirit did not proceed, however, from dread of the enemy, but from a fear of danger to the country, from

* The date of this battle should be 14th September, 1402. Henry settled a pension of £40 per annum, on Nicholas Merbury, an esquire of the earl of Northumberland, who first brought him certain intelligence of his victory, the grant of which, ascertains the date, *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 26.

† The siege of Cocklaw is also misdated, it was not till June next year, 1403, that it took place, and it appears rather to have been a feint on the part of Percy, to cover his intentions of acting against Henry, than any serious attack, of which probably the Scottish governor had been aware, when he so frankly offered to attempt raising it.

the perfidy of the governor. He, on the other hand, to remove all suspicion, expressed himself in lofty and confident language:—This public confession of imbecility and terror, he said, would increase the audacity of the enemy, more than the loss of a battle; if any one imagined the English would be content with the possession of one castle, he grievously deceived himself, for as a light sprinkling of water increases the flame, so their cupidity, by the surrender of some places, would be rather inflamed than extinguished, and what was conceded at first, would be made a step for attaining more. But if every one of the nobility, he added, should refuse to march to the relief of the castle, I shall march alone, nor shall I live, and seeing such a stain on the Scottish name, allow it to remain. At this speech of the governor's, the whole, either having their suspicions extinguished, or dissembling, exclaimed they would follow. But fortune dissipated that danger, Percy being recalled to the civil war, the castle was liberated without force.

x. While affairs were thus managed against the enemy abroad, the internal administration was not more felicitously conducted. A little after the death of Archibald Douglas in the former year, Annabella, the queen, and Walter Trail, archbishop of St. Andrews, died in rapid succession, from which a great change of affairs was universally presaged; for as the military splendour of the country was supported by Douglas, the ecclesiastical authority, and some shadow of ancient discipline maintained by Trail, so the queen preserved unstained the dignity of the court, as was evident by what followed upon her death. David, the king's son, a young man of a violent temper and warm disposition, whose vices increased through the indulgence of his father, who did not possess sufficient authority to ensure respect, had yet by the admonitions of those who watched over his education, but especially by the attention and counsel of his mother, been hitherto restrained. As soon as the queen died, however, the prince returned to his true bias, and gave an unbridled license to his passions; laying aside fear and shame, he not only seduced married ladies, and virgins of good family, but those whom he could not entice, he forced to his embraces, and whoever

endeavoured to check his libertinism, was certain to suffer for it. Many complaints having been made to his father respecting his irregularities, he wrote to his brother, the governor, to keep the young man near himself, till the exuberance of youth should settle into more regular habits. The governor, who now found what he had long waited for, an opportunity of destroying his brother's children, carried David, whom he met about three miles from St. Andrews, along with him to the castle, which he had kept as a kind of garrison, ever since the death of the archbishop. A short time after, he had him transferred to his own castle at Falkland, and there threw him into a dungeon to perish by hunger; but the miserable death to which his uncle's cruelty had doomed him, was protracted by the compassion of two females for a few days. One of them, a young girl, whose father was commander of the castle and garrison, carried him oaten cakes, made as is usual in Scotland, so thin that they could be folded, which she concealed under a linen veil, thrown negligently over her head as a protection against the sun; and as often as she had an opportunity of going into the gardens near the prison, she thrust them through a chink rather than a window. The other was a country nurse, who conveyed the milk from her breasts to his mouth through a slender tube. By this wretched sustenance, which rather increased his hunger than assuaged it, when his life and his sufferings had been lengthened out for a few days, his keepers watching more closely, discovered the women, and they were put to death; the father cursing the deceit of his daughter, and endeavouring by this to show his own unshaken fidelity to the governor. Deprived thus of all human aid, the young man, overcome with hunger, having gnawed his own members, expired, after suffering more than death. His fate was long concealed from his father, because, although generally known, no one durst be the messenger of such melancholy tidings.

x1. But to return to the affairs of England, in as far as they are intermixed with ours. When Percy, having formed a conspiracy with a great number of the nobility, meditated even against his own king, he agreed with Douglas, whom he still kept a captive since the battle of Homeldon, that if he would

lend his assistance against Henry, as bravely and faithfully as he used to fight against himself, he would freely release him. Douglas, who could refuse no opportunity of strenuously opposing the king of England, cheerfully promised, and having collected a few of his friends and vassals, he prepared for the impending struggle. In the battle which ensued,* he behaved as bravely as he had promised to Percy. Despising the common crowd of soldiers, he fixed his eye and his soul upon the king only, and as many were clothed with royal apparel on that day—either to deceive the enemy, who were anxious for his life, or, that the soldiers might think he was everywhere present, the witness of their valour or cowardice—Douglas rushed full tilt against one of these, conspicuous by his armour, and unhorsed him, who being rescued by those who were standing near, he unhorsed a second, and then a third—as, besides our own historians, Edward Hall, an English writer, affirms—deceived by the splendour of their arms and their royal robes, nor was he so much struck with his own danger, as astonished whence so many kings could come. At last, after a most sanguinary engagement, the fortune of the day declared against him, and Henry proved victorious. Douglas was severely wounded. On being recognized among the prisoners, many were desirous of putting him to death, but he was preserved by the king, who not only applauded his fidelity towards his friend, but honoured his bravery by presents, and had the cure of his wounds carefully attended to. After he had been several months with the king of England, he was with difficulty dismissed, upon paying a large ransom.

XII. In the mean time, a report of the murder, by his uncle, of David, eldest son of the king of Scotland, reached his miserable parents, and the author was pointed out by secret rumour, because nobody dared openly accuse so powerful a man; on which, the king sending for his brother, severely reproached him, but he had a tale prepared to account for the death of the young man, and to transfer the guilt to others. At the same time he promised, that both he and his friends would appear, when and where the king wished, to stand trial,

* The battle of Shrewsbury in which Percy fell.

but he had some of the perpetrators of the murder already in custody, and would diligently pursue the rest. An inquiry being in consequence instituted, the author of the crime himself assembled a council, instructed the prosecutors, and, the king being present, he who was empannelled as guilty, was of course declared innocent. The king having imprecated vengeance from heaven, and the most grievous curses upon those and their posterity who had perpetrated so nefarious a crime, oppressed with grief and bodily infirmity, returned to Bute, whence he had come, with his suspicion increased, that the parricide* had been committed by his brother, who was, however, too powerful to be brought to punishment. But the governor, that he might the more strongly dissemble, brought forth some suppositious authors of the murder from prison—criminals indeed, but guiltless of the crime of which they were accused—and caused them to be executed.

XIII. The king, now solicitous about the safety of James, his youngest son, whom he had intrusted to the care of Walter Wardlaw, † archbishop of St. Andrews, an upright man and faithful to his interest, consulted those who were particularly attached to him, on the subject. They were of opinion that the prince could be safe no where at home, and advised that he should be sent to Charles VI., king of France, the ancient ally and sincere friend of Scotland, with whom he would be out of danger, and honourably educated, for they recollected the recent example of David Bruce, who, in unsettled times in his native country, had spent several years honourably in that kingdom, on which, a vessel being prepared, James embarked at the Bass, a rock rather than an island, accompanied by Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney, as his guardian. While coasting along the shore, he landed at Flamborough nead, either forced in thither by a storm, or to recover a little from sea-sickness, where he was detained by the English, and on the king's being consulted about the disposal of the royal youth, sent to court. There, neither the existing truce, which

* Parricide in reference to the dignity and station of the prince.

† Should be Henry Wardlaw, nephew of Walter the Cardinal, who was bishop of Glasgow.

had only a little before been concluded for eight years, nor the supplicating letters of his father, prevented him from being kept as a lawful prisoner; for his father upon his departure, had given him letters to the king of England, if by chance he should be forced upon his dominions, in which he pathetically adverted to his own, and to the common lot of mankind. But although the king himself was not unacquainted with the instability of human affairs, yet ancient enmity to the nation outweighed all regard for the innocence of youth, the tears of a parent, the dignity of the royal name, and the faith of treaties.

xiv. When Henry referred to his council the question how he should treat the son of the Scottish king, driven by accident, into his territories, those who loved justice, and were weary of the long war, delivered a mild opinion, and advised to treat the royal youth, flying from the cruelty of his own relations, and a suppliant, with hospitality and kindness; that a brave nation, unconquered in war for so many ages, might be conciliated by favours, for this, they asserted, is the firmest and most splendid victory, by which liberty is not forcibly destroyed, but by which the soul is bound in the indissoluble chains of friendship. Others, on the contrary, argued, that the prince appeared to be a lawful captive, either because the chief nobles of his nation had assisted Percy in his rebellion against the king, or because his father protected and maintained in exile, the elder Percy, condemned as a traitor in England. And this last was followed, as the worst advices usually are in royal councils, although those who were present knew that they who had fought against Edward, were not authorized by the Scottish sovereign, but did so from private attachment to Douglas, who was then in Percy's power, and they might have remembered what Henry himself a few years before, had replied to the Scots, when they demanded that George Dunbar should be delivered up, yet their opinion was preferred, for almost always in kings' courts, a false show of advantage outweighs honest integrity. Yet, in one respect the English monarch behaved liberally and royally to his captive, he caused him to be carefully instructed in learning and correct discipline.

xv. This calamity of his son being told to the old king

while at supper, his grief was so violent, that he almost expired among the hands of his attendants, but being carried to bed, he refused all food, and the third day after, he died of grief and exhaustion, at Rothsay, a town in the island of Bute, on the first of April, in the sixteenth year of his reign, A. D. 1406.* He was buried in Paisley. Robert, in stature, and in elegance of shape and form, was inferior to none of his cotemporaries. Blameless in domestic life, he was deficient in no virtue requisite for a private gentleman, and it may with truth be said of him, that he was a better man than he was a monarch. After the king's death, the administration of the realm was confirmed to Robert, by the decree of the estates, and he possessed many qualifications worthy of that high office, if he only had not by a blind ambition to rule, hastened his accession by the worst of means, for he was brave in war, and prudent in council, decided with equity, conciliated his nobles by his liberality, and did not oppress the people by exactions.

xvi. In the same year, the elder Percy again conspired against his king, in order to revenge the death of his brother and his two sons; but the design being discovered, and many of the conspirators taken and executed, he fled into Scotland, that thence he might sail into Flanders and France, to procure assistance for renewing the war. In the meantime, Henry, the son of the king of England, made extensive excursions into Scotland by sea and land. After he had returned home with a great quantity of booty, the common people of Teviotdale took, and spoiled the castle of Jedburgh, which the enemy had kept possession of ever since the battle of Durham, and afterward, by order of the governor, it

* James, prince of Scotland, was seized by the English in 1405, his father, Robert, died in 1406. Whether his son's captivity had been kept secret from him till then, or whether the cause of his death be inaccurately stated, is of little importance, but as both events happened on *Palm Sundays*, though in different years, Pinkerton conjectures the story might have originated from that circumstance. Perhaps it may have arisen from some interpolation or mistake. In the *Scotochronicon*, it stands corrected by Goodal, Note, lib. xv. cap. 18.

was levelled with the ground.* George, earl of March, when he could neither obtain from the English, in return for the mischief he had done his own country, any assistance to recover his estates, nor any honourable income to support his rank, being reconciled with the governor through the intervention of friends, returned home; he was mulcted, however, of part of his patrimony. His castles in Lochmaben and Annandale, were given to Douglas, as a compensation for the losses he had sustained, and old offences being mutually forgiven, he passed the remainder of his life in peace with his neighbours, and loyalty to his king.

XVII. Next year, Percy, having in vain travelled over France and Flanders, returned to Scotland, to his old friend the earl of March, by whom he was hospitably received, and supported according to his rank, thence, when, by secret messengers, he had made frequent attempts to procure his return to his country, he wrote to a certain old, and as he believed, faithful adherent, Ralph Rokesby, that among Scots and English he could procure troops on whom he might rely, and did not despair of recovering his patrimony, if he would join him. But Ralph, who was then viscount, or sheriff of York, as they call it, that is, president in the judicial assemblies, first invited Percy to come to him, with false hopes of assistance, and then discovered the conspiracy, and betrayed his wretched friend, whose head was cut off, and sent to London to Henry. About this time, there was in Scotland a certain Englishman, who called himself Richard II., but falsely, in my opinion, for, when the elder Percy often and strongly desired a conversation with him, he never could obtain it, the other fearing, I believe, lest his imposture should be detected by a nobleman, who had so well known his own king. He was, however, treated for several years, as a prince of the blood

* Fordun mentions that a parliament held at Perth, voted a house-tax of two pennies on every house that had a fire, for defraying the expense of demolishing the castle of Jedburgh, but the governor refused it, saying, no tax had ever been raised in the time of his government, nor should be raised, lest the poor should curse him, as the introducer of such an abuse. He therefore ordered that the people of the March should be employed in demolishing the castle and paid out of the produce of the royal customs, lib. xv. cap. 21.

royal, who pretended, that, in order to live more securely, he was totally destitute of any desire to reign. At last, dying, he was buried in the church of the Dominicans, at Stirling, and the title of king of England inserted in his epitaph. Not long after, Fast castle, the strongest castle in March—as the name indicates—was taken from the English, by Patrick Dunbar, the son of George, Thomas Holden, the governor, who had infested the neighbouring places of Lothian with his continual robberies, being at the same time made prisoner. Besides, in Teviotdale, Roxburgh bridge was broken down, and the town burned by William Douglas and Gavin Dunbar, the youngest son of the earl of March, but the castle was not attempted, as they had come unprovided with every thing requisite for undertaking a siege.

XVIII. In the following year, A. D. 1411, Donald, lord of the Æbudæ, having, as next heir, which indeed he was,* demanded the restoration of Ross, taken from him by the governor under some legal pretext, and finding himself denied justice, collected ten thousand of his Islanders, and made a descent upon the continent, where he easily took possession of Ross, every one cheerfully returning to the vassalage of their rightful lord. This ready submission of the inhabitants of Ross, excited his mind, naturally ambitious, to attempt greater exploits. Having advanced into Moray, where there was no force to oppose him, he reduced it, then carried his depredations into Strathbogie, and threatened Aberdeen. The governor prepared forces against this sudden and unexpected enemy; but as the greatness and imminence of the danger would not allow of waiting for distant aid, Alexander, earl of Marr, the governor's nephew, with almost all the nobility beyond Tay, opposed Donald at the village of Harlaw,

* The heiress of the earldom of Ross, was Euphemia, who married Walter Lesley, by whom she had a son and daughter, Alexander, who succeeded to the earldom, and Euphemia, who married this Donald of the Isles. Alexander died and left an only daughter, who turned a nun, and becoming thus dead in law, Donald as next heir, in right of his wife claimed the earldom. But the widow had married a second husband, Alexander earl of Buchan, son of Robert II. brother of the governor's, and through her influence the governor wished to procure the earldom for his own family, Pinkerton, vol i. p. 91.

where a bloody and memorable battle was fought, the brave nobility contending for their estates and honour, against the unbounded ferocity of their invaders. Night separated the combatants, rather fatigued with fighting, than that either had obtained the advantage; and so uncertain was the issue of the day, that each side, on reckoning their loss, imagined themselves vanquished. In this battle, there perished more noble and illustrious men, than had fallen in foreign warfare during many years, and a village, formerly obscure, became distinguished to after ages. In this year was founded the university of St. Andrews, more through the efforts of learned men, who gratuitously offered their services as professors, than from any public or private stipendiary patronage.

XIX. During the next ten years, nothing memorable occurred between the English and the Scots, either because a truce had been entered into, which, however, is not mentioned by any historian, or because Henry IV. dying on the 21st of May, his son, Henry V., who immediately succeeded him, was, during the rest of his life, so much engaged in the affairs of France, that the English abstained from injuring the Scots, or because the governor of Scotland dared not stir, lest Henry should send back the true heir to the crown, whose misfortunes he knew would render him doubly welcome to his people. Any excursions which took place during this period, were rather robberies than acts of war. Such were the burning of Penrith in England, by Archibald Douglas, and of Dumfries in Scotland, by the English. An exchange of prisoners being effected, Mordac, the governor's son, who had been taken at the battle of Homeldon, was returned to the Scots for Percy, who, upon the defeat of his grandfather, had been brought from England to Scotland, and left with the governor, but, upon the accession of the new king, had been restored to the honours of his ancestors. Although Percy was not a lawful prisoner of war, yet the unfair detention of James, the son of the Scottish king, prevented the English from complaining of any injustice. To Percy himself it certainly was not disagreeable, as, during the whole of his life, he testified his remembrance of the hospitality of the Scots by every office of kindness. In this same year, likewise, came an

embassy from the council of Constance,* at the head of which was the abbot of Pontignac, and another from Peter Lune, who had seized the papacy, and pertinaciously retained it. This last, by means of Henry Hardinge, an English Franciscan, had brought over the governor to his party, but in vain, for the whole of the priests, who had acknowledged the authority of the council of Constance, opposed him, and agreed to the election of Martin V.

xx. About this time, the king of France became deranged, and his distemper was confirmed by the nostrums of the monks, who attempted to cure him. France, in consequence, divided into two factions—the chief of the one was the duke of Burgundy, who, having killed the king's brother, joined the English; at the head of the other was the king's son, who had been disinherited by his father in his delirium, and was called, in derision, by his enemies, the king of Berry, because he usually resided at Bourges, the capital of that province. The latter being deserted by a great part of his countrymen, and by all his foreign allies, sent the earl of Vendome, in the year 1419, as his ambassador to Scotland, to beg assistance in terms of the ancient league. A body of seven thousand men was in consequence voted by the estates; nor was it then difficult to raise that number of volunteers, the young men having so much increased during the peace with the English. John, earl of Buchan, the governor's son, was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, and many young noblemen followed him, of whom the most eminent was Archibald, earl of Wigton, son of Archibald, second earl of Douglas. These, on their arrival in France, were sent by the Dauphin—by which name the eldest son of the king of France is usually called—into Touraine, a country abounding in every necessary, and in the neighbourhood of the enemy; for the duke of Clarence, Henry's brother, who then commanded in France for him, wasted the province of Anjou, which still remained faithful to the king of France, and it was

* The council of Constance had deposed Pope Benedict XIII. and elected Martin V. The merits of these two heads of the church, were tried before a Scottish parliament at Perth, who decided in favour of Martin, and his infallibility was accordingly acknowledged by the Scottish clergy.

believed would come to the village of Beaux. These movements took place two days before Easter. Wherefore, the Scots thinking the duke, as was customary, would suspend hostilities during these few days, and apply to religious exercises, or trusting, as others say, to a truce which had been concluded for eight days, became more remiss than usual.

xxi. Clarence, informed of this, either by Andrew Fergus, an Italian, or by some Scots foragers whom his horse had intercepted and taken prisoners, glad of an opportunity, as he thought, for striking an advantageous blow, rose instantly from dinner, and ordering only the cavalry to arm, set out directly for the enemy. The duke, besides his armour and other ornaments, was distinguished by a royal coronet, sparkling with jewels. A few French, who were stationed in the village of Little Beaux, next the enemy, alarmed at his sudden approach, fled to the tower of a neighbouring church. These being attacked, the noise alarmed the army, who suddenly flew to arms in great trepidation. The earl of Buchan, while the rest were making ready for action, sent thirty archers to occupy a bridge, the only one by which an adjacent river could be passed; there, the battle having commenced, Hugh Kennedy* hastened from a neighbouring church where he had been quartered, to join them, with a hundred attendants, but in such a hurry, that they were only half armed. These, with the archers, checked the progress of the cavalry; on which, Clarence, with a few of the foremost, leaping from their horses, fought on foot, and charged the Scots so fiercely, that they drove them from the bridge, and opened a way for their men. In the meantime, while Clarence remounted, and the rest had scarcely passed the bridge, the earl of Buchan arrived with two hundred horse, and immediately both equally desirous of distinguishing themselves in the face of danger, joined keenly in the fight, animated with the same courage and the same hatred. The Scots rejoiced at having found an opportunity for giving the first display of their val-

* Hugh Kennedy, laird of Ardstinsiar, brother to the laird of Dunure, in Carrick, had no issue, but the house of Bargeny succeeded. His arms were in reward of his exploits, quartered with the royal coat of France. From his brother the laird of Dunure, the earls of Cassilis are descended.

our, and refuting the jests of the French, who accused them of being fonder of eating and drinking than of fighting—a charge usually brought by the French against the Britons, by the Spaniards against the French, and by the Africans against the Spaniards—and the English were enraged that they should not only be attacked at home, but followed beyond seas by their implacable enemy. In the battle, none fought more bravely than Clarence himself; distinguished by his armour, he was singled out by John Swinton, who charged him, and wounded him severely in the face with his lance; and the earl of Buchan striking him with a baton, he fell from his horse. On his fall, the English fled, and many were slain in the pursuit, which continued till night. This battle was fought the day before Easter, when the days are short, as in cold countries, a little after the vernal equinox. About two thousand English fell in this conflict, among whom were twenty-six distinguished noblemen. Many of high rank were taken, chiefly relations of the duke. Of the French and Scots a few were slain, and those chiefly of the lower order.

XXII. What I have related, is the common account given of Clarence's death, but the book of Pluscarty mentions that he was killed by Alexander Maccalsland, a knight of Lennox, who, having taken the crown, which I have mentioned, off his head, sold it to John Stuart of Darnley, for one thousand English angels, which he again pledged to Robert Houston, to whom he owed five thousand angels; and this, the record says, was the common report of the time. That the chief merit of this victory belonged to the Scots, even their detractors could not deny; and the earl of Buchan was, in consequence, created, by the dauphin Charles, lord high constable of France, which is the highest office in that country next to the king; the other generals were also rewarded according to their rank and bravery. During these transactions in France, in the year 1420, Robert, the governor, died, on the 3d of September, fifteen years after the death of king Robert III.

XXIII. Murdo, his son, succeeded to his father's office. He was a man of an indolent disposition; not only unfit for governing a nation, but even incapable of regulating his own family; for, either through carelessness, or too much indul-

gence, he so spoiled his children—for he had three sons—that, in a short time, he precipitated both them and himself into the most extreme wretchedness and ruin. These domestic changes brought back the earls of Buchan, Wigton, and many of their relations from France; but, in a short time, when the affairs of Scotland were arranged, being recalled by the Dauphin, the earl of Buchan, and his brother-in-law, Archibald, with his son James—his other son, the earl of Wigton, being left at home sick—set sail for France, accompanied by the flower of the Scottish nobility. They landed at Rochelle with five thousand soldiers, and immediately set out for the dauphin at Poitou, by whom they were received with the greatest rejoicings, and Douglas was created duke of Touraine. Henry, king of England, on hearing of the death of Clarence, appointed his other brother, the duke of Bedford, his successor; and having sent before him, into France, four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, he, himself, soon followed, carrying with him James, king of Scotland, that, by his means, he might either conciliate the Scots, who were fighting in France, or render them suspected to the French. But he succeeded in neither; nor could he even obtain, at the request of their own king, that they would either return home, or remain neuter, and be only spectators of the war; for when he addressed the garrisons held by the Scots, he received from all the same answer:—That they would never acknowledge him as their king, who was in the power of another.

XXIV. Henry, offended at this obstinacy, when he took the town of Meaux by storm, hanged twenty of the Scots whom he found there, alleging that they fought against their king. Not long after, both he, and Charles VI., king of the French, died within a short time of each other. About two years after, the English being victorious at Verneuil, there were killed of the chief of the Scots, the earls of Buchan and Douglas, the one, the high constable of France, and the other, the duke of Touraine; likewise, James Douglas, the son, Alexander Lindsay, Robert Stuart, Thomas Swinton, and above two thousand of the common soldiers; and, in about three years, followed another severe defeat, in which the Scottish auxiliaries suffered greatly; for having attacked the English, as they

were conveying provisions to Orleans, they were routed at Beaux, in which battle there were slain of the Scottish noblemen, William Stuart, with his brother, and two illustrious knights of the Douglas family, whose posterity yet possess, the one, the castle of Drumlanric in Nithsdale, and the other, the castle of Lochleven, and the opulent estates round them. I have thus shortly glanced at the transactions of the Scots in France during a few years, a foreign subject which may be found more fully detailed in the French annals; which although not wholly foreign to the history of the Scots, yet I should not have adverted to them, if the detraction of some English writers had not obliged me to do so; for, by slander-ing, they endeavour to depreciate actions which they cannot deny, of which, if even history should be silent, yet the munificence of kings, and the decrees of states, and the most honourable monuments of Orleans and Touraine would sufficiently publish. What fault do they find in this? Why, the Scots, they say, were too poor to maintain such large armies in a foreign country. If they think poverty a crime, the crime is in the soil, not the people; nor should I have considered it a reproach, had not their writers told us that they meant it as such; to them, therefore, I shall only reply—These poor, and, if they choose it, these starving Scots, have carried off many and illustrious victories from the opulent English; and if they do not believe me, let them believe their own writers, to whose fidelity, if they themselves refuse credence, they cannot require us to pay much attention. But to return to the affairs of Scotland.

xxv. Murdo, as already mentioned, having been appointed governor in the room of his father, his children, Walter, Alexander, and James, in consequence of the laxity of his domestic discipline, despised and oppressed their inferiors, and contaminated their youthful companions with the same vices with which they themselves were tainted; nor could their father restrain their licentiousness, till the punishment of their neglected education fell at last upon his own head. The old man had a bird, which he highly prized, of the falcon species, which Walter having often asked from his father, and having been unable to obtain, at last, in contempt, snatched from his

feeble hand, and wrung off its neck. To which outrage, his father thus replied :—Since you cannot submit to obey me, I shall bring another whom both you and I will be forced to obey ; and from that time he bent his whole mind to restore his relation James. Colin Campbell, one of the chief noblemen in Argyle, whom Walter had formerly affronted, approving of the design, assisted him to accomplish it. An assembly of the estates was, in consequence, convoked at Perth, where the subject was brought before them, and all, either from affection for the lawful heir of the throne, or tired of the present confusion, willingly determined to send an embassy to desire their king's release. And ambassadors, chosen of the highest rank, being sent, found the English more willing to accede to their demand than they had expected ; for the duke of Gloucester, who then governed England during the minority of the king,* having called a parliament, easily persuaded

* The duke of Gloucester managed the affairs of England during the absence of the duke of Bedford on the continent.

The publication of the *Fœdera*, which has thrown so much light upon Scottish History, enables us to correct a mistake into which Buchanan had been led respecting the ransom, it was not the half but only a fourth part of the sum, which was remitted, and that exaction was softened down into payment for the prince's expenses in England. The Scotch ambassadors were William, bishop of Glasgow, George Dunbar, earl of March, John Montgomery, of Ardrossan, Sir Patrick Dunbar, of Bele, Sir Robert Lauder, of Edrington, Sir William Borthwick, of Brothwick, Sir John Forrester, of Corstorphin, and Dugal Drummond, an ecclesiastic, who arranged the preliminaries of the treaty, which was concluded at York, 10th September, 1423, by the bishop of Glasgow, Earl of March, James Douglas, of Belrany, the abbots of Cambuskeneth and Balmarino, Sir Patrick Dunbar, Sir Robert Lauder, Mr. George Borthwick, archdeacon of Glasgow, and Patrick Houston, archdeacon of Glasgow. The conditions were, that the sum of 40,000 pounds sterling, be paid as an equivalent for the king's entertainment while in England, at the rate of 10,000 merks half-yearly till the whole was liquidated, and hostages given as security for the payment. A list of the names with yearly rents of the hostages was required, which was given, and is curious as ascertaining the incomes of some of the noble families at that time. David, eldest son, and heir of the earl of Athol, 1200 merks ; Thomas, earl of Moray, 1000 ; Alexander, earl of Crawford, 1000 ; Duncan Campbell, lord of Argyle, 1500 ; William Douglas, heir of the lord of Dalkeith, 1500 ; Gilbert, heir of William Hay, constable of Scotland, 800 ; Robert Keith, marshal of Scotland, 800 ; Robert Erskine, lord of Erskine, 1000 ; Walter,

them to restore James to the wishes of his people, since, in his present condition, he had not sufficient authority either to recall the Scottish auxiliaries from France, or induce any part of that kingdom to ally itself to England. There was, besides, another consideration which he thought ought to be taken advantage of, and which would render James not only the firm friend, but keep him always subservient to England, and that was, if he should marry Joan, [or Jane,] the earl of Somerset's daughter, and the loveliest woman of her time, of whom he was passionately enamoured; he was persuaded, through her influence, the French league would be easily broken; and the Scottish king, too, himself, upon obtaining his liberty, would either become the ally of England for that favour, or, while he avenged himself on his relations for the injuries he had suffered, he would involve his country in a heavy intestine war; and, in either case, the English would be gainers, either they would be stronger by the acquisition of such a friend, or, by the dissensions of their enemies, would be left unincumbered for distant war.

xxvi. Nor did these appear to be very unwise considerations, had not the English parliament, by their own greed, covetousness, and niggardliness, themselves destroyed their advantage. But they demanded a larger sum for the prince's ransom than the Scots, in the then state of their affairs, either durst promise, or were able to pay. It was therefore compromised, and the royal lover agreed, that the portion of his bride should be retained for the one half, and the sons of some

lord of Dirlton, 800; Thomas Boyd, lord Kilmarnock, 500; Patrick Dunbar, lord Cumnock, 500; Alexander, lord Gordon, 400. Besides the hostages, the cities of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, gave each particular obligations; and the king, before leaving Durham, gave his own personal bond in addition, so strict were the English parliament in these days respecting money transactions. The English ambassadors were instructed, if the Scots ambassadors should talk of a marriage between their king and some English lady, to tell them that he himself is acquainted not only with several English ladies of high birth, but also with princesses of the blood royal, that he may make his own choice; but if the Scots make no proposal, to use caution, as the English ladies, at least the noble women, are not accustomed to make the first advances to the men. The king's marriage suit, which was of cloth of gold, cost £28 Sterling.

of the nobility sent as hostages for the liquidation of the other. James thus liberated, returned home, after he had been eighteen years a captive, A. D. 1423--4. A great concourse of all ranks assembled to see the king, but scarcely had they paid him their congratulations on his return, when he was assailed by numbers, who complained loudly of the injuries suffered since the death of the late king, partly through the negligence, and partly through the fault of the governors, and they particularly accused Walter, the son of Murdo, Malcolm Fleming, and Thomas Boyd, who, to please the people, were for the present, committed into separate places of confinement, until the next meeting of parliament, which was appointed for the 27th day of May. Fleming and Boyd, however, upon making compensation, besides paying a considerable fine into the exchequer, were dismissed.

CII. JAMES I.

XXVII. James, together with his queen, was crowned on the 20th day of April, being placed in the royal chair by Murdo, his uncle, that office belonging to the earls of Fife. Shortly after, many useful acts were passed, particularly for suppressing robbers, who had increased so much during the licentiousness of the few past years, that despising laws and magistrates, they seemed to consider the sword as the only arbitrator of right. The next object which came under consideration, was, raising money to pay the king's ransom; for the royal domains, during so many wars, followed by domestic seditions, having been mortgaged by the governors, who freely pardoned * the offenders, and profusely rewarded the loyal, the king was rendered unable out of his own patrimony, to pay the debt, and reduced to beg the assistance of the estates. The nobility, who had given their children as hostages, easily procured an act to be passed for this purpose; but they could not with the same facility procure the money, for when a twentieth was ordered to be levied upon the estimated value of all moveables, in the then great scarcity of money, and the

* Without confiscating their estates to defray the expense of the wars they had occasioned.

plenty, and consequent depreciation of every thing else, the burden seemed intolerable to men unaccustomed to pay taxes, and who feared the example for the future, even more than the present loss. Nor did the rich escape the reproach of the lower classes, as if they wished to shift the load from themselves to the poor. But what chiefly harassed the common people, was the short time allowed to collect it, for it was ordered to be levied within fifteen days, and whoever did not pay it within that time, their cattle were to be seized either by their superior, or the sheriff of the county. Neither was debt, nor arrears of rent to a landlord to be allowed as any excuse for the non-exaction of this tax; and the harshness of the collectors aggravated the evils. They not only tormented the common people, but by surcharges and expenses, prevented a great part of the money they collected from ever reaching the exchequer. The present tax too, appeared the heavier, compared with the lax treatment to which the people had been accustomed under the governors, who endeavoured to please the populace, that they might not become anxious for the return of their lawful king; for which reason, when the estates had voted an assessment to Robert, the king's uncle, he wishing to ingratiate himself with the people, refused to sanction it, and said, he would rather pay the money out of his own pocket, than that any one should be troubled on that account. The king therefore, when he had exacted the first payment, which was wretchedly collected, and that with the greatest discontent among the common people, who, besides the expense of the war, complained of the imposition of this new burden, remitted the exaction of the remainder.

xxviii. In this parliament, Murdo, duke of Albany, Walter and Alexander, his sons, Duncan, earl of Lennox, and Robert Graham, who some years after murdered the king, were apprehended and thrown into prison, along with twenty-four of the chief nobility. The latter were, however, soon after set at liberty, Murdo, with his sons and father-in-law only being detained. On the same day on which Murdo was taken, the king seized his castles of Falkland, in Fife, and Doune, in Menteith, from which last his wife was sent to Tantallon, a castle in Lothian. James, his youngest son, on hearing of the

disasters of his family, collected a band of his retainers, burned the town of Dunbarton, and killed John Stuart, the king's uncle, and thirty-two along with him. He himself afterward fled into Ireland, where he died soon after, as did Finlay, bishop of Lismore, or Argyle, of the Dominican order, who fled with him, and had been his chief adviser. Walter's wife, with his two sons, Andrew and Alexander, and his illegitimate son, Arthur, likewise fled into Ireland, where they remained till the reign of James III. when they returned, and were invested with high honours.

XXIX. The same year, an assembly of the nobles being held at Stirling, Murdo, with his two sons, and his father-in-law, were brought to trial before a tribunal constituted according to the custom of the country. The form is as follows:—Some person of distinguished prudence and authority is chosen, who presides, and to him are given at least twelve assessors, who hear the accusation, and pronounce a decision upon oath. These are always of the same rank with the accused, or as nearly so as possible, and the pannel has the power of objecting to any of the jury. When the proper number, that is twelve or sometimes more, is completed, they having weighed the charges, return their verdict according to the opinion of the majority. The judges being selected in this manner, their names are of little importance; they were men of rank, and the majority related to the accused.* The prisoners were found guilty of high treason, and that same day the two sons, and the day after, their father and grandfather suffered death on a little hill opposite Stirling castle. There is a report current, although I do not find it mentioned by any historian, that the king sent the heads of her father, husband, and

* The names of the jury, omitted by Buchanan, are, I apprehend, rather of considerable importance, as they show either the impartiality or the policy of James, who caused a number of the regent's own relatives and friends share in the merit, or in the obloquy, and danger of condemning him. Vide chap. xlvii. Among them were Walter Stuart, earl of Athole, Archibald Douglas, earl of Douglas, Alexander Stuart, earl of Marr, William Douglas, earl of Angus, William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, Alexander of the Isles, earl of Ross, George Dunbar, earl of March, James Douglas of Abercorn, Robert Stuart of Lorn, Gilbert Hay of Errol, Borthwick of Borthwick, Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, &c.

children, to Isabella, the wife of his cousin-german, on purpose to try whether so violent a woman, in a paroxysm of grief—as sometimes happens—might not betray the secrets of her soul; but she, although affected at the unexpected sight, used no intemperate expressions, but only said, if the crimes charged were fairly proven, the king acted justly and rightly. After this parliament was dissolved, John Montgomery and Humphry Cunninghame were sent to besiege the castle on Inch Murin, in Lochlomond, held in the name of James Stuart, the fugitive, which they forced to surrender. Not long after, John Stuart, of Darnley—now commander-in-chief of the Scottish forces in France, almost all the other military leaders having been removed by various accidents—came to Scotland, along with the bishop of Rheims, to renew the ancient league with France, and to contract a marriage, between Louis, son of Charles VII., and Margaret, the daughter of James, both yet infants.

xxx. Next year, A. D. 1426, all Scotland being quiet on this side the Grampians, the king bent his attention to tranquillize those parts beyond them. And first, he ordered the castle of Inverness, situate conveniently on the farthest boundary of Moray, to be rebuilt. When he came thither in about two years after, he sent for the heads of the clans, especially those who were accustomed, with large bodies of men, to plunder the neighbouring counties, and levy tribute from the peaceful inhabitants, whom they forced to support their idle retainers. Of these robbers, some had one thousand, some two thousand, and some even more, who kept the well disposed in constant fear of outrage, and affording protection to the disorderly, emboldened them in the perpetration of crime. When the king, partly by threats, and partly by promises, had got about forty of these chiefs within his power, he threw them into prison, and having brought them to trial, he ordered two of the most guilty, Alexander Macrorie, and John Macarthur to be hanged. James Campbell also suffered death for the murder of John, a noble islander. The rest being sent to separate prisons, some were afterward brought to punishment, and the others were then liberated and sent home. The heads of the factious being thus either put to death, or thrown

into prison, the king, thinking that the common people deprived of their leaders, would not dare to attempt any disturbance, admonished them kindly and benignantly, that they should live honestly, and place their hopes of safety only on the innocence of their conduct, which if they did, he would honour and reward them, but if not, they might perceive from the example he had made, what they themselves might expect.

xxxI. Other affairs being thus settled, there still remained Alexander, * the Islander, the most powerful chieftain next to the king himself, for he commanded the whole of the Æbudæ, besides the extensive county of Ross, which he inherited from his mother, daughter of Walter Leslie, late earl of Ross. This chief having perpetrated many flagitious actions with much cruelty, was greatly alarmed, yet by means of his friends, he found the king not inexorable, and in an interview, brought about by their means, his past conduct was forgiven, and ample hopes held out to him for the future, if he would submit to the laws, and behave with humanity. He was then sent home, but so far from receiving his pardon, and subsequent liberation, as any favour from his sovereign, he thought he had done him the greatest injury by detaining him a day, and immediately upon his return, collected a band of those who were accustomed to live by rapine, with which he entered Inverness in an apparently peaceable manner, where he was hospitably received, and in return, having plundered the town, he gave it up to the flames. He afterward made a fruitless attempt upon the castle, where learning that an expedition was fitting out against him, he hastily retreated into Lochaber, and there with his army—for he had ten thousand trained soldiers—trusting to the advantages of the situation, he determined to give battle. But when his followers heard of the approach of the king, although they had cheerfully enough marched to plunder, two of the clans deserted. †

xxxII. Deserted by part of his force, and distrusting the rest, Alexander again betook himself to his retreat. Dismis-

* Alexander, the son of Donald, who fought at Harlaw, and grandson of Euphemia, countess of Ross, here styled his mother.

† The Chattans, and Camerons, commonly called clan Chattan, and clan Cameron.

sing his army, he fled with a few attendants towards the Æbudæ, where he deliberated with his followers about fleeing to Ireland, but as there seemed little prospect of safety there, he conceived the design of throwing himself, as his last refuge, once more upon the clemency of his sovereign.—Yet, in this he hesitated between hope and fear, for when he recollected what crimes he had perpetrated in his first defection, and that after he had experienced the favour of the king, he had behaved with such cruelty and perfidy, as almost to preclude any expectation of a second pardon, he was afraid to trust his person and his fortune into the hands of the monarch he had so justly incensed. He therefore determined to attempt a middle course between flight and surrender, and sent suppliants to the court, in order to incline the mind of the king to lenity. Although he had chosen for this office quiet men, wholly uninfected by his crimes, and therefore more likely to be agreeable to his prince, yet the only answer he could obtain was, that the king would listen to nothing unless he surrendered himself unconditionally; nor would he treat in his absence. Alexander, on considering every risk, and perceiving that he could not escape the king's vengeance, having chosen his time and place, determined to throw himself upon his mercy, for he thought he would be ashamed to spurn a suppliant kneeling before him. Wherefore, he came secretly to Edinburgh, and on Easter Sunday, that day on which the resurrection of our Lord is celebrated with great solemnity, covered, rather than clothed with a small linen coat, he threw himself at the king's feet, and in a studied speech, deplored his misfortunes, and placed his safety unreservedly in his majesty's hands. The time, the place, and so great and sudden a reverse of fortune affected the spectators, and the queen and nobles who were present interceding, they so much moved the king, that they were desired to wait the end of the service. In the meantime, the king weighing every thing with himself, as he knew it would not be safe to dismiss so powerful, factious, and perfidious a chief with impunity, yet wishing to yield something to the request of the queen, determined to save his life, but at the same time deemed it prudent to keep him in secure custody, and thus he would procure the reputa-

tion of clemency to himself, take away from Alexander the power of perpetrating new crimes, provide for the security of the people, and by the example, repress the licentiousness of others. He therefore sent him to Tantallon, and placed his mother, a furious woman, in the island of Inchcolm, as she was believed to have excited her son to his last treason.

XXXIII. The licentiousness of Alexander was thus subdued, yet was not tranquillity wholly restored to the northern regions; for the clan Chattan, and the Camerons, who, in the former year, had deserted from Alexander, having quarrelled among themselves, fought with such inveteracy, and in such numbers, that many of the Mackintoshes, and almost all the Camerons were slain. In the Æbudæ, likewise, which it was thought would have been more tranquil by the banishment of Alexander, a new commotion was raised by Donald Balloch, cousin-german of Alexander, to avenge the injury his relation had suffered. In order to repress this sedition, Alexander Stuart, earl of Caithness, and Allan Stuart, earl of Marr, having collected a band of countrymen, marched to await the coming of Donald in Lochaber, where it was reported he would attempt a descent; and that chief having learned that his opponents were straggling disorderly, without regularly encamping or setting watches, silently landed his men during the night, attacked them unexpectedly, and half asleep, and made a great slaughter. In this assault, Allan perished with nearly his whole force, and Alexander escaped with only a few by a hurried flight. Donald, inflamed by this success, wasted the whole of Lochaber with fire and sword, none daring to resist; but hearing that the king was coming against him with a superior force, he gathered the greater part of his plunder into his vessels, and returned to the Æbudæ. The king having marched as far as Dunstaffnage, and beholding the terrible devastation which had been made, was so highly exasperated, that he was about to go over into the Islands, when the chiefs came to him as suppliants, and protested that nothing had been done by public authority, but that the whole blame attached to Alexander, and the needy and flagitious characters belonging to him. The king replied:—He could only admit this excuse, provided the perpetrators of the crimes

were apprehended, and delivered up to him for punishment. Upon their promising to use their endeavours for this purpose, a part of them were sent to take the robbers, and the remainder were detained with him as hostages. Those who had been sent home, having slain a number of the banditti, brought three hundred captives to the king, all of whom the king ordered to be hanged. Donald himself, afraid of punishment, had fled.

xxxiv. Although this severity produced a little more quietness in the Æbudæ and neighbouring regions for the time, yet the restless disposition of the inhabitants would not allow the tranquillity to be of any long duration. The king, at the entreaty of his nobles, had released two Angusians, Duff and Moray, their principal leaders, on which, they immediately turned their rage upon each other. Having gathered together almost an equal number, for each supported about twelve hundred ruffians by public rapine, they engaged with such fury, that scarcely a messenger was left to carry the tidings of their mutual destruction. Some say eleven, and others nine, were all that remained. It is certain, however, that the king, who was much incensed against both parties, could hardly find any to punish.

xxxv. The disasters of these villains did not, however, restrain Macdonald from his accustomed barbarity. He was a notorious robber, born in Ross, whose depraved disposition, incited by the impunity of former times, had long distressed his neighbours. One piece of cruelty, exceeding in wantonness all his other transactions, is told of him. When a poor widow, who had been stripped of her all, was lamenting her misfortune, and frequently exclaimed—That she would carry her complaints to the king: “And that you may go the easier,” said he, “I’ll assist you;” then calling a smith, he made him affix a pair of horse’s shoes with iron nails to the soles of her feet, adding scoffingly: “Now you’re fitted for a rough road.” The woman, who possessed a stout spirit, being more enraged than terrified by the injury, as soon as she was able to endure the journey, sought out the king, and told him the whole story. The king, who had heard of the circumstance before, and had the perpetrator in jail at the time comforted the

woman, promising her, that in a short time, the author of the crime should have the benefit of his invention; and, accordingly, having brought Macdonald out of prison, with twelve of his associates, he ordered them to be led for three days round the city, shod with iron shoes, preceded by a crier, who explained to the people the cause of this novel punishment. The captain was then beheaded, and his twelve associates hanged upon gibbets erected along the highways.

xxxvi. These fresh outrages, perpetrated by those who, having been once pardoned, were not reclaimed, made the king more eager in the pursuit of Donald the Islander. Wherefore, when he understood that he was concealed by a certain nobleman in Ireland, he sent messengers to demand that he should be delivered up to be punished. The nobleman fearing, if he sent the culprit alive so far by sea and land, that he might escape, and thus his enemies, perhaps, allege it was by his contrivance, caused Donald's head to be cut off, and sent it to the king by the messenger. Open robberies being thus diligently suppressed, the king endeavoured to root out more secret crimes and improper customs. For this office, he chose men eminent for their prudence and purity of manners, and gave them power to go over the whole kingdom, and hear complaints; and if any causes were brought to them, which the ordinary judges, either through fear durst not, or through partiality would not decide, they should take cognizance of them themselves. To this commission, he added a corrector of the weights and measures, a very necessary office, when not only every city, but almost every house had different measures; and in parliament, he enacted many very salutary laws on the subject, ordaining iron measures to be kept in certain places, and a person to be sent to all fairs and markets, to cause the rest to be regulated according to that standard, and inflicting a heavy penalty on any dealer who used a measure which had not the public stamp.

xxxvii. While the king was thus employed for the public advantage, in the year, 1430, on the 14th of October, twins were born to him; and in order to increase the public rejoicings on the occasion, he pardoned the offences of some noblemen, the chief of whom were Archibald Douglas and John

Kennedy, accused of using seditious language, for which Douglas had been confined in Lochleven, and Kennedy in Stirling castle. He added, likewise, as a proof of his reconciliation to Douglas, that he made him stand godfather at the baptism of the children, which used to be a mark of honour and intimacy; his son was also made a knight among those who were created upon this joyful occasion.

xxxviii. Having cleared the other parts of the kingdom of the most obnoxious nuisances, James next endeavoured to reform the ecclesiastical order. But the priests could not be corrected by the magistrate; for seizing the time when the sovereigns were engaged in wars, the priesthood, throughout all Europe, had by degrees withdrawn themselves from their jurisdiction, professing obedience to the Roman pontiff alone, and he, in return, indulged their vices, and cherished their licentiousness, that, by the power of their order, he might have the monarchs more subservient to his will. Wherefore, the king resolved, by the only method remaining, to oppose their tyranny. As he perceived he had not the power to amend what was passed, or to expel unworthy men from the honours they already enjoyed, he thought it best to provide for the future, and bent his whole attention to establish schools, supporting them liberally, that they might be seminaries for all ranks, and thence, as from a fountain, might issue whatever was to be great or excellent in any department of the state. He not only drew around him learned teachers by rewards, but was himself frequently present at their disputations, and as often as he could disengage himself from public business, cheerfully attended to their literary discourses; thus striving anxiously to eradicate, from the minds of his nobility, the false idea, that literature rendered men idle, slothful, and averse to active employment; that it softened the military spirit, and broke or debilitated every generous impulse; and that the study of learning was only adapted for the cells of the monks, or other drones of the community. But the monks, as they had degenerated from the simplicity and parsimony of their predecessors, so they had wholly withdrawn their attention from the culture of the mind to the care of the body; nor was learning less despised among the other descriptions of

priests, because the livings, in general, were either bestowed upon the most worthless members of noble families, men who were unfit for any other employment in life, or were intercepted by the fraud of the Roman see; and almost all the benefices were considered as sinecures for services, and those frequently not the most honourable.

XXXIX. To such evils was added another, perhaps the principal source of the corruption of ecclesiastical discipline—the orders of mendicant friars. They, at the first, by their pretensions to sanctity of life, easily imposed upon the people, who heard them more willingly than their parish priests, or curates, whose minds and bodies were equally gross. The curates, as they grew rich, grew lazy, and turning negligent about their duty, bargained with the friars, i. e. *brethren*, as they chose to be styled, for an annual salary, to deliver a few harangues to the common people during the year; while they themselves resorted to cities, where they chaunted idle songs, like magical incantations, of the meaning of which they were totally ignorant; nor did one of them ever look near his charge, except when the tythes were to be collected. By degrees they even withdrew from chaunting at certain hours in the cathedral, which, although a light, was a daily labour, and hired some poor underlings to perform their functions of singing masses and reading prayers, only officiating in a certain task of psalms, ordered on particular days, when they played together in a kind of hollow murmuring, now contending in alternate verses, and now with a chorus introduced between the acts, and exhibited a sort of tragedy, which closed with a representation of the death of Christ. The hireling friars, durst neither offend their employers, on whom their living depended, nor could they bear their insolence and their avarice. Wherefore, they fixed upon a middle course, in order to force them to pay their stipends; they inveighed often sharply against the luxury and licentiousness of the priests, and, after raving sufficiently to terrify them, and conciliate the people, they—prudently recollecting that they also were in sacred orders—concluded by teaching, that whatever abuses there were in the conduct of the priests, the order of priesthood was sacred and inviolable; nor had the civil magis-

trate any power of punishing them, for they were only responsible to God, and to the Pope, who had almost equal power with God. As the avarice of the friars, however, increased with their luxury, and they could not hope for any great revenue from their usual employments, they prepared a new species of tyranny for themselves, by turning their discourses to the merit of works of supererogation. Thence arose purgatory, and the purification of the souls whom the popes chose to detain there, by the sacrifice of the mass, the sprinkling of holy water, by alms, offerings, indulgences, pilgrimages, and the worshipping of relics. By the exercise of these scandalous corruptions, the friars claimed to themselves the empire both of the living and of the dead.

XL. When James found the ecclesiastical state of Scotland in this condition, he thought the shortest way of restoring the ancient discipline, would be to promote learned and good men to the benefices. In order to increase the emulation of the scholars, he desired the teachers of colleges, as he was so occupied himself with the affairs of state, that he could not know the individual youths of merit, to recommend such as excelled in virtue and learning, that he might promote them to livings, where they could not only be useful to the people by their learning and example, but even assist, by their wealth, their poorer brethren, and prevent men of good genius being forced, through want, to leave their studies and practise low employments for their subsistence. And that the students might apply themselves more diligently to the liberal arts, and the indolent be taught that the road to honour was by virtuous exertion alone, he distinguished their proficiency by degrees, on purpose to appreciate who were fit to receive preferment, which method if succeeding kings had followed, it would not have happened, as now, that the people are unable to bear the vices of the priests, and the priests incapable of enduring the remedy. Nor was the king ignorant that the most intolerable vices under which the church then laboured, had arisen from the immoderate wealth of the priesthood; neither did he approve of the lavish waste of money by former sovereigns, who exhausted their treasuries in endowing monasteries, for he often said—That though David was otherwise

the best of kings, yet his profuse piety, so much praised by many, had been hurtful to the kingdom.* Yet, even he, carried away by the current of custom, could not abstain from building a monastery for the Carthusians near Perth, and endowing it with large revenues.

XLi. There was one admirable quality which the king possessed, in the midst of his most anxious solicitude about the greatest affairs, he thought nothing, however small, beneath his notice, from which any advantage could arise to the public. As, during the constant state of warfare in which Scotland had been engaged, for nearly a hundred and fifty years, from the death of Alexander, her cities had been wasted and burned, and her youth trained to arms, while the other arts had been neglected, he invited tradesmen of every description from Flanders, and encouraged them to settle by rewards and immunities, and filled the almost deserted cities with artisans; the nobility, according to the ancient custom, residing on their estates. Nor did he by this restore only the ancient appearance and trade of the towns, but he likewise induced a great crowd of vagabonds to betake themselves to industry, and superseded the necessity of bringing, at a great expense, from abroad, what could with little cost be produced at home.

XLII. While the king thus endeavoured to strengthen the weak parts of his kingdom by the application of proper remedies, yet he incurred the dislike of his subjects, chiefly for two reasons. The one, indeed, appeared trifling in appearance, but it is one whence has arisen almost always the calamities of a people. Peace being established at home and abroad, ease, luxury, and licentiousness followed, first disturbing the tranquillity of the country, and then all sobriety of conduct. Hence arose sumptuous entertainments and revellings night and day, masquerades, delicate foreign clothing, luxurious houses, built not so much for use as for appearance, a corruption of manners under the name of elegance, a contempt for native customs, and a fastidiousness which esteemed nothing handsome or becoming, unless it was new and unusual. The common people readily transferred the blame of all these in-

* His expression was :—He was ane soir sanct to the crown.

novations to the courtiers who had followed the king from England, yet did they not more strongly inveigh against them in words, than studiously adopt them in practice. But the king resisted this pestilence as much as he could, both by sumptuary laws, and his own domestic example: for he not only, in his dress and household expenses, did not exceed that of a respectable private gentleman, but, if he beheld extravagance in any one's mode of living, he expressed his displeasure both by his looks and his reproofs; thus the wide spreading course of luxury was restrained rather than the new intemperance destroyed, or the ancient parsimony restored.

XLIII. The other fault was first mentioned in the calumnies of his enemies, and thence broke out into public distraction. Robert, the king's uncle, and Murdo, his cousin-german, who governed the kingdom so many years, when they aspired to the throne, and found they could not remove James, endeavoured, as the next best plan, to engage the affections of the nobles towards themselves, so that they might not wish very anxiously for the king's return, and they accordingly, if Walter, the son of Murdo, had conducted himself a little more condescendingly, or with a little more moderation, exhibited such management in almost all their proceedings, that their government seemed not only tolerable, but even desirable to many of the chiefs. They flattered the powerful by a display of their munificence. Some they allowed to retain the royal demesnes they already possessed, and made grants of different portions to others. Out of kindness they cancelled unfavourable decisions, and recalled several exiles from banishment. Among these was George Dunbar, earl of March, an eminent and powerful chief, who did heavy and extensive damage to his country, during his absence. By such proceedings they had hoped to ingratiate themselves so strongly with the nobility, that they would never think of bringing the king back, and that if James died without children, the kingdom would descend to them without any rival, or, if by chance he should return, their faction would be so powerful, that they would be secure from violence, by having a parity of strength. But upon the king's restoration, the ancient favour borne the governor, had been almost obliterated by the recent injuries, and flagi-

tiousness of Walter, and it plainly appeared, that nothing was more popular than justice. And therefore, the people not only suffered, but even favoured the execution of the father, together with his two sons, and the banishment of the third, whose estates went to increase the king's revenue, as did those of John, earl of Buchan, who died in France without children, and of Alexander, earl of Marr, himself a bastard, who died at home, also childless. Respecting the latter I shall digress a little.

XLIV. Alexander, was the son of Alexander, son of king Robert. In early life, by the bad advice of wicked associates, he acted as the captain of a band of robbers; but when he reached manhood, he so completely altered his behaviour, that his character became decidedly of an opposite description. His vices gradually decreasing, and by attending to good counsel, he so conducted himself at home and abroad, that he left an illustrious reputation to his posterity. At home he repressed an insurrection of the Islanders at Harlaw, with great slaughter, and extinguished a most dangerous war in its very origin. Yet, though he had honourably procured great wealth, and possessed more extensive estates than many of his compeers, he did not waste his prime in idleness or pleasure. He went on an expedition, with a strong body of his countrymen, to Flanders, and followed Charles, duke of Burgundy, against the people of Liege, whence he returned with both wealth and honour. Besides, he increased his riches by a marriage in Holland, an island of the Batavians. But the Batavians, unwilling to submit to the will of a stranger, revolted, on which he returned home, and prepared an armament with great expense though little profit, being against a people most admirably supplied, both with land and sea forces. At last, however, having intercepted a large fleet of theirs returning from Dantzic, he sunk, burned, and captured the greater part of the vessels, and thus repaid manifold, the damage he had sustained from the enemy, and at the same time so subdued their haughtiness, that they begged, and received a truce for one hundred years. He likewise caused a noble stud of mares to be imported from Hungary into Scotland, on purpose to improve the breed, whose race continued there for many years.

On the decease of the above mentioned earls, the richest in Scotland, without children, their estates in Buchan and Marr, fell by right to the king; he likewise inherited the whole property of the three brothers, who had been born to Robert II. by his last wife, but not without exciting murmurs among the nobility, who had been accustomed to largesses, and were displeased that the king did not divide such rich inheritances with them.

XLV. To this ground of discontent, was added another more recent cause of offence. James revoked some large, though unjust grants, made by Robert and Murdo, the last governors. Among these two were remarkable. George Dunbar, earl of March, who had been proclaimed a public enemy, had afterward been recalled by Robert, and had part of his estates restored. His son George had succeeded him, to the great joy of the public, who were delighted to see an ancient noble family, that had so often deserved well of their country, restored to their pristine dignity. But it appeared to the king, who inquired, I will not say too strictly, into the state of his exchequer, that the power of recalling a sentence of banishment, taking away the disgrace, and restoring the estates which had been escheated for high treason, was greater than could be exercised by one who held the government in trust for another, and was chosen only as a tutor; for even grants, made during the minority of the sovereign, could, according to the ancient Scottish law, be annulled, unless confirmed by the kings, when they came of age. Wherefore, James, that he might bring back into his own power without disturbance, the inhabitants of March, as they were warlike men, and adjoining the English, retained George about his person, and sent letters to the governor of Dunbar castle, ordering him to deliver up the castle to William Douglas, governor of Angus, and Adam Hepburn, of Hailes, whom he had sent to take possession. When George complained, that he had been unjustly robbed of his patrimony for the crime of another, whose crime too had been forgiven by him who had the supreme power, the king, that he might appease him, and exhibit a show of clemency to the people, gave him Buchan. This action of the king's was variously represented, according as men were variously affected. There

happened besides, another circumstance which hastened the death of the king, this it is necessary to trace back to its origin.

XLVI. I mentioned before, that Robert II. had three sons born to him previously to his marriage. He had besides, two by his wife Euphemia, Walter, earl of Athol, and David, earl of Strathern. But when the queen died, he married his concubine, in order to legitimate her children, and leave them heirs to the throne, and accordingly, at his death he left the crown to the eldest; to the second, together with great possessions, he left the government of the kingdom; and he created the third earl of several counties. By this arrangement, although his wife's children thought themselves injured, yet, because they were both younger and inferior in wealth, they remained silent for the present. Their power likewise was diminished by the death of the earl of Strathern, and his leaving only a daughter. This daughter was given in marriage to Patrick Graham, a young nobleman of a very powerful family, who had by her a son, Meliss Graham, whose birth the parents did not long survive, and the boy a few years after, while quite a child, was sent as a hostage to England, for the payment of the king's ransom.* Athol, however, although weaker than the adverse faction, never gave up the design of destroying his brothers, nor lost hopes of regaining the kingdom, but being unequal to open violence, he secretly fomented discord among them, and insidiously endeavoured to turn their dissensions to his own advantage, until by his arts, this family once so numerous, were reduced to a few. The general belief was, that David, the son of king Robert, was starved at his instigation, and, that James would not have escaped his snares, if he had not passed a great part of his life in England, at a distance from home.

XLVII. He had likewise, it was said, advised the earl of Fife to put his indolent brother to death, and usurp the throne. When the king, however, deprived of his children, and en-

* The hostages who were given at first were subsequently allowed to be exchanged for others whose estates were of equal value; and in this manner, as Abercrombie expresses it, a great number of the noble youth had the [disagreeable] honour of serving their king.

tirely subservient to his brother, had suddenly died of grief, there remained then only the governor and his children, who obstructed his hopes, but this prince was active, powerful, and rich, possessed of authority, loved by the people, and had a numerous family. These circumstances for some time delayed his design, till Robert dying, and his son John being killed at the battle of Verneuil, he reverted with greater keenness, to his former cogitations. He then strained every nerve to obtain the freedom of James, and involve him in a quarrel with Murdo and his children, knowing, that they could not all stand safely together, and that whoever of them fell, he was, by their destruction, brought one step nearer to the throne. James, at last, being returned, he set all his machines in motion, to accelerate the ruin of Murdo, he suborned witnesses to accuse him of treason, and sat judge himself on him and his sons. They being cut off, there remained only James and a little son, not quite six years old, and if they could but be removed by a conspiracy of the nobles, he did not doubt but that he, who alone would remain of the royal stock, would then be called to the government. Athol, incessantly occupied with these meditations, yet kept his ambition concealed, and under a great show of loyalty to the king, assisted him in destroying his relations, anxiously endeavouring by the crimes of others to increase his own power, and diminish that of his opponents.

XLVIII. In the meantime, Meliss Graham—then a hostage in England—deprived of Strathern by the king, who, in his investigation into the public patrimony, had found that this grant had been made to his maternal grandfather, upon condition, that in default of male descendants, it should revert to the king, being what lawyers term a male fee. The misfortune of the innocent youth, who was both absent and a hostage, excited general compassion, and enraged Robert, his tutor, almost to madness.* Indignant at the treatment of his

* In the parliament held January 1435, Graham advanced to the throne, and laying his hand on the king, said, I arrest you in the name of all the three estates of your realm here assembled in parliament : for as your people have sworn to obey you, so are you constrained by an equal oath to govern by law, and not to wrong your subjects, but to maintain and defend them.

kinsman, he did not hesitate openly to accuse the king of injustice, for which, being summoned to stand trial, and failing to appear, he was outlawed. On this fresh injury, his mind becoming more exasperated, and more eager for revenge, he privately conspired with those whose estates were confiscated, or who were irritated by the punishment of their friends, however just, or who accused the king of avarice, because, in his anxiety for wealth, he had not rewarded them according to their expectations. In addition, he was joined by all those who complained, that noble families were not only reduced to ruin, but the tutorships of young nobility, which used to be the reward of brave men, were now almost entirely in the king's hands; that all the wealth of the kingdom was heaped up by one, and the rest might languish in misery and want, under a master who repaid their services so ungratefully. Respecting the tutorships of which they complained, the practice is—In Scotland, England, and in some parts of France, upon the death of their parents, young noblemen remain until they are twenty-one years of age, under the tutorage of those who are their superiors, and the rents of all their estates, except the necessary expense of their education, and the doweries of the pupils' wives belong to the tutors. Now these tutorships, or, as they are commonly called, wardships, used either to be sold for a small sum to the relations, or bestowed as gratuities, and all who either expected gain from the purchase, or hoped to obtain a reward by the gift, were dissatisfied, and unable to conceal their chagrin, when they saw the king appropriate the whole.

XLIX. When these complaints were mentioned to the king, he excused the proceedings as absolutely necessary, the public patrimony having been so wasted by former kings and governors, that it could neither maintain the dignity of the royal family, support an honourable retinue, nor allow magnificence to be shown to foreign ambassadors. Neither was the king's keenness in procuring money legally, useless to the nobility, to whom nothing could be worse than an empty

Then turning round, said, Is it not thus? but the members remained in profound silence, and he was immediately ordered to prison, and soon after into banishment.

exchequer, for in that case, kings, who could not want, either endeavoured to extort money from the rich, or were forced to harass the poor by taxation ; besides, the parsimony of a king, which only prevented immoderate donations, was far less hurtful to the public than the profusion, which, after having consumed his own, revelled without bounds, on the property of others. This answer satisfied reasonable men, but the discontented, who rather sought cause for complaint than any proper explanation, were excited to exclaim against him still more vehemently.

L. In this situation of affairs in Scotland, an embassy arrived from France, to require, that Margaret, the daughter of James, who had been formerly betrothed to Louis, the son of Charles IX., should be sent home to her husband. This produced another from the English ; for the duke of Burgundy having withdrawn from their alliance, Paris threatening defection, and all their transmarine provinces being in a state of insurrection, they were afraid, lest, while the whole forces of the kingdom were engaged in the French war, the Scots might attack them on the opposite quarter. They, therefore, strove to prevent the renewal of the league with France, and hinder the nuptials, by proposing a perpetual alliance with themselves, who were born in the same island, and spoke the same language, which if the Scots would agree to, and swear to have the same friends and enemies, they promised to deliver up to them Berwick, and Roxburgh, and every other place that formed any occasion of dispute between the two kingdoms. James referred the request to a meeting of the estates, which was then assembled at Perth, where, after a long debate, the ecclesiastics being divided into two factions, the nobility cried out, that they understood the deceit of the English, who by this new league, wished to dissolve their ancient friendship with France, in order that Scotland, being deprived of her former ally, might be the more easily subdued by them, when they were freed from all other distractions, and could bring their whole force to bear in a war with them. Such was the real meaning of these liberal offers, but they would abide by their ancient league, nor depart from the fidelity they had once pledged. Repulsed in this application,

the English from entreaty betook themselves to threats, and, their alliance being rejected, denounced war, telling them, if the Scottish king sent his betrothed daughter to France, to an enemy of England, they would endeavour to obstruct the voyage, and take her and her attendants prisoners, for they had already a fleet prepared.

LI. These threatenings of the ambassadors, were so far from terrifying the king, that having fitted out a fleet, in which a great train of noblemen and ladies embarked, he caused his daughter to set sail sooner than he intended, in order to defeat the designs of the English. But notwithstanding, it was rather by the favour of heaven than the foresight of man, that they did not fall into the hands of their enemies; for, when not far distant from the place where the English fleet were lying in wait for the Scots, suddenly a Dutch fleet appeared, who were laden with wine from Rochelle to Flanders. Against these—because Burgundy being but lately reconciled to France, fiercely opposed all their enemies—the English bore down with full sail, and soon came up with them, who being heavy laden and unarmed, were all taken without any engagement. But before they could carry their prizes into port, the Spaniards attacked them unexpectedly, released the captured vessels, and sent them safe to Flanders. During this various fortune of the three nations, the Scots reached Rochelle, without seeing an enemy. Being there met by many noblemen of the French court, they were brought to Tours, where the nuptials were celebrated with great rejoicings, amid the congratulations of both nations.*

* The fate of this young princess, although not *singular*, was more than ordinarily unhappy, even in the list of high born ladies who have been sacrificed on the altar of political expedience. Young, sprightly, and accomplished, she fell a victim to an infamous conspiracy, carried on under the auspices of her husband, and died, at the age of twenty-two, of a broken heart! Her crimes appear to have been, her too great affability, her frankness of manners, and a certain carelessness about her dress. The calumnies which overwhelmed her too susceptible mind were the villanous aspersions of a man servant, an officer of the dauphin's, "who was proved," says Pinkerton, "to be a *scoundrel* and a *common liar*, qualities which doubtless recommended him to the special protection of Louis," her husband. From the informations taken concerning the cause of her death, contained in the History of Louis XI. by

LII. On this occasion, the English writers, particularly Edward Hall, and his plagiarist, Grafton, inveigh with great spleen against James, as ungrateful, perfidious, and quick to forget favours, who had been treated so courteously for such a number of years by the English, honoured with royal nuptials, enriched with an ample dowery, and restored to liberty after a long captivity; yet, notwithstanding these many and great obligations he preferred the friendship of France to England! But the story itself easily refutes their slanders. For, at first, their detention of that prince, in opposition to treaties and to the law of nations, when he landed on their coasts, was an injury and not a favour. Next, if they did not kill him, but chose rather to accept money, than to pollute their hands invidiously in the blood, not of an enemy, but of a guest, he owed his life to their avarice, not to their love or compassion. If that be a favour, can it be estimated higher than that of robbers, who, when they do not murder their

Duclos, Pinkerton has extracted the examinations of this wretch. In 1446, May—August, Jamet de Tillay was twice questioned, and the queen of France herself gave a deposition. Tillay confessed, that on entering the chamber of the dauphiness in the dusk of the evening, and perceiving no lights, he said it was *grande paillardie* in the officers to show such negligence: denied that he accused lady Pregente of managing Margaret's amours, as he would not wish more chastity in his own wife than he was persuaded belonged to the dauphiness; and he offered the duel to any man who would say that he arraigned her honour: denied that he said that Margaret's illness arose from love, while he only said it proceeded from her sitting up all night making rondeaux and ballads, and that she would never have a child while she was so fond of sour apples and vinegar: he denied that he said the dauphin did not love his wife, because "*les basses marches ne se portoient pas bien.*" The queen's deposition proves Tillay to have been a meddling, malicious fellow, capable of any falsehood. His second examination bears that Margaret would compose twelve rondeaux a day; that she sometimes was laced too tight, at others too loose. The fatal words at length appear to have been, "*Avez vous point vu cette dame la? Elle a mieux maniere d'une paillarde que d'une grande maitresse.*" Have you seen that lady? she has more the appearance of an harlot than of a great princess." He denied having said them, and offered the duel, asserting that no lady could have more the appearance of high birth; but the words were confirmed by another witness. On her deathbed her confessor could hardly persuade her to pardon Jamet, and she cried out, "Now he has gained his purpose." The character of her husband, afterwards Louis XI. was black and malignant.

victim, would wish it to appear that they actually preserved him; besides, if in this he was indebted to the English, because they consulted their own gain, it was a private, not a public debt. That they bestowed an honourable education upon a youth of a tender age, a suppliant by accident, but a king by descent, and detained by the greatest injustice, has indeed some appearance of humanity—although the neglect of it would have been barbarous—and possibly might have merited the name of a favour, had it not been destroyed by the injustice which preceded, and the avarice which followed; unless perhaps you may think if you wound a person, you deserve thanks for his cure, and consider a heavy loss an obligation, if followed by some trifling acknowledgment; or, because you have performed part of your duty, expect not only to be paid for the whole, but to get a premium, and what you have done for your own advantage, wish to be wholly at the expense of another; as he who educates a slave carefully, either for his own pleasure, or that he may sell at a higher price, although he does him who is educated some service, yet it is not the advantage of the slave but his own, to which the master looks in his education.

LIII. But they gave him a wife, a relation of their king, and thus the royal youth was honoured with royal nuptials! What if that connexion was not less honourable to the father-in-law than to the son-in-law? His daughter, whom he must otherwise have married to a subject, was made a queen, and married into that family into which the most illustrious of the English kings had married their children, and whence so many former kings had sprung. But they bestowed a large dowery! To whom pray was that dowery given? To the English themselves, who took it away before it was paid, and in words only showed to the husband what they retained for their own use. It was a promise, not a portion; and this promise, they would have the young prince, who had suffered so many injuries from them, consider as a favour, though he carried home his wife without a farthing! But they sent him home free, yes, truly! as pirates liberate their prisoners upon being paid their ransom. And how free? If we may credit their own writers, after having forced him to swear, that he

would always acknowledge the king of England as his superior, and bring the kingdom, of which he was not yet in possession, into perpetual servitude, which, had he even possessed, he could not alienate, but yet he must bind it over to another, before he had received it. He was not then returned free, but rather with a lighter species of fetters; not a king, but the procurator of a king; the vicegerent of another! I omit mentioning that they compelled a captive, who was under the power of another, to promise, and to promise that which he could not perform himself, nor oblige those who had the power, to perform! This is that wonderful liberality of which they accuse him of being forgetful! But allowing these strangers to all modesty in writing, to call emolument received, a favour bestowed, what shall we think of their propensity to falsehood and love of slander, who descend to tell us that the king's daughter was disagreeable to her husband on account of her stinking breath; for, impudent as they are, they durst allege nothing against her morals. Monstrelet, a contemporary writer, informs us, that she was both virtuous and beautiful; and the author of the Pluscartine Book, who accompanied the queen during her voyage, and at her death, has left it on record, that she was very dear both to her father-in-law, her mother-in-law, and her husband. And besides, some elegiac verses, filled with her praises, were published at Chalons, where she died, were afterwards translated into the Scottish language, and are still preserved. But passing over these calumniators, let us return to our history.

LIV. When the king attempted to raise a small tax from the people, to defray the expense of fitting out the fleet, the greater part openly refused to pay any thing. A few gave a little, and with ill will; on which, the king ordered the collector to desist from exacting the remainder, and return what had been collected. Yet did he not prevent the clamours of the people, for the designing, and such as were irritated on some private account, constantly excited the turbulent against him. At the same time, the English, under Percy, governor of Northumberland, began to ravage Scotland, plundering by sea and land, against whom, William Douglas, earl of Angus, was sent with nearly an equal force, both having about four

thousand, in which excursion Alexander Johnston* of Lothian was slain, a Scottish nobleman of approved valour. Some report, that there fell altogether, on both sides, two hundred, and others say that only forty were slain. Of the English there were taken about fifteen hundred prisoners.

LV. The Scottish king having been twice provoked by the English, first by the fleet lying in wait to intercept his daughter, and next, by the recent devastation of the country, determined to declare open war. Having therefore collected as numerous an army as possible, he vigorously attacked Roxburgh, and when he every moment expected his surrender, the queen, who had come express, arrived in his camp, with the disagreeable intelligence, that a foul conspiracy was formed against him, and that unless he watched with the utmost circumspection, his destruction was inevitable. The king, alarmed at this unexpected intelligence, dismissed his army, and returned home, which gave rise to reports of the most disagreeable nature—that when on the very point of success, he abandoned his object at the nod of a woman; and that he seemed, by so much expense, and the trouble of the whole kingdom, to have sought nothing but disgrace. The king, upon his return, proceeded to the monastery of the Dominicans, near the walls of Perth, that he might there, as privately as possible, make inquiry respecting the plot; but his design was discovered by the conspirators, who were constantly on the alert to carry their treason into execution. One of his domestic servants, who had engaged in the business, John, his surname is not mentioned, having informed his associates of what was transacted in the palace, hastened their proceedings, before their secret designs should be discovered or counteracted. Walter, earl of Athol, the king's uncle, although a principal, yet, as much as possible, kept himself in the back ground. He invited Robert Graham, his relation—formerly mentioned—a young man, daring, but rash, and enraged against the king as well on account of his own imprisonment

* The person slain in this engagement was not Alexander Johnston, but Alexander Elphinston, whose wife was pregnant at his death of a daughter, who afterwards was married to Gilbert Johnston, whence, Ruddiman conjectures the misnomer had arisen.

and exile, as for depriving his brother's son—whose tutor he was—of Strathearn. To him he joined his own nephew, Robert, an active youth, whom he instructed in what he wished to be done; and promised, that after the deed was finished, as he would then be at the head of the government, he would provide for their safety. They willingly lent their assistance, and hastened to execute their purpose, before the whole scheme of the conspiracy should be discovered to the king.

LVI. Having privately collected their band, and knowing that the king had but few attendants in the Dominican monastery, in order that they might surprise him, and murder him with as little noise as possible, they persuaded John, the king's servant, whom they had formerly drawn into the conspiracy, to give them his assistance. He accordingly introduced the assassins in the middle of the night into the palace, placed them secretly near the bed-chamber of the king, and showed them a door which could be easily broken open, as he had taken away the bar. Others think they were admitted into the palace by Robert, the earl of Athol's grandson. In the meantime, while they anxiously waited, an accident accomplished that which seemed to present the greatest obstacle—the breaking open the bedchamber door. Walter Straiton, who had a little before gone in with wine, on coming out, when he perceived armed men, endeavoured to force his way back again, calling as loud as he could, traitors. While the assassins were despatching him, a young noble lady, of the family of Douglas, as the greater number of writers say—some call her Lovel—having shut the door, and not being able to find the bolt which had been traitorously removed by the servant, thrust her arm into the hole instead of the bar; but that being quickly broken, the assassins entered, and rushed towards the king, when the queen interposed her own body to defend his, and after he was knocked down, stretched herself over him to protect him, nor could she without difficulty be torn away, wounded in two places; then when all were removed, they accomplished the murder, having inflicted twenty wounds, some of them directly through the heart of the king.*

* There is a long account of the death of king James I. published by Mr. Pinkerton, in the Appendix to his History, vol. i. from a MS. supposed to

LVII. Thus was the life of this most excellent monarch closed by a cruel death, at the hands of execrable ruffians, to the unspeakable grief of all good men. When the murder was divulged by the wailings and tumult, there was a great concourse from every place to the palace, and the rest of the night—for the parricides had escaped in the dark—was spent in weeping, complaining, and lamentation. Then every one, according to his disposition, either to excite hatred towards the murderers, or to sympathize with the grief of friends, dwelt upon whatever, of prosperous or adverse circumstance, had befallen the king. In his childhood exposed to the snares of his uncle, to avoid which he was precipitated into the power of the English; next, his father dying, the rest of his youth spent in exile among his enemies; then, by a change of fortune, unexpectedly restored, and, after his return in a few years, the kingdom, from a state of the greatest turbulence, altered to one of the most profound tranquillity; and, again, by a sudden turn of affairs, he, whom foreign enemies had spared, destroyed by the treachery of his relations in the flower of his age, and in the midst of his exertions for settling the kingdom by good laws and institutions: and, now, that death had extinguished envy, the virtues both of his body and mind received their merited eulogium. In stature he was rather below the middle size, yet so firm and robust, that he easily excelled all his cotemporaries in exercises where strength and agility were required: and such was the quickness and vigour of his mind that he was ignorant of no art becoming a gentleman to know. He spoke rough Latin verse extempore, as was the practice of that age. Some poems written by him in the English language are yet extant, which display the excellence of his genius, though perhaps they would have ad-

have been written about 1440, and which he thinks to be the translation from a Latin relation, probably published in Scotland by authority. Two objections, however, occur to this probability: 1. The account has hitherto escaped the notice of all our historians. 2. It makes the "Kyng of Scottes" talk of his "maister the Kyng of England," which no account published by authority in Scotland, it is likely would have done: it differs in some of the minor details from Buchanan, but there appears no good reason why it should be preferred.

mitted of a more artificial polish ; in music he was more exquisitely skilled than was either necessary or expedient in a king, for there was no instrument but he could touch, with such science that he might have contended with the greatest masters of his day. These may perhaps be considered as the flowers, more than the fruit of education ; ornamental, rather than useful in the business of life ; but when he had acquired the other branches of philosophy, he diligently applied to that which teaches the regulation of manners and the art of reigning, and how great and mature his acquirements in these departments were, the conduct of his government, and the laws which he enacted, not only for the benefit of his own age, but posterity, can amply testify.

LVIII. The death of the king declared that nothing was more popular than justice ; for those who were accustomed to detract from him while alive, followed his memory with the most affectionate regret when dead. The nobles, as soon as they heard of his murder, spontaneously assembled from all quarters, and before a trial was regularly decreed, they sent messengers every where to apprehend the perpetrators, and bring them to justice. A great number being taken, the chief were put to death by a novel and most exquisite mode of punishment, the rest were hanged. The principal actors were Walter, earl of Athol, his grandson, Robert, and their relation, Robert Graham. The punishment of earl Walter—because he was considered the contriver of the whole—was prolonged for three days. On the first, he was placed upon a cart, on which a kind of crane, in the form of a stork, was erected, to which he was drawn up by ropes let through pulleys, and then suddenly, by loosening the ropes, let fall from the height to near the earth, with the most excruciating pain from the dislocation of his joints. On the next, he was elevated upon a pillory, that he might be conspicuous to all, crowned with a red hot crown of iron, and this inscription—The king of traitors. The reason of this punishment was that Walter had been told by some female witch—for whom Athol has always been infamous—That he would be crowned king with the greatest celebrity ; and thus the prediction was either fulfilled or eluded : and truly such predictions have often sim-

ilar accomplishments. He was then placed upon a hurdle, and drawn at a horse tail through the High-street of Edinburgh. On the third day, being extended upon a platform in a conspicuous place, while yet alive, his intestines were taken out, thrown into a fire, and burned before his face; and last of all, his heart was torn away and cast into the same fire. His head was then cut off, and, fixed upon a long pole, exhibited in the most conspicuous place of the city, and his body being divided into four quarters, was distributed among the principal cities of the kingdom, to be exposed in the most public situations. After him, his grandson was put to death; but in consideration of his youth, and of his being an accomplice only, not an instigator of the crime, as he obeyed his grandfather, he suffered by a gentler mode of punishment; he was simply hanged, and his limbs quartered. Robert Graham, who, with his own hand, had committed the crime, was carried through the city on a cart, his right hand nailed to a gallows erected in the cart, the executioners all the while thrusting red hot iron spikes into his thighs, shoulders, and the limbs at a distance from the vital parts of his body; he was then quartered as the former.

LIX. In this extreme manner was the death of James punished. The murder was undoubtedly a cruel one, but it was assuredly revenged with a cruelty beyond the common bounds of humanity. Such inflictions do not so much restrain the common people by the dread of their torture, as they excite them to perpetrate, or to endure any thing; neither do they so much deter the wicked by their severity, as by their frequency they lessen the terror of the punishment, especially if the minds of the criminals are unsubdued by the pain of their sufferings, for among the ignorant vulgar, stubborn obstinacy often receives the praise of unshaken constancy. James died in the beginning of the year 1437, on the 20th day of February, after a reign of thirteen years, aged forty and four. In avenging his death, such was the diligence employed, that within forty days all the conspirators were executed. He left one son, the youngest of the twins, the half of whose face was as red as if covered by a suffusion of blood.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XI.

CIII. JAMES II.

I. AFTER the punishment of his father's murderers, James, only son of the late king, a child scarcely seven years of age, was crowned in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh, on the 27th day of March; but he being unfit to assume the reins of government, a great contest arose among the nobles, respecting the choice of a regent. Archibald, earl of Douglas, was by far the richest, and the most powerful of the Scottish chieftains of his day, but Alexander Livingston,* and William Crichton, † though both belonging to families of inferior rank, possessed greater authority and reputation, having held the highest official situations during the former reign. The majority of the nobility, therefore, favoured their pretensions, because they were jealous of Douglas, ‡ whose power was an

* Sir Alexander Livingston of Callendar, near Falkirk, Stirlingshire, from him descended the lords Livingston, raised to this honour by James II., and created earls of Linlithgow by James VI.

† Sir William Crichton, afterward lord of Crichton, in Lothian. His descendants were forfeited, 1484. His second son married the heretrix of Sanquhair, named Ross, from whom descended the lords Sanquhair, afterward earls of Dumfries. Crichton on the forfeiture, was given to the Hepburns of Bothwell, and by the forfeiture of the last earl Francis—sister's son to queen Mary's paramour—Crichton was given to the house of Buccleugh. Crawford's Note.

‡ Abercrombie mentions having seen two original papers, in the possession of lord Gray, with the great seal affixed, dated Edinburgh, 28th November, and 8th December, from which it would appear a parliament was held at Edinburgh, 27th November, 1438, by Archibald, duke of Touraine, *earl of Douglas*, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, whence he supposes, that the

object of uneasiness even to the kings themselves. 'Livingston was in consequence, advanced to the regency, and Crichton made chancellor, which office he had borne under the last monarch.

11. Scarcely had the parliament separated, when the country became the prey of faction. The chancellor remained with the king in Edinburgh castle; the regent was with the queen in Stirling; and Douglas, indignant at being neglected at the last meeting of the estates, and uncertain which of the parties he hated most, was not displeased at the general confusion; and the men of Annandale, accustomed to robbery and theft, induced by his not restraining, rather than his encouraging them, began to ravage and waste all the neighbouring counties, as if they had been hostile territories. When complaint of these outrages was made to the governors, they first reminded Douglas of his duty—for he commanded in Annandale—by letters, and then more sharply expostulated with him; but so far was he from punishing the past, that he increased the growing evil by impunity, for he ordered that none of his vassals should obey the summons of the king's officers to stand trial, or submit to any such act of magistracy exercised by them, for the privilege of judging, commonly called the right of regality, was held by him as a grant from former kings, and whoever attempted to lessen it should suffer death. The regent and chancellor might deplore, but could not alter this state of affairs, and in the meantime, insubordination spread like a gangrene throughout all parts of Scotland on this side the Forth. Even these two parties were at variance among themselves, and issued proclamations in every town, almost every village—the regent forbidding the lieges to obey the chancellor, and the chancellor prohibiting

sway was divided; that Crichton filled the office of chancellor, and Livingston was *keeper* of the king's person; but it is difficult to reconcile this with the allowed fact, that the royal infant was kept by Crichton in Edinburgh castle, and stolen thence by his mother early in 1439. Before this, however, Archibald, earl Douglas, had died, and was succeeded by his son William, a youth of fourteen, who from his age, could not sustain the rank of lieutenant-general, and nothing of importance occurring during the few months his father held that rank, the circumstance may have been overlooked as trivial, by our historians.

them from obeying the regent; and if any person entered a complaint to either, on his return he was certain to suffer from the adverse faction, sometimes his house even burned to the ground, and every thing he possessed totally destroyed, for, in their mutual devastations, they destroyed each other with more than hostile fury. The moderate men who joined neither, remained at home in a state of uncertainty, privately bewailing the deplorable state of the country. Thus, whilst each endeavoured to strengthen himself, the good of the realm was neglected by all.

III. The queen, who was with the regent at Stirling, in order to procure the ascendancy for her own party, undertook a bold project. Having gone to Edinburgh, under the pretext of visiting her son, she was admitted by the chancellor into the castle, where being courteously entertained, after the first compliments had passed, she began to lament the situation of the kingdom, and enlarged upon the number and magnitude of the mischiefs which flowed from their mutual animosities. She had always anxiously desired, she said, for the public advantage, to have these dissensions composed, that there might be, if not perfect tranquillity, at least some appearance of a government in the realm; but as she now possessed neither influence nor authority in her public, she would attempt to perform her duty in her private capacity, and use her most strenuous endeavours that her son should be so liberally and piously educated in the prospect of reigning, that he might be able afterward to apply some remedy to the daily increasing evils. This duty, prescribed to her by nature, would not, she hoped, procure for her the envy of any one; they might take the other departments of the administration, who believed themselves equal to the burthen, but let them recollect so to conduct themselves, as to be able to render an account to the king when he came of age. She delivered these sentiments with such an appearance of sincerity, that the chancellor gave her implicit credit, and, as she had no attendants from whom either fraud or violence was to be apprehended, he gave her liberty to visit her son as often as she chose, to remain with him alone, and sometimes to pass the night with him in the castle.

IV. During all this while, the queen artfully held frequent conversations with the governor, about healing the existing dissensions, frequently inviting those of the opposite faction to the discussions, and by her frankness so charmed him, that he consulted with her about almost all his plans. The chancellor being thus cozened, she easily persuaded the child, that it was his duty to follow her out of prison, and free himself from the hands of that wicked man, who, she said, covered his own crimes by the royal name, and monopolized all offices of trust to himself, neglecting the public interest to advance his own. To accomplish this, it was only necessary for him to attend to the good advices of his friends, and leave the rest to her. By such speeches, a mother, and a woman of ability, readily induced an inexperienced youth, and her son, especially as she promised him greater freedom, to intrust himself wholly to her guidance. Every thing being prepared for flight, she went to the chancellor and told him, that she was bound by a vow, which she had formed for the safety of her son, and would remain that night in the castle, but early next morning, she would set out for Whitekirk,* to pay it, and in the meantime, commended her son to his care till she should return. He, suspecting no deceit, wished her a happy journey and a safe return, and parted. Next morning, as previously arranged, the king, shut up in a chest, which had been in use to contain the queen's dress, was carried out of the castle by trusty adherents, and transported to Leith, she herself, to avoid suspicion, following with a few attendants. Every thing being ready there, she went on board a small vessel at that port, and taking advantage of the tide, set sail for Stirling. The king's servants waited till the day had advanced for his awakening, so that before the fraud was discovered, the ship was beyond the reach of danger, and the wind having been favourable, he landed at Stirling in the evening. The king and queen were received by the regent

* Whitekirk, in Buchan, celebrated for pilgrimages in Popish times. St. Aldred, or, as sometimes contracted, for Beatus Aldred, Baldred, after his death, had the special privilege bestowed upon him of having his body in three different places at the same time, and Whitekirk was one of the favoured spots.

and all the multitude, with the greatest joy and acclamation, the adroitness of the queen was the topic of universal praise, and the established reputation of the chancellor for prudence, became the object of general ridicule. This event was celebrated by the populace for two days, with their usual extravagant demonstrations of joy.

v. On the third day, those who belonged to Livingston's faction, assembled, the greater part induced by the expectation of a change, and some influenced by the authority of the king's name. When they were informed of the whole transaction, all joined in extolling the spirit of the queen in undertaking, her wisdom in conducting, and her felicity in accomplishing her object, and inveighed strongly against the avarice and cruelty of the chancellor, and his ingratitude to the queen and the regent. He was accused of being the sole author of all the discord, and of all the evils which had arisen from the civil dissensions. He had converted, it was said, the public revenue to his private use; he had forcibly taken away the property of individuals, and what he could not take away he had destroyed. He alone was possessed of power, honours, and wealth; the rest had only disgrace, idleness, and poverty. Such oppression, although great, yet greater must have followed, had not the queen, evidently under the guidance of Heaven, as bravely as fortunately, delivered the king from prison, and the people from the chancellor's tyranny—for what might not private persons fear from him who imprisoned his king? What hope of reconciliation would be entertained by his enemies with the man who had so perfidiously circumvented his friends? What relief could the inferior ranks expect from him, whose insatiable avarice the estates of the wealthy could not satisfy? Wherefore, since by divine aid, and the activity of her majesty, they had been freed from his tyranny, every measure ought to be taken to render the happiness perpetual: to accomplish which, one thing was necessary, he must be expelled the castle, and either put to death, or so disarmed that nothing might be feared from him in future, although safety could scarcely be expected while he lived, because, accustomed as he had been to murder and rapine, he would never be quiet while spirit or strength remained.

VI. When Alexander had delivered his opinion in council to this effect, a great majority assenting, it was determined that each should return home, and raise as many soldiers as possible, to besiege the castle of Edinburgh, nor depart from before it until they took it. To facilitate this, the queen promised that she would furnish a great quantity of corn from her granaries in Fife; but despatch was chiefly requisite, while their design was secret, and the enemy unprovided for sustaining a siege. In the mean time they had nothing to fear from Douglas, whose implacable hatred towards the chancellor was well known; and as they possessed men, money, and the authority of the king's name, which the chancellor had been deprived of, no hope now remained to their enemy but in their mercy. The assembly being dissolved, in a short time every thing was ready for the expedition, and the castle was closely invested.

VII. The chancellor, who had obtained information of their designs, placed his chief hopes of safety, and of preserving his dignity on being able to obtain the alliance of Douglas. He therefore sent supplicating messengers to effect a treaty, offering his pledge if he would assist him in his present distress, and at the same time urging, that Douglas greatly deceived himself, if he imagined that the ambition and cruelty of his enemies would be satisfied with his—the chancellor's—destruction, for which they would use him as a stepping stone. To this Douglas replied with greater freedom than policy:—That the perfidy of both the rivals was much upon a par; the cause of their dispute was not the benefit of the public, but their own private ambition, in which contest it was of no consequence who prevailed, but if both were destroyed, it would be of much advantage to the state; nor could any loyal subject desire a more delightful spectacle, than a mortal combat between such duellists.

VIII. When this answer was 'divulged in the respective armies—for the castle was already besieged—it had the effect of producing among both a readier desire for peace. A truce being concluded for two days, the regent and chancellor had a conference, in which they soon came to an understanding of the danger, both public and private, to which they would be

exposed, if they pertinaciously persisted in their mutual animosity; for Douglas waited as a spectator of the event of their contest, that, unbroken, he might attack the conqueror; when, one being destroyed, or both weakened, he would possess himself of the whole power of the kingdom; therefore, no hope of safety remained to either, except in their concord. Their common danger easily reconciled these acute politicians. Crichton, as had been agreed, having delivered up the keys to the king, professed a surrender both of the castle and himself into his power, and declared, that it had never been his intention to disobey his will; on which, with the universal consent of all present, he was received into favour. The king, that same night, supped in the castle thus surrendered to him, and next day, the chancellor was formally appointed governor, and Livingston entered upon the administration of his office as regent.* Thus, after a deadly hatred, the expectation of mutual advantage, and the fear of their common enemy, united the rivals, it was hoped for ever, in the firmest bonds of friendship. During these civil commotions, besides robberies and murders perpetrated every where among the common people with impunity, a few lurking feuds broke out among some illustrious families. The year after the king's death, on the 21st of September, and during a truce, Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock treacherously slew Allan Stuart

* The reign of James II. is involved in considerable confusion, and the authorities are both obscure and contradictory. From the MS. documents in the possession of lord Gray, referred to in a former note, p. 116, and others belonging to the earl of Linlithgow, also mentioned by Abercrombie, there can be little doubt but that Archibald Earl Douglas acted [yet I apprehend it was only *pro tempore*,] as lord lieutenant of the kingdom; and I think Abercrombie's supposition has considerable probability, that the dissensions between Crichton and Livingston, did not take place till after the death of earl Archibald, and that the message sent by Crichton was to his successor William. The answer accords with the character of a petulant boy. He supposes, also, the conduct ascribed to Archibald, to belong of right to William. Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 320. The only way in which we can reconcile the records, and Buchanan, is by supposing, and as there are no doubts to puzzle us, the resolution may be correct, that there is a complete blank of a year in the narrative, from the coronation of the child, till the year in which William succeeded to the earldom of Douglas, and that the death of Archibald, ch. ix. is misplaced.

of Darnley, whom he met between Falkirk and Linlithgow. Next year, on the 9th of July, Alexander, the brother of Allan, vanquished Boyd in a set battle, in which there was a great slaughter on both sides, and Boyd himself fell.

ix. About this time, apparently very opportunely, died Archibald Douglas, whose power, when alive, had been formidable to all. He died of a fever, the next year after James I. William, his son, the sixth earl in this family, succeeded him, a boy of about fourteen years of age, and of the most excellent promise, if his education had been equal to his rank; but flattery, the continual plague of great families, corrupted his tender age, already insolent through premature freedom, for parasites accustomed to idleness, and to whom the folly of the rich is a source of gain, by praising his father's magnificence, and more than royal wealth and power, easily persuaded a simple and indiscreet youth to maintain a large establishment, and always to appear in public, attended by a train, great beyond the retinue of any other chieftain; to retain his ancient vassals by kindness, and to acquire new ones by gifts; to create knights and noblemen; to distinguish the orders in imitation of the meetings of the estates; and, in fine, to omit nothing by which he might vie with the majesty of the king. To these things, which were sufficiently invidious of themselves, he added another imprudence, that greatly increased the indignation of all loyal subjects; he went generally guarded by two thousand horse, among whom were many convicted criminals, notorious robbers, and other infamous miscreants, with whom he would come to court, and even intrude into the presence of the king, not only to display his power, but as if he wished to strike terror; and even this insolence he surpassed, by sending men of rank as ambassadors to France—Malcolm Fleeming and John Lauder,* who, by representing the services of his ancestors to the kings of France, easily obtained a confirmation of the title, Duke of Touraine, which honour his grandfather had received from Charles VII. for his services, and his father also had enjoyed. Elevated by this accession of grandeur, he despised the regent and

* Malcolm Lord Fleeming of Cambernauld, and Sir John Lauder of Halton.

chancellor as his father's enemies, nor did he much reverence the king himself.

x. When the power of the Douglasses seemed already too exorbitant, a new cause of suspicion arose. William Stuart had an ample inheritance in Lorn. His brother, James, after the death of the king, having married the queen, and had several children by her, indignant at not being admitted to any part of the administration, in order to obtain his object, and revenge the supposed affront, seemed inclined to join the Douglas faction; nor was the queen supposed ignorant of his design, for she also was greatly enraged at being overlooked by the regent. On account of these suspicious appearances, the queen, her husband, and her husband's brother were thrown into confinement, on the 2d of August, A. D. —. The queen was shut up by herself in a small narrow apartment, and was, besides, closely guarded; the others were put in irons, and committed to prison, nor were they released until the 31st of August, when the queen had cleared herself in parliament from any knowledge of these new plots, James, and his brother, having also given security that they would not attempt any thing against the regent, nor accept of any public employment without his permission. During the unsettled state of the country, the Æbudæan Islanders made a descent upon the continent, spreading desolation on every side, sparing neither sex nor age, and marking their progress by unexampled rapacity and cruelty; nor did they confine their ravages to the sea coast, but even in Lennox they murdered John Colquhoun, a nobleman whom they had invited from Inchmurin, an island in Loch Lomond, on their pledged faith to a conference. The frequent perpetration of such barbarities, together with the want of cultivation, and an unfavourable season, occasioned a famine, which was followed with a pestilence, that continued for nearly two years, of so virulent a nature, that those who were seized with the distemper, seldom survived above one day. The cause of all these misfortunes was commonly attributed to the regent, who now ruled without control, and, in contempt of the chancellor and the nobles of his faction, concentrated the whole administration of the kingdom in himself. It was also a com-

plaint against him, that, upon the slightest suspicion, he threw into prison numbers of noblemen and gentlemen, and punished them severely, or pardoned them solely at his own pleasure. He was besides said to hold secret correspondence with Douglas.

xI. The chancellor, who could neither bear these things with patience, nor oppose them by force, resolved to suppress his anger for a time, and withdraw from the court. He, accordingly, on the first opportunity, left the king and regent at Stirling, and came to Edinburgh with a large body of his adherents, and remained in that strongly fortified castle, to watch the crisis of the unstable times; which step, when known, occasioned a great dislike to the regent's power, and excited a general sympathy towards the chancellor in his retirement. Nor did Crichton neglect to improve this disposition of the public, for he had determined, by some bold action, to check the insolence of his opponent, and rescue himself from contempt. When he discovered by his spies that the king amused himself every day in hunting, and was but negligently attended, watching an opportunity of Alexander's absence, and having made himself acquainted with the facilities of the country, the proper time, and the number of the guards, he marked out a spot not far from Stirling, in which he placed the most confidential of his friends, with as many troops as he could collect, and instructed them to await his coming; he, himself, with a few horsemen, took his station before daybreak in a wood near the castle, and there expected the arrival of the king. Fortune favoured this bold undertaking, for the king having entered the wood at daybreak, with a few unarmed attendants, fell among the armed band of the chancellor. These respectfully saluted him as king, and encouraged him, bidding him be of good cheer; the chancellor, at the same time, exhorting him briefly, to assert his own independence, and that of his crown; to rescue himself from Alexander's bondage, and live, in future, royally and freely, and instead of submitting to the dictates and rule of others, take the reins into his own hands, and relieve his subjects from the miseries into which they had been plunged so deeply by the ambition and cupidity of their governors, that no person, unless the

prince himself should assume the government, could apply a remedy: adding, that he might do so without risk, for he had provided a great body of horse, who would attend him wherever he wished, or thought it might be necessary to go. When the king, by his countenance, seemed to approve of the proposal, either convinced by what he heard, or dissembling through fear, the chancellor seized his bridle, and led him straight to his own party. Those who were with the king, seeing resistance impossible, being few and unarmed, their opponents many and well accoutred, returned back with chagrin, while the king, attended by four thousand soldiers, marched forward to Edinburgh, where he was received by the populace with great joy.

XII. When the regent heard of what had taken place, he returned to Stirling, overwhelmed with shame and vexation, to consider what line of conduct he should pursue. His high spirit was tortured for having allowed himself to be so childishly beguiled through his own carelessness, while, at the same time, he suspected the deceit was practised by some of his own people, and thus uncertain whom to trust or fear, he remained long in a distracting state of painful suspense. At last, becoming composed, he began to reflect upon a remedy for the misfortune; he knew he was not able to cope with the chancellor, a man of prudence and activity, favoured by the people, and supported by the authority of the king. He had so deeply offended the queen, by her close confinement, that he scarcely hoped to be reconciled to her, and, even if reconciled, he could expect little from her assistance. Douglas had sufficient power, but had no prudence; he was young, wavering, corrupted by flatterers, and guided by parasites; and, as it usually happens in such circumstances, that the worst have the greatest influence, he considered it beneath his dignity to betake himself to such a worthless crew. The chancellor, although he was opposed to him, was a man of sense, in whose age and disposition he could place more confidence; nor was the cause of offence so great, but that the recollection of ancient friendship might surmount it; what, however, afforded the greatest chance of effecting a reconciliation, was the similarity of their danger, and the necessity of their concord for the pre-

servation of the state ; besides, his enmity was above all to be dreaded, because, if he joined himself to the opposite faction, he had it in his power to deprive him of his office, or drive him into banishment.

XIII. Livingstone having discussed these topics with his advisers and others who wished well to the country, by their advice, set out for Edinburgh, attended only with his common train. It happened, accidentally, that the bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, men illustrious for learning and virtue, according to the estimation of the times, were then both in the city, and by their mediation, a meeting was effected between the regent and the chancellor, in the church of St. Giles, each accompanied by a few friends. The regent first began the conference ;—" I do not think it necessary," he said, " to lament, in a long oration, what are sufficiently well known to all—the mischiefs which spring from intestine dissensions, or the advantages which arise from internal concord : I could wish these were rather known to us by foreign examples, than domestic experience. I shall proceed to that which concerns the safety of all the subjects of this realm, but especially, and more nearly ourselves. Our disagreement, although it neither arises from avarice nor ambition, but only because, in the administration of the kingdom, which we both wish to preserve, you and I are of different opinions, yet it is of the utmost consequence, that this disagreement do not occasion public hurt to the nation, or private ruin to ourselves. All eyes are turned on us ; the wicked expect to enjoy greater licentiousness ; the aspiring to reap honours, wealth, and power from our destruction. Men newly raised to exalted situations, must expect to be surrounded by a number of envious ; who, as they repine at their success, and calumniate their prosperity, so they delight in their adversity, and wish and hope for their downfall ; we ought, therefore, the more anxiously to consult our own safety, which is intimately connected with that of the public, and how we may be revenged upon our enemies with the greatest glory to ourselves. To accomplish this, the only method is—that, forgetting private quarrels, we bend all our thoughts and aims to the public advantage : remembering, that for the protection of the king intrust-

ed to our fidelity, and the safety of the kingdom committed to our charge, we are liable to be called to an account. Let us then, as we have formerly, with mistaken zeal, striven who should be the greatest in honour and authority, for the future, contend; who shall exceed in moderation and justice. Thus, at last, we shall cause the common people, who now hate and impute their calamities to us, love and respect us; the nobles, who, trusting to our dissensions, indulge in unbridled licentiousness, will return to a sense of moderation; and the chiefs, who condemn the weakness of our divisions, overawed by our union, will revert to their obedience. For my own part, I cheerfully allow the tender age of the king to be regulated by you, as he was intrusted to your charge by his father during his lifetime, and the more seriously I reflect upon the office, I think myself not deprived of an honour, but relieved from a burthen. If I have received from you any private injury, I frankly forgive it for the sake of the public; and if I have done you wrong, I shall repay it according to the arbitration of honest men; nor shall I ever hereafter allow any personal consideration to obstruct the public service. If you agree with me, we may govern together with security, and leave a remembrance grateful to posterity; but if you are otherwise disposed, I call the present and future ages to witness, that it was not my fault that we did not strive to cure, or, at least, to alleviate the misfortunes of our country."

xiv. To this, the chancellor replied:—"As I entered, unwillingly, into this contention, so I cheerfully listen to any proposal for an honourable adjustment; and although I did not take up arms until provoked by my injuries, so, induced by your moderation, I shall not suffer my obstinacy to oppose the public advantage, for I perceive, that through our discord, the most loyal subjects are exposed to the assaults of the basest, and the seditious exult in the hopes of revolution, during which the country is left as a prey, the royal dignity lessened, public safety betrayed, and public authority become contemptible; nor while we compromise the public interest, are our own private affairs improved; for turbulent men take advantage of our dissensions, and we afford to our enemies a

most delightful spectacle—as they hate us both equally—each imagining, that whatever diminishes the power of either of us, increases his own. I shall not, therefore, repeat the causes of our strife, lest our old wounds, by being touched, should bleed afresh; I shall only shortly declare, that I sacrifice all my private inconvenience, or injuries, to the public, and that nothing ever either was, or shall be dearer to me, than the weal of my country.” These mutual declarations were heard with great approbation by the meeting, and arbitrators were accordingly chosen to adjust their differences. Thus, to the great joy of their friends, the roots of ancient discord being cut up, and the seeds of fresh amity sown, they again undertook, in conjunction, the government of the kingdom.

xv. After this reconciliation, a convention of the estates was held at Edinburgh; to which, not a few, as formerly, but almost whole districts flocked to represent their wrongs. The appearance of this crowd was so wretched, that they could not be beheld without the utmost compassion, every one bewailing his peculiar distress; children lamenting the loss of their fathers, and fathers of their children; widows their husbands, and husbands their wives, and all complaining of the spoliation of their property by robbers. Compassion for the sufferers begat hatred to the leaders of their plunderers, whose crimes were become so flagrant, that they could no longer be tolerated; for so widely had the mischief extended, that no one could preserve either his life or his fortune in safety, who did not join himself to them; and so powerful was their force, that the authority of the magistrate afforded no protection to the weak against their violence. It appeared, however, to the more prudent, that the power of these banditti was unassailable by force, and they advised that it should be artfully undermined by degrees. Although all knew that the earl of Douglas was the fountain of these disorders, yet nobody dared openly to name him; the regent, therefore, dissembling his anger, persuaded the convention, that Douglas was a man whom it would be more advisable to appease than to irritate by their suspicions; for he was so powerful, that he, alone, if he remained refractory, could prevent the acts of the estates being carried into execution, but, if he joined with the

nobles, he was able to heal the present disorders. It was, in consequence, decreed, that complimentary letters should be sent him, in the common name of the estates, to admonish him—that mindful of the rank he sustained, and of the ancestors from whom he sprung, he should attend the meetings of the estates, which could not be conveniently held during his absence, and that of his friends. If he had any complaint to bring forward, they would afford him every satisfaction; if any thing had been done amiss by himself or his adherents, it would be forgotten, from respect to the nobility of his family, and the remembrance of the many services they had rendered their country; from the consideration of the state of the times, of his age, and the great hopes entertained of him. They, therefore, requested him to come and undertake what part of the administration he chose, and as Scotland had often been rescued from situations of the greatest peril by the arms of Douglas, that he might, by his presence, restore and confirm the tranquillity of his country, torn as it was by internal disorders.

xvi. The young earl, naturally ambitious, and at an age apt to be dazzled by show, was induced by these letters, and the persuasions of his friends—who, full of expectation, never dreamed of danger—to proceed to parliament. The Chancellor, when he heard of his approach, advanced several miles to meet him, invited him to his castle, Crichton, which was near the road, and entertained him magnificently. Having courteously detained him for two days, and shown the greatest marks of friendship, in order more easily to circumvent the unwary youth, and eradicate all suspicion from his mind, he began familiarly to advise him, that mindful of the royal dignity, and of his own duty, he should acknowledge and obey as his liege lord, him whom the accident of birth, the laws of his country, and the decree of the estates, had appointed to the sovereignty; that he should transmit to his posterity as he had received it, his extensive inheritance, procured by the valour and blood of his ancestors; that he should preserve the name of Douglas, as illustrious for loyalty as high achievements, not only pure from the stain, but even from the suspicion of treason; that he should restrain his followers from

oppressing the weak common people, dismiss all robbers from his service, and in future, maintain such a respect for justice, as to evince that the offences he had formerly committed, were not owing to the depravity of his nature, but to improper counsellors, and at his age, repentance would be accepted as innocence.

XVII. By these and similar speeches, when he had fully persuaded the young man of his amicable disposition, he drew him to Edinburgh, along with his brother David, who was his confidant. On the journey his attendants began to entertain some suspicions, on account of the frequent messages from Alexander, the regent, and the almost constant interchange of couriers, and the language of the chancellor, which was more flattering than was usual from one in his situation. Murmurings to this effect spread through almost all the earl's followers, and some at last even freely told him, that if he were determined to persist in his progress, he ought at least, to follow his father's dying advice, and send back his brother David, nor expose the whole family to one stroke of fortune. But the incautious boy, irritated at these surmises of his friends, caused a kind of proclamation to be published through his whole train, for suppressing such secret whisperings, and answered his advisers, that he knew it was the common plague of great families, to have always about them troublesome fellows, to whom the danger and misery of their patrons was gain; who, because in peace they were fettered by the bonds of the law, were active in stirring up sedition, that in times of commotion they might plunder without restraint; but he would rather trust his person to the known prudence of the regent and the chancellor, than to the rashness and madness of interested agitators. When he had thus spoken, in order to prevent a reply, he spurred forward with more than usual speed, together with his brother, and a few of his principal friends, passing on straight to the castle, and, as if dragged by fate, precipitated himself headlong into the snares of his enemies. The regent, as had been agreed upon, arrived at the same instant, that the deed might be perpetrated in presence of both, nor the whole load of reproach rest upon one. Douglas was courteously and kindly received, and admitted to

the king's table; but, during the feast, armed men surrounded him, quite defenceless, and placed before him a bull's head, in those days the signal for murder, on seeing which, the young man was alarmed, and endeavoured to rise, but was instantly seized, and carried into the adjoining square of the castle, where, for the intemperance of his youth, he suffered death, along with his brother David, and Malcolm Fleeming, who, next to his brother, enjoyed his greatest confidence. The king, then advancing to adolescence, is said to have shed tears at their murder, on which the chancellor severely rebuked his unseasonable grief for the death of an enemy, during whose life there could have been no hope of public tranquillity.*

XVIII. William dying without children, James, surnamed the Gross from his corpulence, succeeded him in the earldom, for it was what lawyers term a male-fee. The rest of the immense patrimony fell to his only sister, Beatrice, the loveliest woman of her age. This earl James, although not remarkably wicked, was yet not less hated by the common people than the former lords, nor less suspected by the king, because, although he did not retain the robbers, who were supported by the preceding earls of Douglas, he did not suppress them with sufficient energy, but in about two years, death removed him from all odium. William, the oldest of his seven sons, succeeded him, who, desirous of emulating the power of his grandfather, in order to restore the family to their ancient splendour, resolved to marry his uncle's daughter, the heiress of so many counties. Several of his relations, however, did not approve of this alliance, partly because it was unusual, and therefore not legal, and partly, because by the accession of so much wealth, he would be envied by the people, and formidable to the crown; for there was a report, nor was it groundless, that the king would do every thing in

* There appears, from charters quoted by Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 330, to have been some forms of a trial, beneath which, the perpetrators of this infamous assassination screened themselves. Three years after, Sir Alexander Livingston, declared upon oath, that he had given no counsel nor consent to the death and slaughter of Sir Malcolm Fleeming, who was murdered along with the Douglas.

his power to prevent the match. On which account, William hastened the nuptials in the season when marriages are prohibited,* that he might prevent any attempt on the part of the king to obstruct them. Insolence accompanied this too great wealth, and hatred followed, especially, as bands of robbers pillaged every where, whose leaders, it was believed, were not unconnected with the projects of Douglas. Among these was John Gormac, of Athol, who, in returning from a plundering expedition, attacked in regular battle, William Ruthven, sheriff of Perth, as he was carrying one of the Athol robbers to execution. Gormac, however, being slain with thirty of his associates, the rest fled to the mountains. This battle was fought A. D. 1443.

XIX. Not long after, the impregnable castle of Dunbarton, was twice surprised within a few days. Robert Semple held the lower part, and Patrick Galbraith the upper, and their commands were so distinct, that each had a separate entrance to his own division. They were also attached to different factions. Patrick was believed secretly to favour the Douglasses, and Semple having perceived that his upper division of the fortress was negligently guarded, expelled him thence, and ordered him to remove his property. Next day, when Patrick came for this purpose, with four men unarmed, having found the porter alone, seizing arms, he expelled him and all the rest from the upper part, and having procured speedy assistance from the neighbouring town, he drove his opponents out of the lower part also, and thus obtained possession of the whole. A great many murders of the common people were perpetrated at this time, partly by the retainers of Douglas, and partly charged upon them by their enemies. The king approaching now towards manhood, and capable of attending to the government himself, Douglas, unable to withstand the envy of the nobility, and the hatred of the lower ranks, resolved by a change of conduct, to appease the people, and if possible, conciliate the affections of his sovereign. Wherefore, he came to Stirling with a large train, and when he

* In time of Lent, and on Good Friday. It is doubted whether she was actually married, or only affianced at this time. Pink. vol. i. The effects, however, were the same, William got the estates.

understood by the courtiers, whom he had gained by large bribes, that the king was favourable, he presented himself, and surrendered his life and fortune into his hands. The crimes of his former life he partly excused, and partly—as that seemed the more likely way to reconciliation—he ingenuously confessed, acknowledging, that henceforth he would owe whatever he possessed, to the clemency of his majesty, not to his own innocence, and if the king would accept of his service and obedience, he pledged himself, that he would be exceeded by none in his fidelity, loyalty and good conduct. In repressing and punishing these robbers, whose crimes his enemies had attributed to himself, he would for the future, be diligent and severe; for he was descended from a family which had aggrandized itself, not by oppressing the weak, but by protecting the Scottish people by their arms. The earl's speech, and the secret recommendation of the courtiers, so influenced the king, that he graciously pardoned all past offences, received Douglas into his confidence, and made him one of his council. Indeed, he had in a short time so attached the king to himself by his obsequiousness, his ministers by his liberality, and all by his courtesy, that the nation were delighted with his condescension, but the more discerning dreaded his too sudden change.

xx. In particular, Livingston and Crichton, suspecting that his designs tended to their ruin, resigned all their public employments, and retired from court, Alexander to his estate, and William to the castle of Edinburgh, to wait the event of Douglas' dissimulation; nor was their penetration deceived. Douglas having obtained the ascendancy over the incautious young monarch, now destitute of the advice of experienced counsellors, thinking the opportunity favourable for avenging the death of his relations, easily persuaded the king to summon Crichton and Livingston, with his two sons, Alexander and James, to render a legal account of their administration. They perceiving his intention to be either to overwhelm them by the strength of his faction, if they came to court, or by using the king's name to declare them public enemies if they refused, and sequester their estates, replied to the summons; that they never had pursued any other object than the welfare

of the king, and the prosperity of the kingdom; that they had executed their offices in such a manner, that nothing was more desirable to them than to render an account to equitable judges; but for the present, when all who would sit in judgment, were either enemies, or bribed by their enemies, and when every avenue was beset with armed men, they must be excused if they withdrew, not from justice, but from the violence of their most inveterate foe, and reserved themselves for better times, till the leaders of robbers were driven from the royal presence, and then, as they had often done before in difficult situations, they would approve their integrity to the satisfaction of the king, and all honest subjects. Upon receiving this answer, a convention of the estates was held at Stirling, on the 4th of November, in which Douglas procured them to be declared traitors, and their estates confiscated and immediately sent John Froster, [or Forrester] of Corstorphin, one of his vassals, with a body of forces, to ravage their estates, and bring the proceeds into his majesty's exchequer, who having obtained possession of their castles, demolished some, put new garrisons into others, and spreading wide devastation without meeting any resistance, carried away a great booty.

xxi. Scarcely had the party of Douglas withdrawn, when Crichton, collecting a band of his friends and vassals with unexpected celerity, over-ran the estates of Froster and the Douglasses, at Corstorphin, Strabroch, and Abercorn, burned the castle of Blackness, destroyed the corn, and carried off all the plunder he could seize; among the rest he brought away a stud of noble mares, thus repaying with interest the damage he had sustained from the enemy. Douglas, aware that Crichton had accomplished his object, more by the aid of his allies than his own proper vassals, directed his vengeance against those who had privately—for none dared publicly—sent him assistance. The chief were James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrews, George, earl of Angus, and John, earl of Morton, both of the Douglas' family, but the one born of the king's aunt, who was also James Kennedy's mother, and the other was married to the king's sister. These always preferred the public welfare and their duty, to any family

affection, but Kennedy, both by age and wisdom, and of course, authority, was greatly superior to the others. On him therefore, Douglas vented his keenest indignation. Alexander Ogilvy, and the earl of Crawford, having levied a pretty large army, wasted his possessions in Fife extensively; and more eager for plunder, than attentive to the cause in which they had engaged, even ravaged the adjoining estates, no one daring to resist, and returned to Angus laden with spoil. Kennedy retorted with his own proper arms, and summoned the earl of Crawford before the church court, and on his refusing to obey, excommunicated him, which Crawford, with his usual haughtiness, despising, was speedily punished for his contempt of all law, human and divine.

XXII. In the same year in which these transactions took place, the college of the Benedictines at Aberbrothoc, had elected Alexander Lindsay, eldest son of the earl of Crawford, their chief justice—as the monks are forbidden to intermeddle with civil affairs—or bailiff, but he with his numerous attendants becoming too expensive to the monastery, and behaving rather as their lord than as their officer, was dismissed by the brethren, and Alexander Ogilvy placed in his room. Lindsay was highly enraged at this insult as he conceived it, and both parties collected forces from all quarters, and prepared for war. The armies were already drawn up in order of battle, when the earl of Crawford, who had received information of the dispute, hastened to the field, and advancing on horseback, rode up between the two lines, trusting to the dignity of his title alone for protection, but whilst he was in the act of preventing his son from engaging, and calling on Ogilvy to a conference, a soldier, accidentally or not I do not know, struck him with a spear in the mouth, and killed him. His death was the signal for engaging, and after a severe conflict, many being killed on both sides, victory remained with the Lindsays, the chief cause of which is said to have been this:—When the two armies stood with their spears placed upright, exhibiting the appearance of a wood, a person cried out, why do you bring these goads as if you meant to engage with oxen, let us throw them aside, and sword in hand, with true bravery, decide our quarrel as becomes men. At which, the

whole cast away their spears, except about an hundred men of Clydesdale, who had been sent by Douglas to the assistance of the Lindsays; these holding their shields in their hands, trailed their spears behind them, till they came within reach of their opponents, and then protruded them as a dense rampart, at which, the others, terrified by the unexpected appearance of the weapons, broke their ranks, and fled in disorder. Of the victors, there were missing about one hundred. On the other side, there fell about five hundred, and among them many noblemen. Alexander Ogilvy, who was taken prisoner, died in a few days of his wounds and vexation. Gordon, earl of Huntly, being placed by his friends on horseback, escaped, and the slaughter would have been much greater, if night had not protected the fugitives, for the battle began a few hours before twilight, on the 24th of January. The adherents of Lindsay exercised their victory with great cruelty, pillaging and demolishing the houses, and wasting the country; nor was the war carried on between the factions with more languor in other quarters. Douglas, who had kept Crichton shut up in Edinburgh castle for some months, in order that he might press the siege more closely, transferred to the capital the meeting of the estates, which had been summoned for the 19th July, and had already commenced sitting at Perth. At last, after the siege had lasted nine months, and the besiegers as well as the besieged, were completely tired, it was surrendered upon condition, that Crichton should receive a full pardon, and be allowed to depart in safety with his followers. Thus, in every dispute, he who is the most powerful, is generally allowed to be the most innocent. Crichton was soon again received into favour, and restored to the chancellorship with universal approbation; but he cautiously kept at a distance from court, and even from interfering in public business as much as his office would allow.

XXIII. Douglas, having rather alarmed than crushed Crichton, directed, next, his vengeance towards Livingston; but before I proceed to that part of the history, I shall notice the murders of some noblemen, which occurred about these times—to record the whole would be endless. James Stuart, a noble knight, was slain by Alexander Lisle and Robert Boyd, at

Kirkpatrick, two miles distant from Dunbarton; but not having satiated their cruelty by his death, they were anxious to get his wife also, then pregnant, and near her time, into their power. To accomplish their purpose, they sent a priest to tell her of the disturbance, and inform her that all the roads were beset with armed men; nor was there any other way of escape, except by proceeding in a small vessel to Dunbarton, to Robert Boyd, who solemnly promised that he would send her safe home. The unsuspecting woman, who was ignorant that Robert had been present at the perpetration of the murder, being carried from Cardross to the castle, perceiving herself surrounded on every hand by the associates of her enemies, overcome by excess of grief, fear, and indignation, was seized with premature labour, and expired, along with her infant, in a few hours. About the same time, Patrick Hepburn, lord Hailes, held Dunbar, and had with him Joan, the widow of James I., who, during these troublous times, had fled to him for refuge. Archibald, earl of March, taking offence at this, attacked Hailes, Hepburn's castle, during the night, and took it, the garrison being killed on the first assault, but, in a few days after, being panic struck at the approach of the earl of Douglas, restored it, upon condition that he should be allowed to depart in safety with his followers. Joan, the queen, died soon after, leaving the following children by her last husband—John, earl of Athol, James, earl of Buchan, and Andrew, afterwards bishop of Moray. On her decease, Hepburn delivered up the castle of Dunbar to the king. In Angus, Alexander, earl of Crawford, put to death, in the market-place of Dundee, John Lyon,* who had been raised by his father to wealth and honour, and even an alliance with the king, because he proved ungrateful, and forgot his favours. In the midst of these disorders, the Annandale thieves spread their ravages through all the adjoining counties.

xxiv. The cause of all these disorders, was imputed to Douglas, who, while he sedulously endeavoured to conceal

* This account of the assassination of John Lyon, lord Glamis, is supposed to have been inserted by mistake, here, instead of Book IX. at the end of the xlv. chap. as it took place about the year 1381--2, in the reign of Robert II.

the robberies committed by his own retainers, yet openly abetted vexatious attacks upon the opposite party; for to such a height had his insolence reached, that it was a capital offence to blame any of his proceedings. He forced James Stuart, the king's uncle, to fly the country, because he spoke too freely of the situation of the kingdom, who, being taken by the Flemings, died soon after in captivity. Douglas having matured his plans against the Livingstones, caused Alexander, the chief of the family, and James, his eldest son, to be summoned before a convention of the estates at Edinburgh, together with Robert, the king's treasurer, and David and Robert Bruce, and James and Robert Dundas, his friends; at which, Alexander, and the two Dundases, had their estates confiscated, and were remitted back to custody in Dunbarton—the rest suffered capital punishment. For what crime they suffered, cotemporary writers do not mention; nor shall I hazard a conjecture, respecting a subject so far removed from our times. I shall only relate what I have heard reported. James Livingston, when he came to the place of execution, complained, dignifiedly and eloquently, of the inconstancy of fortune; his father, he said, lately placed next in power to the king, had cheerfully resigned the invidious title of regent, and had retired to his own estate, at a distance from court, and the sight of his enemies, whose cruelty, not satiated with his misfortunes, had forced him to have recourse to arms for his own preservation; these he had laid down at the king's command, and if there was any crime in this, he had already obtained pardon for it; since when, his conduct had been above suspicion; and for this he would appeal to the testimony of the nobility, many of whom, he knew, anxiously deprecated the present infliction; yet the tyranny of his adversaries had prevailed over the former services of his family, the king's pardon, and the entreaties of the nobility. He therefore warned all who were present, to look upon glittering titles of empire and command, as nothing more than the flattering compliments of fortune, about to inflict some more cruel severity; as funereal decorations, rather than the safeguards of life; especially as the cabals of the wicked can always more readily effect the destruction of the virtuous, than the united efforts

of the good procure their safety. Having said this, he submitted to the stroke of the executioner, amid the lamentations of the spectators.

xxv. During these commotions, Crichton was sent to France, to renew the ancient league, and ask a wife of the royal blood for king James. Nor was Douglas displeased at his absence, even when sent upon an honourable mission; for although he was a prudent and vigorous statesman, yet some remains of their ancient discord did not render his presence altogether agreeable. The ecclesiastical order, too, was affected by the contagion of the times. John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, had committed, in his diocese—which was extensive—many acts of cruelty and rapine; and had encouraged men in power to do the same, that the effects of those who were unjustly condemned might revert to him; he was, besides, believed to be the author or promoter of all the mischief perpetrated by the lower orders in his charge. This man, it is reported, came to an end worthy the nefarious life he had led. On Christmas eve, as he was asleep at his country house, about seven miles distant from Edinburgh, he seemed to hear a loud voice summon him to appear before the tribunal of Christ; suddenly awaking in great perturbation, he roused his servants, and ordered them to sit by him with lighted candles; and having taken a book in his hand, began to read, when a repetition of the same voice struck all present with profound horror; then, a short while after, as it sounded again, louder and more terrible, the bishop gave a deep groan, and on his attendants going up to his couch, he was found dead, with his tongue hanging out of his mouth. This remarkable example of divine vengeance, I shall neither rashly affirm nor dispute, but as it has been mentioned by others, and is constantly and uniformly reported, I did not think it proper to omit. At the same time, James Kennedy, a man widely different in his life and manners, whose every counsel tended to the public welfare, when he saw that he could neither, by his authority nor advice, resist the daily increasing evils, and perceived that even the royal power was too weak to oppose the conspiracies of the wicked, left his all as a prey to his enemies, and retired from the dangerous contest. Amid

such turbulence at home, the foreign relations of the country were not more quiet.

xxvi. The truce with England being expired, the Scots made incursions into England, and the English into Scotland, accompanied by the usual devastation. In England, Alnwick was taken and burned by James, brother of the earl of Douglas; in Scotland, Dumfries was similarly treated by the earl of Salisbury, and Dunbar by the earl of Northumberland, and the spoil in men and cattle was considerable. An agreement, however, was entered into between the commanders for an exchange of prisoners, as the captives on both sides were nearly equal both in number and rank. By these incursions, although the country was almost reduced to a solitude, the war was not brought to a crisis; another truce was therefore agreed upon for seven years. In this situation of public affairs, James Dunbar, earl of Moray, died, and left two daughters, heiresses. The eldest, before her father's death, had been married by him to James Crichton; the younger, after his decease, married Archibald, brother to the earl of Douglas, who, in opposition to the laws and the custom of our ancestors, assumed the title of earl of Moray, so great was the power of Douglas at court. Yet not content with this increase of title, that he might still more extend the honours of his family, he caused his brother George be created earl of Ormond, and his brother John, who had many large and productive estates given him, baron of Balveny. These accessions, however, produced jealousies even in the minds of his friends, who thought his power already too great and formidable to the crown; and some of them augured that this immoderate flow of good fortune would not be of long duration.

xxvii. But his enemies strongly inveighed against his insatiable cupidity. What sort of existence, in future, said they, shall we drag out under the tyranny of such a rapacious oppressor, whose avarice is insatiable, and against whose power there can be no safeguard; who has forcibly seized the inheritance of the nobles, and left the more humble a prey to his vassals; who has caused all that opposed his will, to be either deprived of their estates or their lives, by robbers and as-

sassins; who has raised upstarts to the highest honours, and exalted them on the ruins of ancient families; who has collected, in one house, the whole wealth of the kingdom—for, besides knights and barons, there were five opulent earls of that family alone—and left to the king himself but a precarious sway; while all extremity of wretchedness, they added, must be endured under a miserable servitude to the Douglasses, as whoever breathes a word for liberty, must breathe their last at the same time. These, and similar complaints, sometimes true, and sometimes greatly exaggerated beyond the truth, for the purpose of exciting hatred, were spread abroad every where, and induced those who belonged to no faction, to give up all concern for the public, and confine themselves entirely to their private interests. The more sagacious of his adversaries were glad to perceive, that a man possessed of such power, as rendered all opposition hopeless, was, of his own accord, rushing headlong to destruction. Nor were their anticipations fallacious, for his mind, naturally insolent, had so much increased in arrogance, by his great successes, that he resented the free admonitions of his friends, and even silence was unsafe; for his parasites observed not the words only, but the countenances of those who disapproved his proceedings. His old enemies he hurried before a tribunal, where he sat both accuser and judge, confiscating the estates of some, and condemning others to death, while many went into exile to avoid his iniquitous decisions. The adherents of the Douglas, fearless of being brought to trial—for no man durst accuse them—indulged in every species of licentiousness, respecting nothing either sacred or profane, murdering whoever was obnoxious to them, and sometimes, with wanton and gratuitous cruelty, torturing those who had never offended them, lest their souls, softened by the disuse of crime, should become humanized; and the more contumeliously any one treated the common people, the more noble did he esteem himself.

XXVIII. Torn with so many disorders in every part of the kingdom, Scotland must have sunk beneath the seditions, had not England, at the same time, been equally distracted by her civil dissensions. These, at last, however, being in some measure allayed, the English violated their truce, and invaded

Scotland, where having spread their ravages over a wide extent, destroyed many villages, and driven away great numbers of cattle, they returned home. The Scots did not long suffer this injury to remain unrevenged, but, entering England with a strong force, they retaliated, inflicting upon the enemy greater damage than they had sustained, and thus, mutually irritated by these incursions, great devastation was spread over both countries; but the greater part of the calamity fell upon Cumberland, whence the injury had first arisen, and which, harassed with all the disasters of war, was nearly reduced to a desert. Reports of these outrages being carried to London, it was determined to send a powerful army against the Scots, with which they imagined they would easily subdue a barren country, labouring under domestic misfortunes. Wherefore, having raised an army of the best description, they gave the command to the earl of Northumberland, on account of his knowledge of the country, and because his name and authority was great in these districts. To him they added one Mayne, of a knightly family, who had served many years in France, with great reputation for activity and bravery, and who bore so violent hatred against the Scots, that he is said to have bargained with the king for whatever lands in Scotland he should gain, either by expelling or destroying the inhabitants.

xxix. On the other hand, the Scots having heard of the demonstrations of the enemy, prepared to resist them. George, earl of Ormond, being appointed commander in chief, marched immediately into Annandale, whither he was informed the enemy would advance. The English, however, who had commenced hostilities, had pre-occupied it, having passed the rivers Solway and Annan, and encamped on the banks of the Sark, whence they sent out plundering detachments, who scoured the country. On being apprized of the approach of the Scots, they recalled their marauding parties, and concentrated their whole forces into one body; and as soon as the two armies could be drawn up, the battle almost instantaneously commenced. Mayne led the right wing of the English, Sir John Pennington the left, composed of Welshmen, the relics of the ancient Britons, the earl himself commanded the centre.

George Douglas placed Wallace, laird of Craigie, opposite Mayne, the chiefs of the Maxwells and Johnstons, with their clans, against Pennington, and taking himself the command of the centre, briefly addressed his soldiers, exhorting them confidently to expect a victory, for having been forced to take up arms by the injuries they had received from the enemy, success must attend so just a cause, and if once they humbled the pride of the English, by a signal defeat, they would for a long time enjoy the fruit of their labours. The English, who were superior in their archers, galled the Scots exceedingly with their arrows, when Wallace, who commanded the left wing, exclaimed so loud as to be heard by all: —Why do ye thus stand trifling at a distance? Follow me to the enemy, and engage him hand to hand, which is the only way of displaying true bravery, or fighting like men. Having thus spoken, he rushed forward, and carried the whole left wing along with him; and immediately charging the enemy with their long spears, with which both the Scottish horse and foot are armed, he drove them back, routed, and put them to flight.

xxx. Mayne, perceiving the confusion of his division, and regarding more the glory of his past life, than the present danger, advanced with great impetuosity towards Wallace, either to restore the battle by his presence, or illustrate the splendour of his former deeds by his fall; but as he incautiously pressed forward, he was cut off from his men, and slain with a few followers. The report of his death being spread through both armies, the Scots were inspirited to advance with greater alacrity, and the English army were not able long to resist them. As they fled dispersed, and in great confusion, more were slain in the pursuit than in the battle; the greatest carnage was at the banks of the Solway, as the river being swollen by the influx of the tide, prevented the progress of the fugitives. There perished in this engagement about three thousand of the English—of the Scots about six hundred. The number of the prisoners was great, among whom the chief were Sir John Pennington, and Robert Huntington. The son of the earl of Northumberland might have escaped, but waiting to assist his father to mount his horse, he was taken

prisoner. The plunder taken was greater than ever had been known in any former battle; for the English relying upon the number and discipline of their army, and the dissensions of the Scots, appeared to have come not so much to fight as to triumph, so great was their confidence, and such their contempt for the enemy. Wallace was carried home severely wounded, and after languishing three months, died of his wounds. The victorious earl of Ormond having reviewed the prisoners, sent the noblemen to Lochmaben castle, and returned himself to court, where he was received with the highest honours, the whole nobility advancing to meet and congratulate him. The king too, highly praised his conduct in the war, and in an address to him and his brother, advised them, as they had often displayed their courage abroad, and defended the Scottish state in the hour of danger, by their bravery and exertions, so now at home to exercise moderation, abstain from injuring the weak, and likewise prevent their vassals from doing it; and that the power which his ancestors had attained by their many services to their king and country, ought rather to be used in repressing robbers, than in encouraging them, for this only was wanting to complete their fame, which if they would undertake, he assured them nothing would give him greater pleasure than the advancement of the family of Douglas. Having returned a dutiful answer, they were dismissed by the king, and returned joyfully home.*

* The battle of Sark is recorded by no contemporary historian, either English or Scottish. Pinkerton remarks, that among the later writers, "The English pass it in complete silence, and the Scots too much swell their victory." The French historians, according to Abercrombie, "magnify it excessively; they tell us, that in two different engagements with the Scots, they, [the English] were not only soundly beaten, *bien battus*, but left 24,000 men upon the field of battle." It is evident, however, from all accounts, that the battle had been pretty decisive, and there appears no good reason for preferring any other statement to that given by Buchanan. Pinkerton adds, "*even the copious Holinshed* [is] equally silent." Now, Holinshed is not silent, he has a long account of the battle, and Abercrombie refers to him, vol. ii. p. 340. It is almost needless to observe, "the copious Holinshed," is in the first part, merely a translation of Bellenden's translation of Boyce, and in the last, a mere compilation.

XXXI. The battle of Sark produced tranquillity on the Scottish borders, but when the intelligence was carried to London, the English, irritated rather than humbled, held a council respecting the Scottish war, where it was determined to raise a new army, to wipe away the reproach. But while intent upon this object, an insurrection suddenly broke out at home, and a strong combination of the common people against the king, put an end to all designs of a foreign war. Ambassadors were therefore sent to Scotland, to treat respecting peace, whose arrival was the more welcome on account of the unsettled state of affairs among the Scots themselves. A peace, however, could not be concluded, but a truce was entered into for three years. These transactions took place, A. D. 1448. The public joy at this event was soon after increased, by the arrival of a messenger from the chancellor, from Flanders, who had been sent to Charles VII. as ambassador, to contract a matrimonial alliance. By his means, Mary, the daughter of Arnold, duke of Guelderland—allied to the royal family of France, her mother being sister to the duke of Burgundy—was betrothed to James. The year after, she came to Scotland, attended by a great concourse of nobility, and in the month of July was crowned in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh.

XXXII. This universal joy for the victory, the peace, and the royal nuptials, was somewhat interrupted by the death of Richard Colvill, an eminent knight, not so much because it was unmerited, as that the manner in which it was perpetrated, afforded a most pernicious example to the people. Sir Richard having complained of many serious injuries which he had received from John Achleck, [or Auchinleck,] an intimate friend of Douglas, when he perceived that he could expect no redress in law or equity, attacked him in a skirmish, and slew him, together with some of his attendants. Douglas was so highly incensed at this murder, that he bound himself by a solemn oath, that he would never rest till he expiated it in the blood of Colvill. Nor were his threats vain; for he stormed his castle, took and plundered it, and put to death all who were arrived at the age of puberty. This action, although it could neither be justified by law nor usage, was

yet excused, and even praised, as proceeding from an indignation worthy a generous man, for thus usually, in degenerate times, flatterers, who constantly fawn upon wealth, clothe the foulest offences with honourable names. Dazzled by the blandishments of fortune, which were urging him on to his ruin, Douglas now indulged the foolish ostentation of exhibiting his power among foreigners, as if the splendour of so great a family was too much confined in the narrow theatre of an island. He, therefore, determined to visit Rome, vanity the motive, religion the pretext of his journey. The Romish church, in imitation of the ancient Jews, who every fifty years remitted all debts of whatever kind to their countrymen, restored all pledges which had been placed in pawn, and gave liberty to all the slaves of the Hebrew race, instituted a spiritual jubilee, and the pope, who, as vicar of God upon earth, arrogated to himself the power of forgiving all sins, every fiftieth year opened the storehouses of his compassion, and poured out pardons without measure, not, however, without price, to the public, while at other times he only retailed them in small parcels. Douglas, therefore, with a great train of nobility, allured either by the prospect of novelty, or the hopes of advantage, set sail for Flanders, whence he travelled by land to Paris, taking with him his brother, appointed bishop of Dunkeld, who afterward, when Douglas had no children, was by the king's permission, nominated his heir. He was received in France with such splendour and kindness, both on account of the public league between the nations, and the remembrance of his ancestors' eminent services in the French wars, that his approach filled Rome with the greatest expectation.*

xxxiii. Scarcely had two months elapsed after his departure, when his enemies and rivals, who were restrained by fear while he was present, began by degrees to gather courage, and complain of the injuries they had received. As soon as it became known that access could be easily obtained to the king, and that he was ready to listen to complaints, the crowd

* In this jubilee, innumerable people crowded to Rome, ninety-seven were killed by the press, at the end of the bridge of St. Angelo.

increased daily, and every avenue to the palace was filled with complainants. The king, who could neither dismiss the sufferers, nor condemn the earl in his absence, appeased for a time, the clamours of the importunate applicants by a middle answer. He said he would summon the earl's procurator to appear, that in his presence he might take cognizance of the crimes charged against him. The procurator was in consequence summoned, but did not appear, and king's messengers were sent to fetch him by force. When brought to court, some demanded that he should be instantly punished for despising the royal order, alleging, that too much patience would weaken the king's authority, and render it contemptible; that the appearance of lenity would increase the audacity of the wicked, and the impunity of offenders would encourage the perpetration of new crimes. The king, however, unmoved by these representations, adhered to his determination, rather to compensate the sufferers for the damage they had sustained, than satisfy the revenge of vindictive counsellors. He, therefore, commanded the procurator to be brought from prison to trial, and informed him, that if he could reply to any of the crimes charged against the earl, he was at liberty to do so, and at the same time, exhorted him to do it without fear. Many of the causes having been decided against the earl, when the king ordered him immediately to pay the sums awarded, the procurator answered, that he could not interfere with the earl's property till his arrival, which was expected in a few months. This reply he was understood to have made by the advice of the earl of Ormond, and the earl of Moray, brothers of Douglas, which being reported to the king, he sent William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, chancellor for the time, first to Galloway, and next to Douglas, who appointed collectors to receive the rents of Douglas' estates, and pay the damages adjudged by law. But as Sinclair did not possess power to enforce his orders, some eluded the demand, some treated him with insult, and he returned home without effecting his mission. The king, irritated at this contempt of his authority, summoned the whole adherents of the Douglas faction to appear, which they refusing, he denounced them as traitors, and having raised an army,

marched into Galloway against them. On his first arrival, the leaders of the rebels were forced into their castles, but a small party of the royal army pursuing some of the others who had fled to the rugged hills, were sent back with ignominy. Enraged at the audacity of the outlaws, the king determined to wipe away the reproach by attacking their strong holds. Lochmaben castle he took with little trouble, but having experienced considerable difficulty in the reduction of Douglas castle, he levelled it with the ground. The farmers who had thrown themselves and their fortunes upon his mercy, he ordered to pay their rents to his collectors, till the damages decreed against Douglas were liquidated. Having accomplished this, and obtained a high character for lenity and moderation, even from his enemies, he disbanded his army.

xxxiv. When intelligence of these proceedings reached Rome, the earl became greatly alarmed. He appeared degraded too among his own attendants, a number of whom deserted him, and set out upon his journey homeward with a reduced retinue.* Passing through England, on his arrival at the borders of Scotland, he sent his brother James before, to sound the disposition of the king towards him, which being found placable, he returned home, and was courteously received, and only advised to restrain the bands of freebooters, particularly those of Annandale, who, during his absence, had perpetrated many acts of rapine and cruelty. Douglas having solemnly sworn that he would undertake this, was not only restored to favour, but declared king's lieutenant over all Scotland. Yet his unbounded ambition, always craving ex-

* Pinkerton estimates the retinue of Douglas, from the number who received passports on his *return* from Henry VI. certainly a fallacious mode of computation. It requires little knowledge of the world to perceive, that there must be a wide difference between the attendants of a favourite in honour, and a favourite in disgrace. It does not appear, however, that he ever fully obtained again the king's confidence after the reconciliation, which probably never was sincere on either part. The access which Crichton had to the young queen during his embassy, was fatal to Douglas. The old and able courtier had time and opportunity, to insinuate himself into her good graces, and through her influence directed the councils of the king, which ultimately issued in the ruin of a family, too powerful for subjects.

cessive and immoderate indulgence, not content with this honour, the greatest he could enjoy under the king, rashly prompted him to afford new grounds of distrust. He soon after proceeded to England, and had a secret interview with the English king, assigning, as the cause of his journey, that although he had often demanded back the property taken away during his absence, he had never obtained it. These reasons appearing trifling and unlikely to his sovereign, fixed more deeply in his mind, the suspicions he had already begun to entertain, and when he did not conceal his resentment or his conviction, that something more important lurked under that conference, Douglas again as a suppliant, had recourse to the often tried clemency of James, and the queen and many of the nobles interceding, he was, after a solemn oath, that for the future he would not do any thing by which the king might be justly offended, once more forgiven, only his high office was taken away, and the earl of Orkney,* and Crichton, whose loyalty had always remained untainted, were intrusted with the government.

xxxv. For this affront, as he thought it, Douglas conceived the highest indignation against all the courtiers, but especially against Crichton, by whose counsel he supposed all his designs were impeded; he therefore resolved, if possible, to remove him by stratagem, but if that should not succeed, to get rid of him by any means. To effect this, in such a manner as to incur the least opprobrium he suborned some of his friends to assert that they heard Crichton affirm:—'That Scotland never would be quiet as long as the family of Douglas existed; that the safety of the king and the kingdom, the concord of the estates, and the public peace depended upon the destruction of the earl; but if this chief, so restless by nature, supported by so many and such powerful connexions, whom no favours could conciliate, nor honours satisfy, were put to death, the public tranquillity would be secured. When the story was circulated, it was generally believed, because it ap-

* William Sinclair, earl of Orkney and Caithness, chancellor of Scotland, was a nobleman of princely munificence, respectable for his talents, and patronage of letters. In 1456, Sir Gilbert Hay, translated Bonet's then popular work, *L'Arbre des Batailles*, at his request. Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 214.

peared so likely, and excited a great deal of hatred against Crichton. Douglas then, having learned by his spies at what time his rival would leave Edinburgh, placed an ambush for him by the way, late at night, and as secretly as he could, who, as soon as Crichton approached, sprung up, and attacked him with a shout. Those of his attendants who were foremost, surprised at so sudden an assault, were stupified and unable to defend themselves; but William, who possessed great intrepidity, when he recovered from his surprise, killed the first that attacked him, knocked down another, and cut his way through the midst of his enemies, after receiving several wounds. Having remained in Crichton castle, whither he fled, several days to be cured, he collected his tenants and friends, and marched to Edinburgh with so much celerity, that he arrived before any report of his march had reached his enemy, whom he very nearly surprised. Douglas, upon escaping this unexpected danger, was distracted between shame and vexation; and perceiving that the adverse party increased, both in strength and popularity, he, in order to consolidate the power of his own, entered into a league with the earls of Crawford and Ross, the most celebrated and powerful families in the kingdom, next to the Douglasses; the whole binding themselves by oath, to aid and assist every member of the confederacy against their enemies, with their entire vassals and retainers; and trusting to this conspiracy, the confederates bid defiance not only to the power of the opposite party, but even to that of the king.

xxxvi. While the king was exasperated at this combination, fresh causes of offence were added, which hastened the impending ruin of Douglas. Sir John Herres of Galloway, who detested the crimes of the faction, had confined himself almost entirely to his own castle, but being harassed by the robberies of the Annandale thieves sent against him, and having often complained to Douglas in vain, determined to be revenged by force. For this purpose, he collected a band of his friends, and entered Annandale, where he was taken prisoner, with all his followers, by the banditti, and brought to Douglas, who, notwithstanding the king sent many letters entreating his life, hanged him as a thief. This atrocious act gave rise to many

surmises—that Douglas openly, and by the most infamous practices, aimed at the throne, for nothing else now remained to satiate his vast cupidity; which opinion, within a few days, was strengthened by another action even more atrocious. The family of the Maclellans was among the first in Galloway both for descent and power. The chief tutor of this family having slain one of the adherents of Douglas, by whom he had been often affronted, was seized, along with his brother, and thrown by Douglas into prison. The king, on being made acquainted with the circumstance, and strongly importuned by the friends of the captive, to prevent a nobleman, and a man of otherwise excellent character, from being dragged, not to a trial, but to certain death—his inveterate enemy sitting as judge—whose present offence was not so much his crime, as his having uniformly adhered to the loyal party, despatched Sir Patrick Gray, the uncle of Maclellan, and likewise a relation of Douglas, to command him to send his prisoner to court, there to be tried according to law. The earl received Sir Patrick with great courtesy, but, in the mean time, ordered Maclellan to be put to death, and then requested Gray to excuse this action to the king, as if it had been done without his knowledge, and contrary to his inclination. But he perceiving how evidently he had been mocked, told Douglas, in a rage, that he renounced, from that day, his relationship, friendship, and every other tie by which they were united, and for the future, would be his implacable enemy. On the return of Gray to court, the action appeared detestable, and the conduct of Douglas was severely censured. He had at length, it was said, passed the bounds of a subject, which he had so often attempted, and exercised openly the prerogative of the king. Thither his confederacy with the earls of Crawford, Ross, Moray, and Ormond, indisputably tended. The secret conference with the king of England, the murder of the loyal, the encouraged licentiousness of the base, all indicated the same. Already innocence was despised as cowardice, and loyalty punished as perjury. The insolence of these traitors had increased, it was added, through the lenity of the prince, and it was now necessary that he should assume the reins himself, and let it appear who were his enemies,

and who were his friends. If he did not dare to do so openly, because of the power of some persons, he ought to punish their perfidy by art; but if he could do neither, nothing remained for the loyal, except to provide for their own safety.

xxxvii. Although these representations accorded both with the conduct of the Douglas party, and the king's previous suspicions, yet James, either from an innate principle of mercy, or a preconcerted design, invited the earl to court. The earl, on the other hand, conscious to himself of so many misdeeds, recollecting, too, how often he had been pardoned, and, besides, not ignorant of the aversion the king bore to the new league with Crawford, although he had considerable confidence in his majesty's clemency, yet being more inclined to fear, refused to come, where he had so many powerful enemies, some of whom had lately lain in wait for his life. To dissipate his apprehensions, a number of noblemen, along with the king, sent him an obligation, signed and sealed, promising, upon oath, that although the king himself should meditate any design against his life, they would dismiss him in safety. Douglas, having experienced the king's mercy so often, and having, besides, the public faith of so many noblemen pledged for his security, came to Stirling, attended by a great train. At the pressing invitation of the king, he entered the castle. After supper, which passed with great mirth, James took him aside to a bedchamber, with a few attendants, not even admitting those with whom he was accustomed to advise, and there gravely addressed him, reminding him of the bravery and fidelity of his ancestors, and the kindness of his own towards all the family, and particularly his individual indulgence to himself; adding, that he had easily pardoned the crimes committed by him, either on account of his inexperienced age, or the evil counsels of others, always hoping that his kindness and clemency, or his own more mature age, would produce a reformation; neither did he yet despair, nor would he ever refuse to pardon, when he perceived regret for misconduct. but this last league with Crawford and Ross, continued he, as it is not honourable to you, and is ignominious to me, although I am seriously displeased at it, yet I put in your power to break it, and although I could demand of right, I rather

wish to persuade you, when all eyes are upon you, to remove thus every suspicion of treason. Douglas replied to every thing else with sufficient submission, but when the king came to mention the league with Crawford and Ross, he appeared rather perplexed, and would not explicitly answer as to what he would do, but said he would consult with his allies, as he could perceive no reason why the king should be so urgent, for the league contained nothing which ought to offend him. The king, whether he had determined on the action, or whether, as the courtiers wished it to appear, offended at the contumacy of the answer, replied—If thou wilt not break it, I will, and instantly struck his dagger into the earl's breast. At the noise, those who stood without rushed in, and finished the murder. Some writers mention, that Sir Patrick Gray—mentioned before—struck him the mortal blow on the head with a battle-axe, after the king, and that then the rest of his courtiers, to shew their loyalty, each inflicted a wound on the body. He was killed in the month of February, 1452, according to the Roman computation.

xxxviii. There were, at that time, in Stirling, the earl's four brothers, who had accompanied him with a great number of the nobility; who, as soon as they heard of the catastrophe, ran in trepidation, as usually happens in cases of sudden alarm, to their arms, with much confusion and great noise; but the tumult being in some measure appeased by the chiefs, each was desired to repair to his own lodging. Next day, a meeting of that party being called, James was saluted earl in room of his deceased brother, and he, after inveighing against the perfidy of the king and courtiers, advised that they should besiege the castle with what troops they had, and collect re-enforcements from every quarter, to drag from their lurking places, men brave only for perfidy, while they still trembled with a consciousness of their crimes. All present applauded the piety and courage of James, but opposed the idea of a siege, as they were wholly unprovided for such an undertaking. They, therefore, returned home, and having consulted with their particular friends, returned on the 27th March; and having pasted on a board, the promise of public faith given by the king and his nobles to Douglas, they tied it

to a horse tail, and dragged it through the streets, venting the most contumelious expressions against the king and his council. When they arrived at the market-place, five hundred horns sounding at once, they proclaimed, by the common crier, the king and those who were with him—Truce breakers, perjured, and enemies to all good men! They spoiled, also, the unoffending town, and after they departed, sent back James Hamilton and burned it, and, for some days, continued to gratify their anger, by destroying the estates of all in that neighbourhood who remained loyal to the king. They then besieged Dalkeith castle, binding themselves by an oath, that they would not depart from it until they took it; for they were highly incensed against John, lord of the place, because he and the earl of Angus had separated themselves from the enterprises of the rest of the Douglasses. The siege, however, lasted longer than was expected, for Patrick Cockburn the commander of the garrison, made a most vigorous resistance to all their attacks; and after much fatigue and exertion, a great number being wounded, they were forced to raise it.

xxxix. The king, having in the mean time collected an army to aid his distressed friends, finding himself unequal to cope with the forces of the Douglasses, determined to wait the arrival of Alexander Gordon, who was said to be advancing with powerful assistance, raised in the farthest parts of the north; but in marching through Angus, the earl of Crawford met him with a strong body of men at Brechin. An engagement having commenced fiercely, the centre of the royal army began to give way, and could scarcely withstand the shock of the men of Angus, when John Coless, who hated the earl of Crawford, deserted with the left wing, which he commanded, and thus exposed the middle of their line; on which, those who were almost conquerors fled, panic struck, and Gordon, contrary to his expectation, obtained a sanguinary victory, his two brothers, with a great number of gentlemen, and many of his vassals being slain. Of the Angusians, there fell several distinguished men, and among them John Lindsay, brother of the earl. The earl himself, on his defeat, turned his vengeance from his enemies, towards those who had de-

serted him, whose castles he destroyed, and wasted their estates with fire and sword; which he was able to do with the greater facility, Gordon being obliged suddenly to return north to defend his own estates, on learning that the earl of Moray was ravaging and exercising every species of cruelty in Strathbogie; where, with his victorious army, he not only revenged his loss upon the enemy, but drove him also from the county of Moray. These actions took place in the spring.

XL. In the mean time, the king, by the advice of James Kennedy, called an assembly of the estates at Edinburgh, to which he summoned, by herald, the earl of Douglas, and all who followed him. Instead of attending, the earl, next night, affixed a label to the church doors, declaring—That he would neither trust his safety to the king in future, nor obey him, who, having enticed his relations to Edinburgh, and his brother to Stirling, by the pledge of public faith, had so perfidiously murdered them without a trial. In this assembly, the four brothers of the earl who was slain, James, Archibald, George, and John, and Beatrix, the late earl's wife, were declared public enemies. Many were advanced to the rank of noblemen, and several had rewards assigned them out of the estates of the rebels. An army also was levied for pursuing the enemy, who, after having spoiled their estates, driven away their cattle, and burned their corn in their granaries, was then dismissed, because the soldiers could not keep the field during the winter, and a new expedition ordered for the spring. About the same time, James Douglas, to prevent the large possessions, which the family had acquired by their wealthy matrimonial alliances, being alienated, married Beatrix, his brother's widow, and negotiated with the pope, to confirm the marriage; but the king interposing by letters, rendered the application abortive.*

* There is here a gap in the history, filled up with a vague account of the struggle, which is supposed to have continued from the death of earl William, at Stirling, till the final ruin of the house of Douglas; but documents, with which Buchanan was unacquainted, prove that James, who succeeded to the title, was reconciled to the king, and was afterward sent by him on an embassy to England, to prolong the truce, which he accomplished. While at London, he procured passports for Rome, with the intention, as is believed,

XLI. During this year and the two following, the contest between the two factions was prosecuted with the keenest acrimony, destroying the estates, and demolishing the castles of each other, yet never coming to any decisive battle. The greatest part of the mischief fell on Annandale, the Forest,* and the neighbouring possessions of the Douglasses. In consequence of the devastation, a famine, and in consequence of the famine, a contagious distemper ensuing, the wisest of Douglas' friends often entreated him, to throw himself upon the mercy of his sovereign, which his predecessors had so frequently experienced, especially as the king was of a placable disposition by nature, and easily entreated by his friends, and not ruin, by his pertinacity, a noble family, neither betray the lives of so many brave men who followed his fortune, nor reduce them to the necessity—after being broken by misfortune—of procuring for themselves what terms they could. Whilst his situation was prosperous, a pacification would be easy, but if he were once deserted by his friends, there would remain no hope of pardon. But that young nobleman haughtily replied—That he would never place himself in their power, who were neither restrained by shame, nor by any law human or divine, who, having by flattering promises entrapped his cousins and his brother, perfidiously and barbarously murdered them; and he would rather suffer every extremity, than trust their faith. This reply was variously relished; the more daring, and those who were enriched by public calamity,

of obtaining a dispensation from the pope for his marriage with Margaret, the fair maid of Galloway, his brother's widow. He did not, however proceed to Rome, nor does it appear from the records, that he ever married the lady, or that she returned to Scotland till after his final overthrow. King James' opposition to this marriage, and the connexions which the earl formed with the York faction during his residence in England, are the supposed causes which induced Douglas again to rebel; and the parliament which is here mentioned, as if called shortly after the murder of earl William, is a parliament which was summoned after the *new* rebellion, two years after the first. The submission of Crawford, should in proper chronological order, have preceded the meeting of this parliament, and the suppression of Ormond in the north, have followed.

* The country lying between Lothian and Teviotdale, formerly a royal forest.

praised the greatness of soul which it displayed; the more prudent, recommended to the earl not to push things to an extremity, lest, deserted by his friends, he might experience, when too late, the usual consequence of foolish conduct—that he had lost an opportunity for making peace with advantage, which would never return.

XLII. The earl of Crawford, now become weary of the war, reflecting on the unjust cause which he supported, and the uncertainty of fortune, and aware that he would easily procure pardon from his prince, if he made a speedy submission, which it would be difficult to obtain if he remained in arms; being deserted too by a part of his friends, and suspicious of the rest, he went, clothed in a habit calculated to excite compassion with his head and feet bare, and threw himself as a suppliant, in the way of the king, who was passing through Angus. Having ingenuously confessed the offences of his former life, he surrendered unconditionally to his majesty, confessing that he merited the severest punishment, and whatever he might enjoy hereafter, he would owe entirely to the clemency of the king. By such speeches, accompanied by many tears, he greatly affected all who were present, in particular, the nobility of Angus, who, though they were attached to the royal party, yet were unwilling that so ancient and illustrious a family should be extinct. On this occasion, James Kennedy performed the part both of a good bishop, and a patriotic subject. He not only forgave the earl the many and severe injuries he had suffered, but likewise strongly recommended his plea to the king, because he foresaw, what afterward came to pass, that by such an accession of strength to the royal party, that of their enemies would be daily weakened, and many would follow the example of this nobleman. The king himself also, thinking that his haughty spirit was humbled, and that he sincerely regretted his past conduct, was not difficult to be reconciled, and having restored him to his ancient estate and honours, advised him in future to adhere to his duty. Crawford, affected by the kindness and humanity of the king, endeavoured ever after, by every service in his power, to evince that he deserved it. He attended him with all his forces, to the most distant parts of the kingdom,

and when affairs were there settled for the time, entertained him magnificently at his castle upon their return. He engaged to attend him with as many forces as he could raise, on his marching to suppress the remaining civil war, and so altered the whole tenor of his life, that laying aside his pristine ferocity, he lived with the neighbouring nobility on terms of kindness and courtesy; and on his death, which happened soon after, he was greatly lamented, both by the king and the people.

XLIII. The king thus gradually weakening the strength of the Douglasses, by dividing them, their only remaining hope rested upon obtaining assistance from England. Hamilton was therefore sent to London, whence he returned with an answer from the king:—That he would undertake a war against the king of Scotland, upon no other condition than that Douglas and all his followers should submit to him, and own themselves subjects of England. Hope being cut off on this side, and on the other, his own sovereign pressing him by edicts, proscriptions, and arms, and all the other miseries which accompany rebellious insurrections, Hamilton advised the earl, not to suffer the king by detaching individuals, to weaken, and at last to overturn the whole, but rather try the fate of a battle, and either conquer nobly, or die bravely—a resolution worthy of the name of Douglas, and the only way at once to put an end to their troubles. Roused by this speech, the earl having collected as great an army of his vassals and friends as he could, marched to raise the siege of Abercorn castle, for the king, after having thrown down many of the castles of Douglas, had laid siege to Abercorn, by far the most strongly fortified of the whole, situate about midway between Edinburgh and Stirling. When Douglas had come within sight of the enemy, his friends advised him either to procure perpetual renown by a splendid victory, or free himself from wretchedness and contempt by an honourable death. But, when all was prepared for the decisive alternative, he damped the spirits of his followers by his irresolution, for he led back his army to the camp, and determined to protract the war. By this action he disgusted his officers, and Hamilton, ashamed of his cowardice, and despairing of success, revolted that

very night to the king. The king in consequence, pardoned him, but not reposing unbounded confidence in so intriguing a character, sent him prisoner to Roslin castle, which belonged to the earl of Orkney; afterward, however, upon the intercession of his friends, he relieved him from custody, and received him into favour, the chief merit of the unbloody victory which followed, being imputed to him. Almost all the rest of the Douglas party followed the example of Hamilton, and seized each any favourable opportunity that occurred for leaving him. At last, after much bloodshed on both sides, the castle was stormed, and the garrison being put to the sword, it was left half demolished, as a monument of the victory. Douglas, almost totally deserted, fled to England with a very few of his relations, thence, not long after, he made an inroad into Annandale, which was garrisoned by the king's troops, but being defeated, he escaped, with his brother John, by flight. Archibald, earl of Moray, was killed, and George, earl of Ormond, severely wounded, fell into the hands of his enemies. After he was cured, he was sent to the king and suffered death.

XLIV. An assembly of the estates was held in Edinburgh, on the 9th June, A. D. 1455, in which John, James, and Beatrix Douglas, were again proscribed. In this act, Beatrix is styled their mother,* which does not appear to me very probable, unless they were made her sons by adoption. Earl James having lost his brothers, and being deserted by his friends, and distrusting the English, that he might leave nothing untried, went to Donald, lord of the Æbudæ and earl of Ross, at Dunstaffnage, and easily excited to war, a man naturally inclined to mischief. He first burst forth barbarously upon the adjoining districts belonging to the king,

* There were two countesses of Douglas, sometimes confused under the name Beatrix. Beatrix Sinclair, sister to the earl of Orkney, who married earl James, the Gross, and was the mother of William, assassinated at Stirling, James, who succeeded him, Archibald, earl of Moray, Hugh, earl of Ormond, &c.; and the fair maiden of Galloway, only sister of earl William and his brother, who were murdered in Edinburgh castle, who was married to her cousin William, and afterward to the king's uterine brother, the earl of Athol. It was the first who was forfeited, and correctly designated in the act, the mother. The other, who is here supposed to be also a Beatrix, was named Margaret.

respecting neither age nor sex, and sparing nothing which fire or sword could destroy. With equal cruelty he next visited Argyle and Arran, whence he returned laden with plunder. Then, after wasting Lochaber and Moray, he crossed to Inverness, and having taken the castle, pillaged and burned the town. The English in the meantime were not quiet, but made occasional incursions into March, as opportunity for a surprise occurred, and killing such noblemen as attempted to oppose their devastation, they carried off considerable plunder from that opulent district without loss.

XLV. Next year, Beatrix, wife of the former earl of Douglas, who had lived for sometime as wife with his brother James, fled to court, and, laying the blame of all her former conduct upon her husband, who forced her, a friendless woman, to his accursed nuptials, a slavery from which she had seized the first opportunity of his absence to escape, she committed herself, and all that belonged to her, entirely to her sovereign, to whose decision she would willingly submit. The king on this, received her under his protection, bestowed upon her the lands of Balveny, and married her to the duke of Athol, his uterine brother. The wife of Donald of the Isles followed her example. She was the daughter of James Livingston, and had been married to Donald, by her grandfather, the regent, through the persuasion of the king, that she might soften the savage disposition of the barbarian, and retain him in his interest; but since then, her relations being restored to the royal favour, and her husband joining the Douglas faction, her situation became wretched from his hatred, and she now implored the protection of the sovereign against his harshness and cruelty. She was under no necessity of exculpating herself to the king, who had been the author himself of her marriage. He, therefore, received her kindly and courteously, and bestowed upon her extensive estates, and an ample revenue, to support her honourably for life. About the same time, Patrick Thornton a secret partisan of the Douglasses, but who had long followed the court, finding a convenient opportunity at Dunbarton, killed John Sandelands, of Calder, a young man of twenty years of age, and Allan Stuart, both noblemen remarkable for their loyalty;

but being soon after taken prisoner by the opposite party, he was put to death. This year was remarkable for the decease of many illustrious men, chiefly of William Crichton. This statesman, although only descended from a knight, yet, on account of his wisdom and fortitude, and his singularly constant and unshaken fidelity to the king during his whole life, was much and universally lamented.

XLVI. Next year, the English, encouraged by the impunity of former inroads, under the command of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and James Douglas, the exile, wasted March. On purpose to prevent this devastation, George Douglas, earl of Angus, having collected a band of countrymen, made an attack upon the plunderers, and drove back in disorder upon their own frontiers, the party he accidentally encountered. Enraged at this indignity, the English, without recalling the rest of their scattered troops, marched forward with their whole army to battle. Nor were the Scots tardy in meeting them. While the conflict hung in suspense, and was contested on both sides with greater spirit than numbers, the parties of the English who were scattered over the country, learning from the sound and confusion, that the enemy was near, and fearing lest they should lose the immense booty they had collected, marched straight home. Their departure afforded an easier, but not a bloodless victory to the Scots, the numbers slain on both sides being nearly equal, but many of the English were taken prisoners in the fight. The intelligence of this victory somewhat cheered the spirit of the king, depressed by civil and foreign warfare, and disposed Donald the Islander, when he saw the adverse fortune of his allies, to send messengers to beg for peace. In a submissive speech, they dwelt upon the royal clemency to Crawford, and others who were engaged in the same cause; attributed their own treason to the fatal madness of the times, and promised on the part of Donald the greatest loyalty and obedience for the future. The king, who appeared affected by their entreaties, returned a doubtful answer, neither wholly forgiving Donald, nor yet excluding all hope of pardon:—His many crimes, he said, were evident, but he had as yet, given no proof of any alteration in his disposition. If he, therefore,

wished his professions of penitence to be believed, he must evince his sincerity, by repairing the loss he had formerly occasioned, by making restitution to those whose estates he had seized, and by his upright conduct wipe away the remembrance of his former atrocities. He himself knew that no virtue more became a king than mercy, but it was necessary to preserve the bonds of government from being loosened by too great indulgence, lest lenity should rather encourage the audacity of the wicked, than excite the virtuous endeavours of the good. He would, however, give time to Donald and his associates, to display by their actions the truth of their professions, and he would always behave toward them as their deeds, and not their words demanded. In the meantime, he assured them of their safety, and that their happiness or misery depended entirely upon themselves.

XLVII. The intestine commotions being thus either healed or hushed, the king turned his whole attention towards England. While he was deliberating about carrying on the war, and avenging the truces so often violated, ambassadors arrived from the English nobles, begging his assistance against Henry, their king; for, despising his natural advisers, Henry had promoted upstarts to the helm, by whose advice his wife, a woman of a masculine spirit, administered the whole government. The misfortunes too, in Aquitaine and Normandy, increased the general contempt for himself, and the hatred to his favourites; for on the loss of so many provinces, and on being confined within the ancient limits of the island, his chieftains openly rebelled, complaining, that neither the indolence of the king, nor the queen's insolence could longer be endured. At the head of the rebels, were Richard, duke of York, and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick. When the English ambassadors had enlarged upon the grievances, the strength of the confederates, and the inactive cowardice of the king, they asked assistance against him as a common enemy, timid in war, and base in peace, who had fomented the domestic discords of the Scots, and assisted their exiles; and they promised, upon a victory being achieved, to restore all the castles and countries taken in former contests from the Scots. The king, with the advice of his council, replied, that he

had heard of the situation of England, nor was he ignorant of the claims of the two parties, but he would not without the consent of both, interpose as arbiter in the affairs of a foreign kingdom. Respecting the war, he had long ago decided to revenge the injuries he had formerly received, and as he could not obtain by negotiation, the places which had been taken from Scotland during their internal discords, he was determined to recover them by force of arms, and if the duke of York and his party, would promise to restore them, he would give him assistance against Henry. *

XLVIII. An agreement being made upon these terms, the ambassadors returned home. The king, in consequence, levied an army, and was about to enter England, when an English cheat, sent by Henry, met him. This fellow had been long at Rome, and had learned the Italian manners and language. His dress and attendants were foreign, and having fictitious letters, as from the pope, he easily personated the character of a Roman legate; besides, to prevent suspicion, he had a monk as his coadjutor, whose hypocritical sanctity might easily procure credit to his assumptions. On being brought to the king, the impostors forbade him, in the name of the pope, to proceed, threatening him with excommunication in case of disobedience; because his holiness, in order to carry on, with greater advantage, war against the common enemy of Christians, had bent his whole soul to compose the differences of all Europe, and they had been sent before to announce this; but a more solemn embassy would shortly arrive, which would put an end to the civil wars of England, and procure satisfaction to the Scots for the injuries they had received, and they believed the legation was already in France. The king, who did not suspect any fraud in this

* James, is, by Buchanan, said to have promised assistance to the house of York. This is inaccurately stated, as, from the English historians, it appears, that both James and France were in the interest of Lancaster. Drummond, with greater probability, asserts, that both parties solicited the assistance of James, who temporized with both, and seized the opportunity of the commotions in England, to attempt recovering the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick, which had been ungenerously torn from Scotland during a state of similar distraction.

speech, and his situation at home not being altogether tranquil, desirous also of an honourable peace, obeyed the mandate, and dismissed his army. Scarcely, however, was his army dismissed, than he was informed of the imposition, and again re-assembled them; and as he could not join the party of the house of York, in order to distract the royal cause, and avenge his own injuries, he marched direct to Roxburgh. He took the town on his first approach, and destroyed it; but while he besieged the castle, which was very strongly fortified, ambassadors came from the duke of York and his associates, who informed him that their king was defeated, and the war at an end in England. They thanked James for his kindness and efforts to protect their honour and safety, and promised that they would ever remember his favours, but, for the present, requested that he would raise the siege of the castle, and abstain from all acts of hostility towards the English, lest he should excite hatred in the people to their party, which it was even now difficult to allay without marching an army against the Scots. James, after congratulating them upon their victory, asked the ambassadors, whether the duke of York and his associates had given any instructions about fulfilling their promises? When they replied, they had received no orders, I, said he, before your embassy came to me, had determined to demolish that castle, built upon my territories; nor since then, have I received any favour from that faction, which should induce me to desist from the enterprise I have begun, and nearly finished; and as to the threats, either of themselves or the people, that is their business. Do you tell them—Not words but arms shall remove me hence!

XLIX. The ambassadors being thus dismissed without accomplishing their object, while the king closely urged the siege, Donald, the Islander, came to the camp with a great body of his people; for, in order the more easily to obtain complete pardon of his former life, and ingratiate himself into the king's favour, he had promised, whenever he wished to march against an enemy, he would advance a mile before the rest of the army, and wherever there was the greatest danger, there would he be first. He was, however, ordered to remain near the king, and some of his troops were sent out to

scour the country. It happened, almost at the same time, that Alexander, earl of Huntly, brought another re-enforcement. This accession of strength, enabled the king more vigorously to attack the castle, which was strenuously defended, but which hitherto had been rather blockaded than besieged, and by numbers, to renew his assaults constantly with fresh men. In consequence, the garrison—who had many killed, numbers disabled, and the rest worn out by toil and fatigue—began to expose themselves less freely to danger; and James, to strike them with still greater terror, ordered part of the wall to be battered with iron cannon. But while he stood near to urge the labour, one of the pieces exploded, from which a wooden wedge projected with violence, struck him dead, the rest remaining unhurt. The nobles who stood near, were deeply affected with the unexpected accident, but fearing, if a report of the king's death were made public, the common soldiers would be discouraged, covered the body, and the queen, who had arrived that day in the camp, so far from being overcome by womanish grief, assembled the nobles, and exhorted them to be of good courage, and not to allow the death of one man to discourage them, or make them give up an undertaking now almost accomplished. She told them, in a short time, she would bring them a king in room of the deceased, but, in the mean time, they must zealously press their operations against the enemy, lest, upon hearing of their commander's death, they should become more resolute, and think that by the loss of one, the courage of so many brave soldiers was destroyed, or their ardour had departed, when the spirit of the king fled. The nobles, ashamed to be outdone in courage by a woman, pushed the siege with so much vigour, that the absence of the king was not perceived by either party. In the mean time, James, the king's son, a boy about seven years of age, was brought into the camp, and saluted king; nor did many days intervene, when the English, who were in the garrison, overcome by labour and watching, surrendered the castle to the new king, on condition, they should depart safe with all their effects. The castle, that it might be the occasion of no new war, was levelled with the ground.

I. In this manner, James II. ended his life, A. D. 1460, a few days before the autumnal equinox, in the 30th year of his age, and the 24th of his reign. Engaged, almost from infancy, in foreign or domestic war, he had displayed such self-command in adversity and in prosperity, such bravery against his enemies, and such mercy towards his suppliants, that his death was universally lamented by all ranks; and it appeared the more severe, because, after having overcome so many misfortunes, and raised expectation to the highest pitch by his virtue, he was suddenly cut off; the regret which it occasioned, too, was increased by the infancy of his son, and the recollection of the miseries of the last 20 years, the ashes of which were not yet extinguished, and from the remembrance of the past, men appeared to anticipate the future.

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XII.

I. JAMES II. being killed in his camp, as related, lest any dispute should arise, as had formerly happened, his son James, the youngest survivor of twin brothers, a boy about seven years of age was proclaimed king in the town of Kelso, and after the nobles had sworn allegiance, as customary, he returned on the eighth day of his reign to Edinburgh castle, to remain under the care of his mother, till a meeting of the estates could be held, in which the government might be settled. This assembly was somewhat slow in being called, because tranquil at home, and England continuing still disturbed, the nobles thought nothing should divert their attention from the war, both that they might avenge old injuries, and check, by some signal chastisement, an enemy who was always ready to take advantage of the misfortunes of others. They, therefore, marched into the hostile territory, which they plundered without resistance, and levelled a number of castles, whence they were wont to be annoyed by sudden incursions, especially Wark, on the banks of the Tweed, obnoxious from its propinquity to the county of March. The army, after having ravaged all around, as widely as the advanced season would permit, in the beginning of winter, returned home.

II. In this year, Henry, king of England, was taken prisoner by the duke of York, and carried to London, where a treaty was concluded between them, by which Henry—who durst refuse nothing—was to retain, during his life, the name and insignia of royalty, but the government was to remain

with York, as protector, who, upon the death of Henry, was to succeed to the crown, and transmit it to his posterity. Whilst these transactions were going forward in London, intelligence arrived that the queen was approaching with a powerful army, to deliver the king from confinement. Immediately on being informed of this, the duke of York left Henry with Richard, earl of Warwick, and marched against her, at the head of about five thousand men. Having advanced as far as Yorkshire, lest it might be thought, that he, who in France never asked walls, but arms, to defend himself against mighty antagonists, now fled before a woman, rashly engaged a force much superior to his own, and being overcome, was slain, together with his youngest son, and a number of noblemen, whose heads were afterward affixed as a spectacle upon the gates of the city of York. The victorious queen prosecuting her journey to relieve her captive husband, the earl of Warwick set out to meet her, carrying the king with him, as if he intended to defend, under his auspices, the treaty lately concluded respecting the succession; they encountered each other at St. Albans—supposed the ancient Verulam—where the queen, who was again victorious—the hostile leaders being killed—recovered possession of her husband, and proceeded on her march for London. Learning, however, that the earl of Pembroke, sent by her to obtain reinforcements, and the son of the duke of York, despatched by his father on a similar errand, had had an engagement, in which Edward, the son of her enemy, was the conqueror, and knowing the hatred which the inhabitants of the capital bore her, she turned towards Northumberland, the nursery of her strength; but being overcome there in a very sanguinary battle, in which upwards of thirty thousand men on both sides are said to have fallen, the enemy pursued her with such vigour, allowing her no time to collect her scattered forces, that she fled to Scotland with her husband and son, and the victor proclaimed himself king of England, by the name of Edward IV.

III. Henry having requested an asylum in his distress, he was, chiefly through the influence of James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrews, who then surpassed all others in Scot-

land, both in authority and reputation, received with the utmost courtesy, and treated with so much kindness, that his prospects began to brighten; to promote which, by securing the friendship of the Scots, he restored to them the town of Berwick, which had remained in possession of the English ever since the time of Edward III.,* and they, in consequence, promoted Henry's interest by every method in their power, not only by collecting the shattered fragments of the wreck, but by engaging to furnish such assistance as would enable him afterwards to regain his kingdom; and that the alliance, now begun, might be the more firmly cemented, the two queens, both of French extraction, commenced a negotiation for a treaty of marriage between James' sister and Henry's son, titular prince of Wales, although neither of the parties were yet quite seven years of age. These nuptials, Philip, duke of Burgundy, uncle of the Scottish queen, a deadly enemy to the queen of England, endeavoured anxiously to prevent, and sent Grathusius, a nobleman, his ambassador for that purpose; for Philip was so incensed against Renatus, the maternal grandfather of the young prince, that, upon every occasion, he endeavoured to prevent the aggrandizement of his progeny, and out of compliment to him, the arrangement was at that time delayed, rather than broken off.

iv. But the fortune of Henry, prevented the event Burgundy feared. Encouraged by the alliance of the Scots, and by advices from his English adherents, he sent his wife to the continent, to Renatus her father, to bring what assistance she could procure from her transmarine allies. She succeeded so far in France, as to obtain a place of refuge there for her partisans, from which her enemies were excluded, besides, two thousand men, commanded by Warren, as Monstrelet says, but according to the English writers and our own, whom I prefer, five hundred, under Peter Brice,† or Bryce, a Briton, rather as attendants on her journey, than as military auxiliaries. On her return to Scotland with this small company,

* In several editions, by mistake, printed Edward I. evidently a typographical error.

† Breze, high steward of Normandy; his force was five hundred men at arms, who, with their attendants, made a body of nearly two thousand men.

thinking the opportunity favourable, she landed at Tyne-mouth, never doubting, but at the report of foreign assistance, her husband's adherents would flock around her. But her little band, terrified at the report of a force coming against them, returned to their ships without doing any thing worthy of notice, and, as if adverse fortune awaited all her attempts, a furious tempest dispersed them. The greater part, who had followed the queen from England, landed at Berwick, but a few who were driven upon the island of Lindisfarn, were surrounded by the enemy, and slain. The masculine mind of the queen was not, however, depressed by this misfortune, but having obtained the assistance of a great body of Scots, in addition to her own few soldiers, she resolved once more to risk the chances of war. Therefore, leaving her son at Berwick, she advanced with her husband into Northumberland, carrying fire and sword along with her. At the report of the new army, several of the nobles, the duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, besides many of Henry's former adherents, who had followed Edward for a time through fear, rejoined the queen; but a far greater number, from the neighbouring counties of England, accustomed to live by robbery, were attracted to her standard by the hopes of plunder. Edward, in this emergency, prepared a powerful expedition both by sea and land; and having ordered lord Montague, with a great part of the nobility, to advance against the enemy, he immediately followed with the rest of the army. Both parties encamped not far from Hexham, when the crowd, who had been attracted by the hopes of plunder, beginning to fall away, Henry, as is the wisest plan in desperate cases, determined to fight; a severe battle was the consequence, in which being vanquished, and the principal leaders among his friends either killed or taken prisoners, he fled hastily to Berwick. Of those who were taken, some were put to death immediately, and the rest a few days after.

v. Edward having obtained this victory by his generals, came in person to Durham, both to restrain the incursions of the Scots, by the terror of an army in the vicinity, and also repress, by his presence, any domestic insurrection that might arise. While he remained there, he despatched part of his

forces, under different commanders, to attack the places in possession of the enemy. Alnwick castle, the strongest and best fortified of the whole, and garrisoned by French soldiers, after the others had been taken either by storm or capitulation, was closely besieged, and not less bravely defended, in expectation of assistance from Scotland; but when, in consequence of the late disaster in England, an army could not be so quickly collected as the present danger demanded, while some delayed, and others hesitated, George, earl of Angus, undertook a bold and perilous attempt. Having collected among his friends and vassals, and the adjacent border, of which he was warden, about ten thousand horse, he advanced to the castle, and having placed the French, who were in garrison, upon horses he had brought without riders, he carried off the whole in safety to Scotland, the English looking on with amazement, either stupified by the miraculous daring of the attempt, or supposing that Douglas had some subsidiaries lurking in the neighbourhood, or wishing rather to obtain the castle without fighting, than run the risk of engaging that small but chosen band. Edward having placed guards at convenient stations, to prevent the parties of rebels from traversing the country, returned to London, as if he had tranquillized the whole kingdom. In the meantime, the exile Henry, either induced by the hopes his friends had raised, or weary of his tedious exile, resolved to return secretly to his adherents in England; but the same hard fortune following him to the last, he was recognized, taken, brought to London, and committed to the tower. Margaret, his wife, disheartened at the present aspect of affairs, left Scotland, with her son and a few followers, and set sail for France, to visit her father Renatus.

VI. To return to the affairs of Scotland. The time being now arrived for holding the parliament, which was summoned at Edinburgh, a great number attended, but they split into two factions. A few of the nobility followed the queen, while the greater number adhered to James Kennedy, and George Douglas, earl of Angus, the leaders of the opposite party. The queen lodged in the castle; the bishop and the earl in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, at the eastern extremity of the

suburbs. The cause of the dissension was—The queen thought that the tutelage of the king belonged to her of right; her opponents—that some person chosen from among the nobility, and best qualified for the task should be appointed. The one party pleaded the near relationship of the mother—the other urged the ancient law, confirmed by constant usage. On the third day of the meeting, the queen came down from the castle with her followers, and caused herself to be appointed by her faction, tutoress of the king, and regent of the kingdom, after which she returned into the castle again. When Kennedy was informed of this, he proceeded immediately to the cross, and in a long speech to the multitude, who had assembled there, declared, that he and those who were connected with him, desired nothing except the public welfare, and the observation of their ancient institutions. On the other hand, their adversaries sought each his private emolument, and that he would make perfectly evident, whenever an opportunity was afforded where he might do it with freedom. When he finished, and was departed, before he had gone far, he heard that the other faction had come down from the castle armed. Douglas, thinking it insufferable, that brave men should yield to the threats of a few, and be considered as fugitives, could scarcely be restrained by Kennedy, from returning through the next city port, and, unarmed as he was, attacking the soldiers; and had not the three bishops of Galloway, Glasgow, and Dunblane, attracted by the tumult, interfered, his indignation would scarcely have been satisfied without coming to an engagement. But by the mediation of the bishops, the affair was quieted, and a truce agreed upon for a month.*

* Pinkerton pronounces the whole transactions narrated in this and the eleven following chapters, a fable, but he has produced neither proof nor counterstatement to support his assertion. His gratuitous assumption, that the passage was written by Buchanan, to support the interests of the regent Moray, involves a charge too serious to be received upon the mere supposition of Mr. P. Buchanan had powerfully and successfully supported Moray's cause in a separate publication, bearing expressly upon the subject, and he was not under the necessity of obliquely vindicating his own opinions, by presenting them parabolically as the sentiments of another. His own name carried weight sufficient to command the attention of the whole learned world, and his

VII. Although the leaders were appeased, no agreement could restrain the multitude from expressing their anger and indignation with much asperity. The demand of the queen, they affirmed, was disgraceful to the nation, and dishonourable to herself. Is the virtue of the ancient Scots so far gone, they asked, that while possessed of so many thousand men, no person but a woman can be found fit to govern Scotland? to command that nation almost constantly in arms? Was it to be supposed, that men, not always submissive to energetic kings, would obey a female and a foreigner? Had such travails been endured, so much blood spilt by sea and land, that men born and educated in camps, should spontaneously become the slaves of a woman? Were the English now to invade the land, as they had often done, to avenge their loss! who would raise the standard for battle? who would lead them to the field? who would give or accept terms of peace or war? these were questions freely asked by the common people in all their meetings.

VIII. At the end of the month, when the truce expired, and the public mind was a little calmer, another convention was assembled, at which the queen alleged, in her own justification:—That she had not, in the former year, seized upon the administration by force, or usurped the station she filled, in

courage elevated him above the dread of the political; and besides, it could have answered no rational purpose, to have embodied such sentiments in a fictitious debate, when he had so fair an opportunity afterward of introducing them in real, veritable, and undisputed circumstances, during the troublous times of which he is the cotemporary historian. Whether he actually composed a speech for bishop Kennedy, on an occasion when a speech might have been uttered, or whether he would have been justifiable in using a liberty, sanctioned by the example of classical antiquity, and imitated by the moderns of his age, are questions of lesser moment; but that he imagined an occasion, contrived circumstances, and introduced them as veritable history, for the sole purpose of advocating the cause of the party he had espoused, is a supposition so opposed to that stern unbending integrity, which the universal suffrage of the wisest and the best of his cotemporaries allowed Buchanan to possess, that something more than mere assertion is necessary to make it credible. By Buchanan's account, the arrangement of the regency was amicably settled, so that Mr. Pinkerton's collateral argument, drawn from the queen mother and Kennedy being upon friendly terms a year after, falls to the ground. *Hist. of Scot. vol. i. p. 251, note.*

opposition to the will of the nobles, but having been appointed by universal consent, had only exercised her right, and felt hurt at being dismissed without any crime alleged against her; for, if, as is usual in cases of tutelage, propinquity were required, there is no nearer relation than a mother? If the safety of the king, there could be none more faithful; others might be interested in his death, but to her it would only produce grief or privation. If the public good were sought, she was a stranger, fettered neither by private enmities nor friendships, and impartiality is a principal requisite in those who undertake the direction of a government, because their conduct ought not only to be free from blemish, but exposed as little as possible to those temptations which usually bias the judgment. Others had powerful parents, relations, and friends, on whom they could rely to excuse their delinquency, or procure their pardon, and rulers were sometimes forced to accommodate their actions to the wishes of their connexions. But her only shield of defence would be her innocence, her only reliance her son, with whose advantage her own was so intimately connected, and were it not for these considerations, she would much more willingly retire to a private station with the general goodwill, than by punishing their crimes, be exposed to the hatred of the wicked, and sometimes even to the displeasure of the good. Nor was there any novelty in a woman's obtaining a regency, when not only in Britain, but in the greatest continental states, women exercised the supreme authority, and reigned in such a manner, that their subjects never repented of their sway.

ix. After the queen had spoken, many assented to her opinion; partly those who expected some future favours from her government, or who hoped to turn the opposition of others to their own advantage. Nor were there wanting some, who, basely fearing that in an election from the whole, they would be entirely overlooked, would rather have preferred the queen as their ruler, than any of the same, or even superior rank with themselves. The uncorrupted portion of the nobles, however, openly showed their disapprobation of the queen's speech, but what made the deepest impression upon the assembly, was the authority and opinion of James Kennedy,

archbishop of St. Andrews, who is said to have spoken as follows.

x. Illustrious nobles, I earnestly desire, that all who intend to speak upon the affairs of the commonwealth, may be allowed to deliver their sentiments freely and without offence; because, were observations meant for the public advantage, to be viewed in the light of personalities, in our present circumstances, it would be difficult to utter a sentence, amid such different aims and conflicting sentiments, which would not incur the displeasure of some of the parties. As for myself, in delivering my sentiments, I shall, as far as I can, give no one cause to complain, unless he be guilty. But while I shall use the liberty I claim as my birthright, moderately, so as not willingly to offend, at the same time, I shall not, through fear to displease, or a wish to flatter, pass any argument which can bear upon the present question. I perceive there are two opinions which prevent our concord. The one is held by those who think that what belongs to the advantage of all, ought to be left to the choice of all, and as all are met to give their suffrages respecting an office which embraces the safety of the whole kingdom, it is unjust to exclude any one from the hope of attaining that station, who attempts it by fair and honourable means. The other is supported by those who think injustice would be done to the queen, an illustrious princess, and most accomplished lady, unless she should be preferred before every other, to watch over the safety of her son, and exercise the administration of the kingdom. The sentiments of the first, which I decidedly prefer, I shall notice last. The opinion of the others I approve so far. They think it derogatory to the dignity of the queen, that any one should come in competition with her for this honour, lest her rank, which ought to be esteemed, as it is in fact, most sacred, might seem to be degraded by contending with inferiors, and if this were a dispute about honour alone, and not about the safety of the kingdom, I should willingly and entirely accede to their sentiments; but when we are to determine a question to-day, which involves the life and fortune of every private individual, and the general preservation of the whole nation, I think all private interests should yield to this grand consid-

eration, and therefore, I earnestly request those who thus think, so to remember the dignity of the queen, that they do not in the meanwhile, forget the laws, the venerable institutions, and the general welfare of their country; for if they can show that the laws allow, and public expedience admits of the tutelage of the king, and the regency of the kingdom being vested in the queen, they shall have my support; but if what they claim be pernicious to the public, destructive to the laws, and disgraceful to the queen, I hope her highness first, and all loyal subjects will pardon me, if—while I would protect, and hold sacred the rank and dignity of the queen, as far as the laws and customs of our ancestors permit—I do not conceal what I think, or rather if I speak freely, what I cannot suppress without a crime.

xī. To begin then with the laws. There is a law enacted by Kenneth, more than five hundred years ago, confirmed by the estates, and in force to this day:—"That on the king being a minor, the estates shall assemble, and choose some nobleman, eminent for wisdom and power, to be tutor to the king, and manage the government during his minority." Although this law be referred to Kenneth, it does not appear to me to have been first enacted by him, but rather to have been an old Scottish custom, confirmed by a new sanction; for so far were our ancestors from intrusting the government of the state to women, that if you examine the names of all our offices, you will not find a feminine title among any of them, to which command was attached, for why should they impose such a name on an office which women never had exercised, and it was to be hoped never would? They who are styled queens in other languages, are only called kings' wives in ours; nor do we recognise them by any higher title; for our wise ancestors intended, I suppose, to remind them, from their name being joined to that of their husband, as often as they heard themselves addressed, that they were subject to men. Wherefore, to this day; no woman was ever admitted to the regency, or to any public office of the government. In the appointment and exercise of inferior magistracies, the same explicit rule is constantly observed, for although numerous honours, and among these, jurisdictions bestowed for eminent

services rendered the country, have frequently descended to women by hereditary right, or been bestowed upon them as doweries, yet never was it known that a woman ever presided in a court, or pronounced sentence, or usurped any of these duties which are properly intrusted to men. This custom, which our ancestors, although bound by no law, but following only the impulse of natural instinct, constantly observed, it we their posterity, in opposition to a law unanimously enacted, and so long observed, shall abrogate to the great peril of the commonwealth, who will acquit us of the charge, I shall not say of rashness, but of madness, especially when we are warned by the examples of our neighbours? The Saxons, for the crimes of Ethelburgh alone, made a law, that after her, no wife of any of their kings should be called queen, or sit in public on any seat of honour next the king, I beseech you, then, consider seriously how much they will degenerate from the wisdom of their ancestors, who, against so ancient a law, as useful to the women, as honourable to the men, would commit the government of the state to them, to whom our ancestors never allowed even a royal name, and from whom our neighbours took it away. Other nations have acted differently, with what success I shall afterward show, only I shall first answer those, who, not daring openly to oppose this law, yet in the female coteries condemn it as unjust.

XII. But whoever he be that blames this law, blames not that which has only received some sanction from the suffrages of men, but blames nature herself—that is, the primary law, engraven on our minds by God.—He blames nature, I repeat, whom our lawgiver followed as his guide and counsellor, in this enactment; for nature from the beginning, has not only distinguished men from women, by their strength of mind and body, but has attributed to each sex their respective duties, and their appropriate virtues, the same indeed in kind, but very different in degree. How little less indecorous would it be in a woman to sit in judgment, to muster a levy, to lead an army, or to give the signal for battle—than for a man to handle the distaff, manage the loom, or perform the other services of the weaker sex? What in man is liberality, bravery, and rigid justice, in woman is profusion, fury, and

cruelty; and what in woman is loveliness, tenderness, and grace, in man is effeminacy, weakness, and affectation. Do not they then, who endeavour to mix and confound these distinctions, established by nature herself, evidently appear not as attempting to disturb, but to destroy the whole frame of our government, established on the best laws and institutions, when they desire us to approve of female rule, for which our ancestors had not even a name—for the promulgator of this law, as I have said, seems, in enacting it, not so much to have framed a new statute, as to have committed to writing the perpetual custom of our ancestors, for the regulation of posterity; and that the practice they had generally used in creating a king, under the guidance of nature, that that also ought for ever to be observed in choosing a guardian for the king by public authority. Whoever aims at undermining this law, what else do they seek but by violating one, to overturn the whole of our ancient enactments, institutions, and precedents? But, lest any should mistake me, I do not mean by this, to assert, that all laws, as if enacted for ever, ought to be immutable; they differ from each other in their origin, importance, and authority. Those which are adapted to the occurrences of the times, are liable to a change of circumstances, and usually continue in force, only while the necessity which imposed them remains, and those which tyrants have imposed by violence, generally expire with them. But that natural perception, [*vis naturæ*] of right, which is as it were a living law, which derives its strength from nature, enacted by God, engraven and imprinted on the human heart, the consent of no member, the decree of no estate can annul: for, as an illustrious poet expresses it,

It was not born of yesterday, nor of to-day,
It springs along with nature, and with her grows old,
And with her dies.

XIII. Of this last description particularly, is our law of which I speak; and they do not derogate from the dignity of the queen, who desire that she would prescribe to herself those bounds which nature has established, her sex demands, custom has confirmed, and the laws of almost every nation

approve—but they do, who desire her to forget herself, to break the restraints of all law, to disturb that order instituted by God, sanctioned by practice, and approved of in all well-regulated states, which order, whoever shall despise, must endure the heavy punishment denounced, not by man, but by God the avenger of his own law; for if the divine law threatens death to a man who assumes the female, and to a woman who assumes the male habit, what punishment is adequate to their crime, who by a preposterous adulation, would overturn the whole law of nature, and the perpetual establishment of God. Would you desire to see how far these flatterers speak their real sentiments? Mark! To assist in the public deliberations of parliament, to preside in the courts of justice, to enact, or to abrogate laws, these duties, although each important in itself, yet form only a small portion of a public administration. Why therefore, do they not bring their wives to consult with us? to sit in judgment? to draw up, or oppose our statutes? Why do they not stay at home themselves, to manage their domestic affairs, and send their ladies to the camp? Now, observe their consistency, they wish to place over our necks, those to whom they would scarcely dare to intrust the management of their family affairs, and do not think equal to the execution of the smaller parts of public business! But if conscious of their own incapacity, they do indeed think what they say, and are restrained by modesty rather than choice from becoming candidates, let them not distrust others who are both able and willing to perform their proper duty, that is the duty of men! But if, what I rather suppose, this race of sycophants think, that they gratify the queen, I would advise them to lay aside the false opinion they entertain of this discerning princess, nor imagine her so ignorant, as to consider, that what is disgraceful to other females, can be any addition or ornament to her dignity. I proceed unwillingly in this speech—

XIV. Wherefore, as our most illustrious princess is so deservedly dear to the whole kingdom, that she ought to hear nothing that can either irritate her mind or offend her delicacy, I shall pass by the contumelious reflections, frequently, but unworthily thrown upon the sex, and rather commemorate

those virtues which are conspicuous in the queen. Of all these, although many and brilliant, yet not one has attracted such approbation and praise, as her modesty, a grace so peculiarly becoming a female, that even in private life, it frequently throws a veil over numerous infirmities; but in our princess, the eminence of whose rank and family forbids privacy, it shines with a splendour that gives additional lustre to all her other virtues. Here, however, it is unnecessary to enlarge. I need only request her majesty, that she persevere in the same path of glory and honour on which she has entered, nor allow herself to be misled by flatterers; that she continue to prefer the assured and certain road to fame and immortality, rather than by dubious and unsafe attempts, put to hazard the splendid reputation of her former life. My chief dispute is with you, who from envy of your superiors, whom you fear may be preferred before you, or from an improper, ill directed ambition, wish to lay the foundation of your future favour with a gracious princess. I shall therefore, trusting to your wisdom, most illustrious queen, speak what I think, and speak freely. Those persons are attached not to you, but to your fortune; and while they think of a queen, seem to forget she is a woman. When I say a woman, lest any should imagine I speak contumeliously, I mean one on whom nature has bestowed many enchanting qualities, and most delightful accomplishments, allayed, it is true, as all her loveliest and most precious gifts are, by a delicate weakness, which, rendering her less able to protect herself, doubles her claims upon the protection of another, and, therefore, our laws, in obedience to the dictates of nature, instead of burdening the female with the fatigue of government, has intrusted her, during life, to the successive care of fathers, brothers, and husbands. Nor is this intended as a reproach, but as a relief; for to be prevented from undertaking tasks for which they are unfit, is a tribute paid to their modesty, not an affront detracting from their honour. I shall not mention with how much difficulty they are restrained by the attention of husbands, or the authority of parents, nor to what excess they run when freed from these bonds. I shall only notice what the present subject absolutely demands, and what, without

detriment to the public, I could not pass over in silence. If there be any private faults in the sex, I leave them to their husbands and relations, while I gently touch what might endanger the commonwealth.

xv. Hardihood of soul was never required of the sex; females undoubtedly have their own virtues, but this, of which I speak, has always been enumerated among male, and not female qualifications. Now then, those who, from the weakness of their nature, are most liable to violent passions, when their licentiousness breaks through the restraints of law, proceed to greater lengths, are recalled with greater difficulty, and scarcely ever return to the bounds of moderation, because they are equally impatient under the disease, or under the treatment necessary for cure. But if any among them appear more daring, these are the more dangerous, because of their greater impetuosity, and who, having once become tired of their sex, and overstepped the modesty of the woman, easily exceed the limits even of man's licentiousness; for the bounds set by nature once passed, all beyond is interminable; there remains no limit either to impudence or desire. Natural weakness itself contributes to this, because the less confidence a person has in himself, so much the more easily is he affronted by the words or actions of others; the more vehemently enraged, and the more difficult to be appeased, the more immoderately does he avenge any supposed contempt that is shown him; and none of you can be ignorant how much all these are against a person's exercising the magistracy. If any of you imagine that I suppose a fictitious case, let him recollect what disturbance the reign of Joan lately occasioned at Naples. Look into ancient history—I shall not mention Semiramis of Assyria, nor Laodice of Cappadocia, these were monsters, and not women—see the celebrated Zenobia of Palmyra, victorious over the Parthians, the rival of imperial Rome, at last vanquished, and carried in triumph, and the kingdom which had been increased and adorned by her husband Odenatus, overturned in a moment!

xvi. I may not, however, pass over in silence, what is of the utmost importance in administering the affairs of another, that is, that we do not commit the chief management to per-

sons of a description whom we cannot call to an account for their conduct. I do not detract from the genius, the fidelity, or the activity of the queen, but if, what sometimes happens, any thing should be done, by the misconduct of others, detrimental to the state, or derogatory to the dignity of the station, what fine can we exact from the king's mother? Or what punishment can we inflict? From whom shall we demand an account? Shall our parliaments be held in a lady's bedchamber? Will you there, as individuals, subscribe to the decrees, or in a body, enact them? And do you think that you will be able to resist female power, armed with your own authority, when you can scarcely now restrain it by all the weight of opposing laws and customs? Do not imagine that I say this because I am afraid of any such conduct from our queen, the most excellent and unambitious of women; it is because I think it would be base, while we have it yet in our power, to place in the hands of a stranger, the hopes of that safety which we ought to preserve for ourselves, especially when all divine and human laws are upon our side, and not only the practice of our ancestors, but the general consent of all people. Some nations, indeed, have endured women as their sovereigns, not, however, elected by suffrage, but elevated by the accident of birth, for no people, who ever had the freedom of choice, preferred women, when they had a sufficient number of men. Wherefore, illustrious nobles! I advise and earnestly entreat, that according to the laws of your country, and the institutions of your ancestors, you choose one or more, if it seem meet to you, of the most excellent of your nobles, who may administer the affairs of the kingdom, till the king attain that strength of body and mind that may enable him to assume the government himself; and I wish and pray God may direct your proceedings.

xvii. The sentiments expressed by Kennedy, being assented to by the greater part of the assembly, the remainder, perceiving that opposition would be vain, yielded to the majority. An arrangement, however, was made, to prevent the appearance of yielding on either side—two of each faction were appointed a council of regency, having the guardianship of the king, William Graham, and Robert Boyd, then chancellor, of

the queen's; Robert, earl of Orkney, and John * Kennedy, of the other; all the chiefs of their families. To these two were added the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. The queen was permitted to assist in the education of the king, only she was not to interfere in the public government; and she was intrusted with the entire management of the education of her other children—Alexander, duke of Albany, John, earl of Moray, and two girls.

XVIII. The government being thus arranged, ambassadors were received from England, to treat about a truce, which was agreed upon for fifteen years. Next year, A. D. 1463, the king's mother died. Her chastity, according to report, had become rather doubtful.† Alexander, the king's brother, returning from his maternal grandfather from France, was taken by the English, but soon relieved, on the Scots threatening to declare war for this violation of the truce.‡ While peace was procured abroad, the land was not long free from commotions at home. The disputes of the nobles respecting the manner of carrying on the government, magnified by public rumour; the king's minority; the recollection of the licentiousness of the late times, all conjoined, easily loosened the bonds of men naturally turbulent. Allan of Lorn, a seditious nobleman, desirous of enjoying the estate of his elder brother John, kept him in confinement, but preserved his life, in ex-

* Should be Gilbert.

† Pinkerton, on the authority of Wyrcestre, alleges that a proposal of marriage with Edward IV., which had been artfully made by the earl of Warwick to Mary, and which she had encouraged, being broken off, on account of her doubtful reputation, and a change of circumstances, probably occasioned her death. Sir D. Dalrymple, in his remarks, defends her from the charge, which Pitscottie bluntly repeats after Mair, of an adulterous connexion with Adam Hepburn of Hailes. But still enough remains to justify the allusion of Buchanan. The Hepburns, afterward earls of Bothwell, have been fatal to the reputations of our Scottish queens—Mary of Gueldre, Mary of Lorraine, and Mary Stuart.

‡ Alexander, the king's brother, duke of Albany, was *going to* France when he was taken, according to Pitscottie, which, from the boy's age, is more likely; but as he had received a passport from Edward, to proceed to Guelderland, it might be on his return, when the time perhaps had expired, or some objection been started. How long he remained there is uncertain.

pectation, that when his resentment abated, he might be induced to surrender his right. Colin Campbell, earl of Argyll, having heard of this circumstance, collected a great band of his vassals, freed the brother, and threw Allan into prison, determining to bring him to open punishment for his many infamous robberies; but his death, either accidentally or voluntarily, prevented this.

xix. Donald, the Islander, in a different quarter, possessed of greater power, began to raise a much greater disturbance. Upon the death of the king, being freed from fear, and thinking, in the then disturbed state of the country, that an opportunity was afforded him of oppressing his inferiors, and increasing his own power, he went to Inverness with a few attendants. Invited into the castle by the governor, who suspected no hostile intention, he expelled the garrison, took possession of the fortress, and having collected his Islanders, proclaimed himself king of the Isles; commanding the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, by proclamation, and under a severe penalty in case of disobedience, to pay tribute, and do homage to him alone. At the report of these transactions, the factious and criminal from all quarters flocked to him, and he soon found himself at the head of a great army, with which he entered Athol so rapidly, that the earl, the king's uncle, together with his wife, taken unawares, were made prisoners; for the earl, on the report of the sudden tumult, distrusting the strength of his castle of Blair, withdrew into the neighbouring church of St. Bride, expecting protection from the sanctity of the place, where many of the tenantry also, panic struck, had carried their most valuable effects. This building was held in the greatest veneration in that whole country, and had remained inviolate from the respect paid to its superior sanctity; but love of plunder prevailed over regard for religion with that avaricious barbarian, who, bringing out the earl, his wife, and a great number of captives, after pillaging the church of all it contained, set it on fire; and when the priests endeavoured to persuade him to desist from the sacrilege, killed some, and sent others away severely wounded. After having wasted all the neighbouring country, as he returned home with great booty, he

was overtaken with a dreadful tempest, in which the greater part of his vessels being lost, and the rest miserably shattered, he was with a few driven on shore, rather than landed in the island of Isla. Those who escaped this great calamity, which they ascribed to the anger of the saint, returned barefooted, and in their shirts, as penitents, with gifts to the church of St. Bride, which they had only a few days before so shamefully violated. Their leader, Donald, is said to have gone distracted from that day, either with grief at the loss of his army with the plunder, or tortured by a consciousness of his former crimes, and the remembrance of his sacrilege. The disaster of their chief, induced the other leaders to release the earl and countess of Athol, with their children, and to propitiate St. Bride with many valuable offerings. When the issue of Donald's expedition was related at court, it stopped all preparations for invading the Islands.

xx. The first tumults being thus appeased, the affairs of Scotland were administered with so much justice and tranquillity, that the oldest man alive never recollected any time of greater security, or more settled peace, chiefly owing to the wisdom and prudence of James Kennedy, who then ruled the court, and the moderation of the nobility, who quietly submitted to his superior experience; for so great was the influence that Kennedy had obtained by his numerous services to the Scottish commonwealth, and to the former king; by his elegance of manners, and his relationship to the present monarch; and such fidelity had he displayed in every department, that the other guardians of the royal youth, who exercised that office two and two in rotation, readily acknowledged him as their superintendent, as often as he came to court. Thus, by their uninterrupted concord, the education of the king was conducted with the greatest regularity, and the excellent disposition of the boy seconding their diligence, the highest expectations were universally excited. In this manner, matters were conducted till nearly the sixth year of his reign.

xxi. Robert Boyd, then at court, was the chief of the clan, and, besides his own great personal power, was connected with many of the noblest families by consanguinity or alliance. The original stock, too, was then in a flourishing condition,

for besides his sons Thomas and Robert, there was his brother Alexander, eminently skilled in all the showy accomplishments of a gentleman, who was introduced to the king by the other royal guardians, and particularly at the desire of John Kennedy, his relation, now on account of age unfit for youthful exercises, to instruct his majesty in the rudiments of military tactics, in which he was acknowledged to excel. Trusting to these advantages, the Boyds were neither content with the honourable situation they held, nor the authority they possessed at court, but determined to transfer all public power into their own family, to accomplish which, Alexander was employed to bias the mind of the king. Having found him a pliable youth, he so won upon him by his politeness and flattery, that he gained his entire confidence; being admitted into the most intimate familiarity, he would frequently hint to the young prince:—That he was now capable of reigning himself; that it was time he should emancipate himself from the slavery of old men; that he ought to have the military about him, and begin, in earnest, those exercises in which, whether he chose or not, he must spend the vigour of his age.

XXII. Such insinuations were extremely agreeable to an inexperienced youth, at the most slippery and self-sufficient period of life. By degrees he became contumacious to his guardians, frequently acting without consulting them, and sometimes in opposition to their instructions, and henceforth sought an opportunity to escape from the restraints of these seniors, as from a prison. Having, upon one occasion, gone a hunting from Linlithgow, without the knowledge of Kennedy, whose turn it then was to wait upon him, the old man, on being informed of the circumstance, followed the king a little distance from that town, and having come up with him, took his horse by the bridle, stopped him, and endeavoured to turn him back, because the time was not convenient, nor was he attended by a proper retinue; on which, Alexander running to the aged nobleman, who merited far different treatment from him, wounded him on the head with a bow which he held in his hand. Having thus driven off the tutor as a troublesome intruder, the party proceeded to their amusement, while Kennedy returned bleeding to the town; nor

when Robert came to court, did he disapprove of his brother's conduct. Thence sprung the seeds of that enmity which occasioned such terrible disasters to the kingdom, and ended in the destruction of one of the factions. The discord first openly discovered itself when the Boyds wished to remove the king to Edinburgh, and the Kennedys to carry him to Stirling. The Boyds, who were then most powerful at court, without the authority of parliament, led the king to the capital, that he might there assume the government. His attendants on the journey, besides the Boyds, were Adam Hepburn, John Somerville, and Andrew Kerr, the chiefs of their respective families. These occurrences took place upon the 10th of July, A. D. 1466. The Kennedys being defeated in this contest, returned to their several homes—John to Carrick, James to Fife—burning with indignation, and determined to omit no opportunity of revenge. The victorious Boyds, not content with the injury they had done, sent an ape to John, telling him to play with it at home, in order to divert himself; thus contemptuously treating him as a dotard.

XXIII. Not long after, James Kennedy died, in full maturity, if we consider his years, but his death was so afflicting to his country, that all seemed to have lost a public parent. There was in him, besides the virtues already commemorated, the greatest frugality and plainness at home, combined with the greatest splendour and magnificence abroad. He exceeded in liberality all the bishops who have gone before, and all who have succeeded him, even to this day, although he possessed no great ecclesiastical revenue; for the practice had not then obtained in Scotland, of heaping benefices upon the priests, that what was basely grasped by avarice, might be more vilely spent in luxury. He left an illustrious monument of his munificence, the colleges of St. Andrews, built at great expense, and handsomely endowed, but with incomes arising from the ecclesiastical revenues. There also he erected a magnificent tomb for himself, which yet the malignity of some envied, notwithstanding he had merited it so well, from many individuals by his private, and from all by his public virtues; they alleged that it displayed too much vanity erecting, at so great an expense, a thing of no use. Death increased the

splendour of his worth, and evinced his value; for after he, who was the constant censor of morals, was removed, public discipline began to decay by degrees, and becoming corrupted, dragged nearly all that was virtuous along with it.

xxiv. The Boyds now endeavoured, under the colour of law, to increase the power of their family, and shake that of their enemies, among whom Patrick Graham, the brother of James Kennedy, by the same mother, and also the maternal cousin of Robert Boyd, most opportunely presented himself. He, as was the custom at that time, was elected bishop in the room of James, his brother, by the canons, but being prevented by a faction at court, from going to Rome with the king's permission, he went privately without it to the pope, with whom he easily arranged, that he should be installed in place of the deceased, for besides the nobility of his family, and his high character for virtue, he was very learned according to the learning of the times. While he remained at Rome, fearing the power of the opposite faction, the ancient controversy respecting the liberty of the Scottish church began to be agitated; for the right which the archbishop of York usurped, during the licentiousness of war—that of having all the Scottish bishops under his jurisdiction—he endeavoured to retain during peace. But according to a decree given in favour of the Scots at Rome, Graham was not only declared primate of all Scotland, but likewise constituted pope's legate for three years, to restore the loose morals of the priests, and the declining discipline of the church to its pristine state. Yet this man, illustrious for so many advantages of mind and fortune, and armed in addition, with the papal prerogative, durst not return home till the power of the Boyds was on the wane.

xxv. The Boyds, perceiving that the accession of nobility to their party, was not so great as they had expected, in order to avert the accusations of their enemies, and provide for their own future security, caused a meeting of the estates to be held on the 13th day of October. At this meeting, the elder Robert Boyd, falling down on his knees before the king and the lords of the articles, complained:—That the obedience he had shown in bringing his majesty to Edinburgh, had been traduced and distorted, by the malicious speeches

of his enemies, who threatened to bring to punishment, the authors of these proceedings; he, therefore, humbly entreated his highness that he would declare openly, whether he conceived any anger or displeasure against him for that action, that he might repress the calumnies of the malevolent. The king, when he had consulted for a little with the lords of the articles, replied:—Robert had not been the author of his journey, but the companion; that he deserved no punishment for his obedience, but was rather worthy of a reward for having discharged his duty; and that he himself, to put a stop to all invidious speeches, would declare so in a public decree of the states, and would take care, by a provision of the same decree, that that action should never be urged as a crime, against Boyd or his attendants. This decree, Boyd required to be registered among the acts of the assembly, and confirmed by a royal pardon under the great seal, all which was done accordingly, on the 25th day of the same month. The same day, another act was passed, at the recommendation of the council, by which his majesty created Boyd regent,* and committed to him the care of himself, his brothers, sisters, castles, towns, and all civil jurisdiction, until he should complete his twenty-first year, and he likewise induced the nobles who were present, to solemnly promise, that they would assist the Boyds in all their public deeds, and be liable to punishment, if they did not, with all their strength and fidelity, perform their engagement. To this promise, the king himself also subscribed.

xxvi. By these means, royalty itself being bound to their party, a number of the nobility united with them in a private league, and the administration of the whole kingdom delivered into their hands, the Boyds thought they had provided for their security for a long while, and further to establish it for the future, they procured a marriage between Thomas, the son of Robert Boyd, and the king's eldest sister. This marriage, which was a wealthy one, and seemed the establishment of their power, increased the hatred of their enemies, and

* The title of regent does not appear upon the records, but the Boyds exercised the power, and Abercrombie conjectures, that the office was rather styled, like that of the Douglas, lieutenant-general.

afforded materials for various reports among the vulgar. But, although they thought, that in this way they had beset every passage to the king, and were become the sole directors of his words and actions, the general indignation increased in proportion as they increased in favour at court, and in about four years after, it broke forth to the ruin of the whole family. The discerning part of the adverse faction, were not displeased at the sudden exaltation of their opponents, because they hoped, as is usual, it would be accompanied by that arrogance which cannot bear a superior, which despises equals, and tramples upon inferiors, and when subjects exceed the limits of their station, kings, who cannot endure them as rivals, accelerate their ruin. The report of dissension between such powerful factions, gave license likewise to popular disorders, for people accustomed to robberies, greedily return after any interruption to their former rapacity, the germs of discord, repressed for a time, burst forth with greater vigour, the seditious embrace more keenly these occasions, for disturbing the commonwealth, and all, instigated by the hopes of impunity, become more licentious. Nor were the Kennedys inactive upon the occasion. Partly by spreading rumours abroad, they inflamed the passions of the people, and pointed out the Boyds as the cause of all the miseries of the country, and the authors of sedition, and partly even—as some supposed—they promoted the designs of the turbulent, and secretly supplied the torches of the incendiaries. This, however, was plain from their countenances, that the disturbed state of affairs was not unpleasant to them. One thing only appeared wanting to subvert the flourishing power of their enemies, and that was to bring over the royal inclinations, for they had abundance of retainers, and the common people, always fond of novelty, and desiring every thing rather than the present, were ready to join them; therefore, they resolved by crafty men, who should pretend attachment to the Boyd interest, to make an attempt upon the mind of the king.

xxvii. In the meantime it was determined to send ambassadors to Denmark, to ask Margaret, the daughter of the Danish king, as a wife for James, and who, at the same time, should endeavour as much as possible, to put an end to the

dispute about the Orkney and Shetland islands, which had cost the two nations so much blood. The chief of this embassy was Andrew Stuart, the son of Walter, at that time chancellor of Scotland. The negotiation respecting the marriage was easily transacted with the Danes, who gave up all right which their ancestors claimed to these islands, in name of dowery; only, it was stipulated, that the private possessors of estates, should continue to possess them on the same terms they had formerly done. Some authors write, that they were given in pledge, until the dowery should be paid, but that afterward, upon the birth of his grandson, the king of Denmark gave up to James, all right for ever to them. When the king was informed by the chancellor, that every thing had been finished according to his desire, the next object was to choose out an honourable train of nobles, to bring home the new queen, and here, by the artifice of his enemies, and the inadvertence of his friends, Thomas Boyd, son of Robert, earl of Arran, was appointed ambassador, those who envied him, designedly exaggerating his merit, as qualified by valour, splendour, and wealth, for undertaking whatever was magnificent. He thinking every thing safe at home while his father was regent, cheerfully undertook the embassy, and in the beginning of Autumn, set sail with a large train of his relations and friends.

XXVIII. In the interval, the Kennedys weakened the attachment of the king, and those bonds, by which the Boyds believed they would retain to themselves his affection—pleasure, and retirement from public business—were imputed to them as crimes. At the same time, by representing their wealth, which was then very great, as dangerous, and magnifying the advantages which would accrue to the exchequer from its confiscation, they distracted the royal mind, naturally weak, and prone to suspicion and avarice. The Boyds, although they endeavoured by their obsequiousness, and by concealing the general misery of the kingdom, to banish all disagreeable reflections from the king, yet they could not drown the complaints of the people, nor disguise the solitariness of the court, both of which were increased by the activity of their enemies. There were, besides, other noblemen, who took advantage of

the young sovereign's solitude, to admonish him respecting the public calamities and their remedies; and James himself, as if assuming his manly duties, sometimes said, that what was going forward did not altogether please him. The Boyds, however, although they perceived the king becoming gradually cooler towards them, and the popular hatred as apparently increasing, behaved as licentiously as ever, trusting to his wonted facility, and the pardon they had already received for their previous conduct. The adverse faction, having now secretly won over the monarch to their party, thought this a fit opportunity for commencing their attacks, Thomas, earl of Arran, being with the embassy in Denmark, whence—the tempestuousness of the north sea rendering it unfit for navigation during great part of the year—he could not return before the end of spring, and the old Boyds, infirm through age and disease, besides being seldom at court, were deprived of the assistance of a number of their friends, who were along with the embassy. First, they procured a convention of the estates—long anxiously desired—to be summoned by the king at Edinburgh, on the 22d day of the month of November, 1469.

xxix. Thither the Boyds, brothers, were ordered to attend to stand trial, a circumstance variously represented by those who hated or favoured them. They themselves were certainly taken by surprise, and being quite unprepared for the threatened danger, and their spirits broken, not so much at the power of the opposite party, as at the sudden aversion of the king, Robert, in despair, fled to England, and Alexander, who was prevented by sickness from flying, made his appearance. The accusation against both was:—That having laid violent hands upon the king, they brought him privately to Edinburgh; when Alexander pleaded, that he had obtained pardon for his crime in an open meeting of the estates, and humbly prayed, that the king would allow a copy to be transcribed from the public record—it was denied him. What his accusers objected against that act, cotemporary historians have not informed us, and although it were easy to conjecture, yet I rather prefer leaving it entirely to the reader, than to detail uncertainties as facts. In this assembly, Alexander was condemned, and suffered capitally. Robert, a few years after,

died at Alnwick, in England, worn out by the tediousness of exile, added to the pressure of age. His absent son, unheard, and engaged on public business, was, in the same assembly, declared a public enemy. The estates of the whole were confiscated. Such were the proceedings as recorded. I must not, however, omit mentioning what I have heard from honourable men, well informed in the transactions of these times. They say, that in the recorded decree, by which pardon was granted to the Boyds, there was nearly the following sentence:—That the king forgave all offence and rancour of mind, as they then termed it, which expression, those who wished to gratify the king, interpreted, according to a distinction, in these days celebrated among theologians, between the remission of blame, and the remission of punishment, as signifying, that the king forgave in his mind the fault, and whatever blame could attach to it, but did not exempt the guilty from the pains of law.

xxx. Next spring, the fleet arrived with the queen from Denmark. Thomas Boyd, having heard of the calamity of his family, although many flattered him with the hope of pardon during the times of public rejoicing, yet did not dare to come ashore, and being informed by his wife, who hastened to him as soon as she heard of the arrival of the Danish fleet, that there was no probability of obtaining the king's favour, all access to him being completely shut up by his enemies, he immediately returned to Denmark, whence he came, and travelling through Germany, proceeded to France. Thence, after many fruitless attempts to obtain the mediation of Louis IX., who converted the legitimate government of that kingdom into a tyranny, he went to Charles, duke of Burgundy, whom having served bravely and faithfully in war, he was by him loaded with gifts and honours. There, while he passed his life privately, but honourably, his wife bore him a son, named James, and a daughter, Gracina—of whom afterward. The nuptials of James III. and queen Margaret, were celebrated on the 10th of July, A. D. 1470, a great concourse of nobility attending. Of this marriage, in the third year, on St. Patrick's day, in the month of March, was born James, who afterward succeeded his father.

XXXI. The king in the meantime, not yet satiated with the calamities of the Boyds, wrote to Flanders, to recal his sister home; but as he knew that she would not be easily persuaded to return, on account of the great love she bore to her husband, he raised her expectations through the medium of her correspondents, who in their letters insinuated, that the anger of the king, softened by time, was not implacable, and a sister might be able to do much with her brother, for obtaining an alleviation of her husband's calamity, only, that this must be done personally, and not by trusting to the agency of others. Allured by these hopes she returned, but scarcely had she landed, when the king began to tamper with her about a divorce. After affixing libels, publicly signed by many witnesses at Kilmarnock, which had been the principal seat of the Boyds before their misfortunes, he ordered Thomas to appear within sixty days, although it was evident, that even if the public faith had been given, he could scarcely have returned within the time. When he did not appear on the day, the former marriage was pronounced illegitimate, and sentence of divorce passed against him in his absence, and without his being heard. Mary, the king's sister, was then against her inclination, forced to marry James Hamilton, * almost an upstart, far beneath her former husband, both in dignity and power; she, however, bore him a son and a daughter, James and Margaret. The children which she had by her former husband, were also recalled by the king. Nor did Boyd himself long survive. He died at Antwerp, where having no relation to inherit his property, Charles erected a splendid and expensive monument, in the church of . . . with the money he had munificently given him, and caused an honourable inscription be engraved upon it. Thus the family of the Boyds, which had lately been the most flourishing in Scot-

* Some uncertainty rests upon the marriage of the king's sister with Hamilton, whether it took place during the life of her first husband, or whether he was dead; all authorities agree that she was divorced; but it was not till 1474, that she married Hamilton. The date of Arran's death is unrecorded, even the place is disputed; Ferrerius says he was slain in Tuscany, by a gentleman whose wife he had attempted to debauch. Buchanan's account, however, is considered the most authentic.

land, within a few short years, was seen spreading abroad their branches, and—cut down, a striking lesson to posterity, how treacherous are the friendships of young kings! Their ruin not only astonished their friends, it also terrified their enemies; nor did any after them dare to grasp at the station whence they had been prostrated, perceiving in their fate, the unstable base of all human affairs, and reflecting at the same time, on the ease with which the king recalled his favours, and the pertinacity with which he prosecuted his revenge. Those who expected great advantage from this change of the public government, were undoubtedly much mistaken, for the king, who in former years had indulged in domestic retirement, and seldom appeared in public, now, being newly married, spent great part of his time in family pleasures, and, excluding his nobility from his presence, committed himself wholly to the power of a few servants. Being of a warm temper, he could not endure to have his opinion contradicted by his counsellors, and therefore, he avoided the freedom which his nobles used, and retained only those around him, who would not correct, but approve his decrees, who declined all offensive opposition, and procured his favour by their obsequiousness.

XXXII. While such were the manners of the court, those of the clergy were not more holy, for although the ministers of the church had long been addicted to luxury and avarice, yet they had still some appearance of their ancient sobriety, and the hope of preferment still remained as a stimulus to the scholars who excelled in learning, the bishops being then elected by the colleges of canons, and the abbots by their respective fraternities. But now the courtiers, who entirely possessed the confidence of the king, by showing him the immense riches he had acquired, and the ease with which he might overcome all opposition, persuaded him not to suffer an affair of such emolument to remain with ignorant men, incapable of managing public business, but to assume to himself the power of nominating whoever he thought qualified for exercising these functions, and then he would be able to check the contumacious, retain the doubtful, and reward the deserving. Instead of all the honours and wealth being, as

now, in the possession of the lowest dregs of the people, who were not more niggardly with regard to the necessities of the state, than profuse in their own private pleasures, every thing, they said, ought to belong to the king to whom all eyes were directed, who only possessed the power of inflicting punishment, of granting pardon, or bestowing rewards. By fawning speeches such as these, the mind of the king, fickle at his time of life, and not proof against the allurements of money; weak through bad habits, and prone to licentiousness, was readily influenced, and immediately the whole kingdom assumed a new appearance, and at court, all offices sacred and civil were publicly put to sale.

xxxiii. Patrick Graham, who alone stayed the declining church, had, during the sway of his enemies at home, spent several years at Rome, but being informed by his friends of the state of the country, trusting to his propinquity to the king—second cousin, the son of his great aunt—resolved to return; but in order previously to sound the inclinations of the people, he sent before him the pope's bull, appointing him legate, and caused it to be published in the month of November, A. D. 1472, which proceeding, excited a great ferment against him, for those who had purchased ecclesiastical honours at court, were afraid of losing both the benefices and the price; and those who expected advantage from similar bargains, were grieved at being disappointed; besides, the whole set who trafficked in ecclesiastical preferments, obtaining it from the king, and afterwards parcelling it out and selling it to others, raised a violent outcry, lest that species of gain should be snatched from them. All these conspiring together, loaded the absent Patrick with abuse, and assembling in the palace, complained that the ancient laws and recent acts of the king were violated, and much damage occasioned to the whole kingdom by the Romanists, whose ambition, unless resolutely opposed, would soon abridge the royal authority, and usurp the whole power for themselves. To prevent this mischief, an act of council was sent to Patrick upon his landing, prohibiting him from exercising any part of his office until the king had inquired into the complaints brought against him, and the 1st of November was appointed as the day on

which he was to stand trial at Edinburgh. In the meantime, his friends and relations assured him that the king would not be partial in so just a cause. But the opposite faction, on hearing this report, so influenced the mind of the king and the courtiers, by large promises of money, that thenceforward Patrick was never able to contend on equal terms with his adversaries. On coming to the assembly, when he produced the papal bull, appointing him archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, and pope's legate for three years, to reform the state of the church, the inferior priests were highly pleased, for they rejoiced that so necessary an office was intrusted to so excellent and learned a man, but, overawed by the more powerful, who had gained the king and his courtiers, dared not to speak out openly. His enemies, on purpose that the favour of the people towards Patrick might grow cool if delay were interposed, appealed to the pope, as the only judge in this cause. He, himself, was sent back by the king to his own particular charge, and forbidden to wear the robes of an archbishop during the dependance of the trial, or exercise any other office besides what the former bishops had done.

xxxiv. In the midst of these troubles, a new enemy, but the bitterest of the whole, sprung up against Graham, and from a trivial cause. William Sevez, a young man of considerable acuteness, who had studied several years at Louvaine, under John Spernic, a celebrated physician and astrologer, on his return home, contrived to insinuate himself into the good graces of the courtiers, chiefly by his reputation for a knowledge of the celestial bodies, which he possessed, along with other ingenious accomplishments, and which procured him extraordinary patronage, as the court, at that time, was addicted to every species of divination, even to madness. Sevez, getting forward by the force of his own genius, and the sunshine of a court, was in a short time, appointed archdeacon of St. Andrews; but the bishop refusing to admit him to that office, he, in revenge, consulted with John Locke, then rector of the college, and an enemy of Graham's, and they endeavoured, by every means in their power, to effect his ruin. The rector, trusting to a privilege he enjoyed from the pope, by which he was exempted from Graham's jurisdic-

tion, excommunicated him. Graham treated this censure, from one so much his inferior in rank, with contempt, and although, when he came into court, it was repeatedly pronounced in his hearing, he never paid it the smallest attention; on which, his enemies, as is the case when ecclesiastical censures are despised, required the assistance of the civil power, and got Patrick excluded from all his churches. Officers of the exchequer were sent to take an inventory of his effects, his attendants were ordered, under a heavy penalty, to leave him, and a guard was set over him, to watch that nothing should be done in contravention of the edict. The rest of the bishops, lest they should appear unworthy of so benevolent a sovereign, violently extorted a great sum of money from the inferior clergy, and brought it to his majesty.

xxxv. The king having obtained this *douceur*—as if relenting—began to treat Graham more mildly, and sent the abbot of Holyrood and Sevez to him, when the bishop became apparently reconciled to the king, and Sevez to the bishop—but money had been previously collected by Graham's friends, and sent to the king. Being now free, as he imagined, from all his troubles, he retired to his seat of Monimail; but while preparing for the performance of his public and private duties, the collectors of the Romish taxes were sent to him by his enemies, and because he had not paid the fees for the papal edict—a bull they call it—he was excommunicated by them. Thus reduced to extreme poverty, for the greater part of his income, both before and since his return, had been gathered by the king's collectors, and what he had been able to raise by his friends, had been given to him and his courtiers, royal officers were again sent to take possession of his estate, and he was committed to custody in his own castle, his domestic servants removed, and keepers appointed by the king; an accumulation of misfortunes, which drove him distracted. On account of his alienation of mind, Sevez, his most implacable enemy, was given him nominally as an assistant by the king, and confirmed by the pope, but by the influence of the adverse faction, he was immediately appointed an inquisitor, to inquire into his life and morals. Many trifling, many ridiculous, and even some incredible charges were brought against

him; among others, that he had thrice performed mass in one day, while there could scarcely be found a bishop in that age who said it once in three months. But his enemy being his judge, and the witnesses bribed, he was forcibly ejected from his bishopric, and Sevez, who carried this decree to the pope, was appointed in his room. His persecutors were not, however, content with the misery of Graham, for when they perceived that all their affronts had not broken his heart, they procured an order for confining him in some solitary monastery, with four keepers. Inchcolm, a rock rather than an island, was chosen for this purpose, whence, upon war arising, he was, three years after, carried to Dunfermline, for fear of the English fleet, and again removed to Lochleven castle, where, worn out with age and misfortunes, he ended his days. Thus perished a man, blameless in his life, and in learning and courage, inferior to none of his cotemporaries. Other virtuous men, terrified by his misfortunes, and hopeless of restoring ecclesiastical discipline, confined themselves entirely to their private duties. At court, church preferment was either sold or bestowed as rewards upon pimps and parasites. Although these transactions took place at different times, yet, that they might not too often interrupt the history, I have placed them together, as they afford a memorable example of the wretchedness of the times; and we may easily thence imagine what oppression would be exercised towards the inferior orders of men, when one eminent for every virtue, and related by blood to the king and the highest families, could be exposed, by a few wretches of the lowest description, to the scorn and cruelty of his enemies. But to return to the other coteremporaneous occurrences:

xxxvi. An act of the estates having passed in the year 1476, against John, lord of the Isles, who then possessed some provinces, and had ravaged widely the maritime coasts of the continent, the king determined to march against him in person by land, and send the earl of Crawford, then his admiral, with the fleet. John, who was incapable of meeting these preparations, by the advice of the earl of Athole, the king's uncle, came as a suppliant to court, and threw himself upon the mercy of the king; and the provinces of Ross, Kin-

tyre, and Knapdale, which he had occupied by force, being taken from him, he was allowed to retain the lordship of the Isles. In the same year, a dispute with the English, which had almost occasioned a war, was adjusted. A Scottish vessel, built by bishop Kennedy, the largest which at that time had ever been seen upon the ocean, was stranded by a tempest on the English coast, and plundered of her cargo. Restitution had often been sought for in vain, and this for some years had caused considerable irritation; but at last, an honourable embassy was sent to Scotland, at the head of which were the bishop of Durham, and lord Scroop, for Edward, tossed by the inconstancy of fortune, and drained of money by so long a war, now anxiously desired a suspension of arms. The truce was easily renewed, upon condition, that an estimate should be made of the value of the vessel which had been destroyed, and the goods which had been taken away, by honest men, and reparation faithfully made.

xxxvii. The same year, ambassadors having been sent to Charles, duke of Burgundy, to adjust some complaints of the merchants, when they arrived in Flanders, were honourably received. One Andrews, a physician, who was reported to have great skill in astrological predictions, being occasionally entertained by them, on learning the cause of their coming, secretly advised them, not to be in too great haste to finish their business, for in a few days they would hear news of the duke. Nor was it an idle prediction, for within three days, accounts were received, that his army was defeated by the Swiss, at Nanci in Lorraine, and himself killed. The ambassadors, when they returned without finishing the business on which they had been sent, having praised wonderfully Andrews' skill in penetrating futurity before the king, induced him, already strongly inclined to these arts, to invite this man to come to his court, by great promises, and accordingly, he arriving not long after, was kindly received by James, who bestowed upon him, among other gifts, a rich ecclesiastical benefice. By this astrologer, it is said, the king was told that he was in imminent danger of death from his own relations, and the oracle agreeing with a response of some witches, to whose arts he was immoderately addicted, who had prophe-

sied, that the lion should be killed by his whelps,* he degenerated from a prince, at first of an excellent disposition, and the greatest hopes, and even then not altogether depraved, into a most insatiable tyrant; for suspicion once obtaining possession of his soul, he looked upon his nearest relations, and his chief nobility as his enemies. The peers, enraged at the king for consulting with this infamous race of beings, were still more highly offended with some of his courtiers, men of the lowest rank, whom, despising his nobles, he employed as his sole advisers. The principal of these were Thomas Preston, descended from an honourable family, but who parasitically humoured the king in every thing; Robert Cochrane, endowed with great corporeal strength, and equal audacity, who having been observed by James in a certain single combat, was immediately made a courtier from a common stone mason, encouraged to indulge in higher expectations, and in a short time, by diligently executing some lesser affairs, and obsequiously flattering the whims of the king, he was admitted to the most secret councils of the state, and chosen as a son-in-law by Preston. The third was William Roger, an English singer, who had come with the Ambassadors of king Edward into Scotland, and having repeatedly performed before the Scottish monarch, was detained by him, enriched, and advanced to the honour of knighthood. The rest were chosen from the meanest stations, common artisans, and others whose only recommendations were, impudence and want of honesty.

* Pinkerton represents Buchanan, as imputing the king's enmity to Andrews' prophecy of a lion being devoured by his whelps, "which" he adds, "if real, was singular in its accomplishment, but could not point to the brothers." Buchanan does not say, that this was the Fleming's prediction, his words are, *sibi a suis exitium imminere*. The account of Lindsay, cannot, therefore, be more probable than that of Buchanan from the prediction, for it is the same in both, whether uttered by a witch or a warlock. Besides, it is John to whom Buchanan chiefly refers in his statement, and it is Alexander who is the chief subject of Lindsay's account. Lindsay relates, that the Humes and Hepburns quarrelled with Albany, for uplifting the mails, rentes, and customs, belonging to the lordship of Dunbar, and used Cochrane's influence, and a witch's prophecy to ruin the brothers, which is easily reconcilable with Buchanan, and differs only as two stories essentially true, may be allowed to differ. In a majority of instances, the objections made to Buchanan's history, consist merely in similar discrepancies.

XXXVIII. A meeting of the nobility having been held, at which the two princes, the king's brothers were present, to concert measures for clearing the court of such minions, the proceedings were whispered abroad. John, the youngest brother, more incautious than the others, having spoken with too much freedom on the state of the kingdom, was seized by the courtiers, and thrown into prison, and being condemned by the king's private council, he was put to death by having a vein opened. The cause of his execution was commonly reported to be, that he had secretly conspired with witches against the life of the king, and to give some appearance of truth to the charge, twelve old women of the lowest order, were brought to trial for witchcraft, found guilty, and burned. The death of John, although it appeared to have broken up the conspiracy, rather checked than dissolved it.

XXXIX. Alexander, as he stood next in relationship, so did he in danger, and although he endeavoured, as far as possible, to remove all suspicion from himself, yet, as the king's ministers could never believe themselves safe while he lived, he was suddenly seized, and lodged in Edinburgh castle. In this situation, narrowly watched by those who thought his power would be their ruin, and having in vain attempted, by the mediation of friends, to conciliate the mind of the king, he began, as he could not otherwise hope for deliverance, secretly with his valet, the only one of his servants who was suffered to remain with him, to concert a plan of escape. By his means he hired a vessel, which he ordered to wait in readiness in the neighbouring roadstead. Then he procured messengers to come to him frequently, as if from court, who should pretend before his jailors—for he was not allowed to hold a private conversation with any one—that the king was becoming more placable, and that there was every hope of his soon obtaining his liberty. When the day appointed for escaping arrived, assuming as cheerful a countenance as under all circumstances he could, he remarked, that he fully believed by the accounts of his messengers, that the king was reconciled to him, and that he hoped he would not be long in their custody. He invited his keepers to a sumptuous supper, and drank with them till midnight, about which time the enter-

tainment broke up, and the keepers soon after, sunk into a profound sleep, overcome by the copious draughts of wine they had taken. Albany, whenever he found himself alone, formed a rope of the sheets of his bed, long enough as he thought, for the height of the wall. First, he let down his servant to make the trial, but perceiving by his fall, that his cord was too short, he lengthened it as well as he could, and followed. When he descended, he found the servant had broken his thigh bone, on which, taking him up on his shoulders, he carried him nearly a mile to the sea, and, the wind proving favourable, immediately set sail for Dunbar, and, after having fortified the castle sufficiently against an assault, departed with a few attendants for France. During his absence, Andrew Stuart, the chancellor, was sent with an army to reduce the castle. After he had besieged it for some months, during which it was bravely defended, the garrison at last, when they began to be straitened for provisions, procured ships, and secretly in the night, embarked for England. Next day, the empty castle was taken possession of. Some distinguished knights among the besiegers were slain.

XL. About this time, the kings of Scotland and England, both tired with domestic misfortunes, began to be desirous of peace. An embassy, sent by the king of England for this purpose, was kindly received, and a treaty entered into, not only to procure, but to confirm the peace by a matrimonial alliance, it being agreed that Cecilia, the daughter of Edward, should be married to James, the son of the Scottish king, when they came of age. Part of the dowery was also paid, on this condition, that if, when both arrived at puberty, the marriage was not consummated, the dowery should be returned. Some burghers were given as hostages. But this peace was of no long duration; for the ancient hatred, and the animosity remaining from the last war, occasioned by the incursions, plunderings, and mutual injuries then inflicted by both parties, broke out quickly into open hostility, and besides, each had their peculiar causes of provocation. Douglas, an old, and Alexander, the king's brother, a late exile, excited the king of England—for Alexander, who had gone, as we have mentioned, to France, received a daughter of the count of Bologne

to wife, but not being able to procure any assistance from Louis IX., who then reigned, he proceeded to England, hoping to effect something there—and Louis sent Robert Ireland, a Scottishman, and Doctor of the Sorbonne, along with two French knights, to induce James to declare war.*

XLI. The peace being thus violated, although the situation of Scotland was deplorable, several of the counties wasted, and also a great English force under the duke of Gloucester, ordered to invade it, yet the king, and those who were around him, unwillingly levied an army; for those men, lately so poor, who had risen by the calamities of the kingdom, and were the authors of the ill advised measures of the crown, feared nothing more than an assemblage of the indignant nobles. When the army reached Lauder, a town on the borders of March and Teviotdale, counties either spoiled by the enemy, or obliged to submit to him, as the king still continued to distrust his nobility, and to transact every thing by his secret council, the nobles, unable longer to endure the indignity, assembled in the church, about the third watch of the night, where, in a full assembly, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, is said to have thus explained their cause of meeting. †

XLII. My lords, I do not think it necessary to say much

* Of this war we have few particulars, which is the more to be regretted, as the opposition of the Scots, to at least one of the maritime expeditions of England, appears to have been highly creditable to the greatest naval hero of his day, Andrew Wood, of Leith, afterward Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo. The silence of the English historians on occasions honourable to Scotland, and their generally avowed rancour to the nation, would not in common cases, be recommendations of their veracity; yet, because Hector Boyce happened to be a fabulist, notwithstanding these palpable blemishes, the English historians in doubtful cases, have been often preferred to Scottish authorities by later writers, who have endeavoured to elucidate the annals of their country.

† He was descended from William, earl of Douglas, by Margaret Stuart, heiress of Angus, and was the fourth earl of Angus of the Douglas family. He is generally known by the surname of *Archibald Bell the Cat*, from a circumstance said to have taken place upon this occasion. In the course of the debate, Lord Gray introduced an apologue.—The mice consulted upon the means of their deliverance from their enemy the cat, and agreed that a bell should be suspended from her neck, to give warning of her approach, and their danger, but what mouse had courage to put it on? *I sal bel the cat*, cried Angus, and ever after was distinguished by the appellation.

about the state of Scottish affairs, part of which you must recollect, and part is still before your eyes. The principal nobility driven into exile, are forced to endure the most intolerable hardships, or to engage in very disagreeable measures, and you with whom is the strength of the kingdom, left without a head, like a ship without a pilot, are exposed to all the storms and buffetings of fortune. Your estates wasted, your fortunes destroyed, and your farmers either killed, or seeing no other alleviation of their misfortunes, subject to the enemy. While the king, naturally generous and prudent, corrupted by bad advisers, intrusts the government, both in peace and war, not to an assembly of his nobles, but to the lowest description of men, who consult fortunetellers, and bias his weak mind, influenced by worthless superstitions, and the predictions of witches, and acts are passed respecting the common safety, under their sole authority, who knowing themselves justly, and universally hated, bear a like hatred to us all. Nor do they only endeavour to weaken your authority, but to destroy you by every art they can practise. Some are removed by death, and some by banishment. They do not, as upstarts usually do, mount gradually to the summit, but at once they exercise their cruelty and avarice on the royal blood. One of the king's brothers they have cruelly murdered, the other they have driven by the fear of death from the country, and sent him as a leader to our enemies. These taken away, they threaten the rest of the nobility; for, conscious of their own mean extraction, they wish no one of high birth to remain, and whoever has either riches to stimulate their avarice, or power to resist their audacity, are marked as their enemies, while, in the meantime, we march against the English as our public enemy, as if any enemy could be more deadly than those, whose cupidity can neither be satisfied with your estates, nor their cruelty with your blood.

XLIII. Now, that you may understand how much more cruel this intestine plague is than the foreign one, suppose—which God forbid—that the king of England were victorious, elated with present success, and recollecting former failures, what reward would he claim for his victory, or what would be the re-

venge he would exercise? The death of the king his enemy, or yours? Neither, I am persuaded. The contest between us is not for life, but for glory and empire, and a generous spirit as he is, violent and keen against those who resist, so is he softened by submission and entreaty, and by the remembrance of the instability of all human affairs. But allowing that an irritated enemy should seek the king's death, who is the most merciful? He who, along with life takes away all sense of misery, or they who reserve for daily torture, him whom next to God they ought to love and obey? Who steel his mind by their witcheries against his relations! who keep their king as a captive, surrounded almost wholly by the arms of his enemies, nor permit him to see the face of his friends, that he might perceive their affection, and receive their assistance? They are not to be esteemed such enemies who, encamped against you, openly profess their hatred, as those who, by domestic treachery, threaten your safety, who betray the king to his foes, after having alienated him from his friends, and expose you without a leader to a hostile army, by whom if vanquished, although you should escape death, yet you will incur dishonour and servitude; but if you conquer, you will not procure peace to yourselves, power to your country, nor glory to your king, but a greater license for your enemies to oppress in future with more security; you will gain torment and ruin to yourselves, and a severer servitude to your king—you will by victory avoid external misfortune, but only increase domestic misery. Wherefore, my opinion shortly is, that we first break our domestic yoke before we engage with foreign enemies, for otherwise, we shall be made slaves to the will of a few, increase the power of the enemy, and betray the commonwealth. May God bless your deliberations.

XLIV, After this speech of Douglas, there was no more deliberation, but a confused murmur ran through the meeting, calling for vengeance against the traitors; and the assembly were so much inflamed, that it appeared, if not led, they would have rushed tumultuously to the royal pavilion. But the chiefs, who, on account of their age and honours, possessed the greatest authority, having allayed the tumult, agreed—for they feared lest the common soldiery, in their rash fury,

might violate the person of the king—that the principal noblemen, taking a sufficient number of their friends, without any general movement of the army, should go to the king's tent, and seize the obnoxious minions who exercised the government, and bring them to judgment before the whole army, that they might suffer punishment according to law.

XLV. Whilst these things were in agitation, a rumour reached the court:—That the nobles had collected in the church before daybreak, for what purpose, was unknown, but that certainly it was something of importance, which collected such men, without the knowledge of the king or his counsellors. The king, awakened out of sleep, asked with trepidation at his attendants, what they thought ought to be done, and in the meantime, he sent Cochrane before to observe what was going forward, and to bring certain information. On his road to the church, with a few attendants, he was met by the leaders of the nobility coming to court. Douglas immediately seized him, and twisting the massy gold chain which he wore, till he nearly choked him, gave him into custody, and marched straight to the king. The guards, either struck by his sudden appearance, or overawed by his dignity, remained passive, while he seized those who were believed to have corrupted the monarch by their pernicious counsels. The king only entreated that they would spare one young man, of honourable birth, John Ramsay, who clung to him, and his tender age furnishing his excuse, they readily complied. The rest were led to trial, amid the noise and tumult of the army, all crying out:—Hang the villains! On which, they were immediately carried to punishment, and ended their lives by suspension; and such eagerness did the army display for their execution, that when ropes could not quickly be found, the soldiers hastened with the traces of their waggons, and the reins of their bridles, to supply the deficiency.

XLVI. The court faction, who were thus disposed of, had oppressed many private individuals by their injustice; towards the public, their principal crime was their having issued a new brass coinage, commonly called by the invidious name of black money, which first occasioned the dearness of every article of life, and then even famine, for the dealers rather al-

lowed their corn to rot in their barns, than give it away to the purchasers, under the name of selling it. But to prevent a total stagnation of trade, when any sales were effected, a stipulation was at the same time added, specifying in what sort of money the payment was to be made. Some of the former kings had likewise coined this species of money, but then it was more for the necessary use of the poor, than for any purpose of gain; and they regulated by law the sum, beyond which buyers were not compelled to take it; thus provision was made for the convenience of the purchasers of small quantities, and the richer were guarded against any fraud in their payments. The faction were likewise accused of having alienated the mind of the king from his nobility; of having infatuated him by magic; and of having impelled him to the murder of his relations. But the chief hatred was excited towards Cochrane, by his earldom of Marr, which district James, upon the death of his youngest brother, had either given him, or intrusted to his government. The evil counsellors of the king being put to death—as the king could neither trust the soldiers, nor the soldiers the king—the army was dismissed, and returned home.

XLVII. The king, although he suppressed his anger for the present, and was very liberal in his promises to his nobility, yet cherished in his soul only vengeance and blood. He, therefore, as soon as he perceived himself at liberty, withdrew with a few attendants to the castle of Edinburgh. The nobility, uncertain of his intentions, held, likewise, their deliberations among themselves. The king of England, chiefly by the persuasion of Alexander, who assured him, that as soon as he touched Scotland, he would be joined by a great number of soldiers and the nobility, who were at variance with the king, appointed his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, commander of the army, collected during the winter, and ordered him to lead them into Scotland. He began his march about midsummer, but understanding the situation of affairs, turned aside to Berwick. He was received into the town immediately, and having left four thousand soldiers to besiege the castle, he advanced with the rest of his forces straight to Edinburgh, destroying all the places on the road; but under

the guidance of Alexander, he entered the city without doing it any damage, and demanded of James, by public proclamation at the cross—for he had no hopes of speaking with him—First, that he would perform his engagement with Edward; then, that before the 1st of September next, he would give satisfaction for all the mischief done to the English, and the injuries they had sustained, which if he would not do, Richard of Gloucester would prosecute him and his kingdom with fire and sword.

XLVIII. With these demands, in the present circumstances, James, seeing that it was impossible to comply, and being, at the same time, unable to repel the enemy by force, returned no answer. The Scottish nobles, thus deserted by their sovereign, that they might not altogether neglect the safety of the country, collected another army, and encamped at Haddington; and that they might, at least, alleviate the imminent calamity, and stop the course of the victorious army, sent ambassadors to the duke of Gloucester, to desire:—That the nuptials, so long promised, should be consummated; and to declare, that no blame could belong to the Scots, if the agreement entered into was not faithfully fulfilled. The English commander, who knew that the Scots would not risk an engagement, part of their force being with Alexander, who was very popular with the common people, and the remainder distracted by factions, replied:—He was not sufficiently informed as to what the king of England had determined to do with regard to the marriage; in the meantime, he thought it just, that the money which had been paid to James, in name of dowry, should be restored; but that, if they wished peace, they should promise to surrender the castle of Berwick; or if they could not do that, they should solemnly swear, that they would neither give any assistance to the besieged, nor offer any interruption to the besiegers, until the castle was either taken by force, or surrendered by capitulation. To these demands, the Scottish noblemen answered:—That the marriage was delayed, not through any fault of theirs, but because the parties were not yet arrived at puberty; the day for paying not having yet come, the money was not due, but if they were not satisfied with the security they had received, more would

be given; the castle of Berwick was built upon Scottish ground, by Scotchmen, was under their government, and had been for many ages, and if the English, at any time, had taken it, or retained it by force, that injustice could not diminish their ancient right.

XLIX. Gloucester, who was superior in strength, persisted in his demands, and would not admit of any questions of right. The same day, Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle, Andrew Stuart, chancellor, together with the two bishops of St. Andrew's and Dunblane, sent to Alexander, who was in the English camp at Lethington, a deed signed and sealed, offering, if he would return to his allegiance, they would procure, in the first parliament, the restoration of his estates, and an amnesty for all that was past, and pledged their faith for the performance. Alexander, having communicated on the subject with Gloucester, was kindly dismissed by him, and returned to his own country. At the next meeting of the estates, he was placed at the head of the government by universal consent, and he immediately submitted to them a proposition for raising the siege of Berwick. The time appeared so full of danger to the more prudent, and every thing so disturbed by domestic sedition, that they thought it would be scarcely possible to stop the current of adverse fortune, even were the enemy quiet, and, therefore, a peace ought to be procured upon any terms. They saw clearly, if they overcame so powerful an enemy in a battle, they would rather irritate, than intimidate him; but if they were defeated by him, it was uncertain how far an enemy naturally fierce, and rendered more insolent by success, would push his victory. These sentiments, although violently opposed at the time, finally prevailed in the council; and after a great variety of conditions had been in vain proposed, it was at last agreed, on the 26th of August, A. D. 1482, that the castle of Berwick should be surrendered, and a truce entered into for a few months, until a lasting peace could be concluded. Thus Berwick, after it had remained in the possession of the Scots twenty-one years, was restored to the English; and Gloucester having brought his foreign expedition to a prosperous conclusion, returned home in triumph. Edward, on advising with his council,

thought it would be more for the advantage of England, to annul the contract of marriage, because he feared, amid such intestine discords, that the posterity of James might not succeed to the kingdom; and he was, besides, more inclined to Alexander, who, he hoped, if made king, having received so many favours, would remain in constant friendship with him. A herald was therefore sent to Edinburgh, to renounce the alliance, and demand back the portion. On the 25th October, he publicly declared his errand, and a day being appointed for the payment of the money, it was faithfully restored, and given to the herald, who was safely conveyed as far as Berwick.

L. Alexander, to soften his brother's anger towards himself, if he still retained any, and awaken a renewal of his affection by a new favour, brought him out of the castle, and restored him to the free possession of his kingdom. But with a weak mind, the remembrance of ancient offences outweighs the value of recent favours. The king's former suspicions were heightened by the representations of Alexander's enemies, who incessantly accused him of too great popularity, which they adduced as an indubitable proof of his design upon the crown. Alexander, warned by his friends, of the plots formed at court against his life, withdrew secretly to England, and delivered the castle of Dunbar into the hands of Edward. In his absence, he was condemned on an accusation of having sent frequent messengers to England; of having departed thither without the king's leave; and of having conspired with the English against his country, and the king's life. All the others concerned in this plot were pardoned, and among them William Crichton, who was charged with being, not only a participator, but the author and instigator of the designs against his country. Scarcely, however, had Crichton obtained pardon for this offence, before he was again accused of carrying on a criminal correspondence with the exiled prince, through the medium of Thomas Dickson, a priest; of having fortified Crichton castle, and not surrendering it up to be garrisoned by the king's forces, for which he was ordered to stand trial, on the 14th of February, 1484, but failing to appear, he was outlawed, and his estate confiscated.

LI. These indeed, are the reasons assigned in the public records, but the hatred of the king on a private account, is supposed to have been the chief cause of his ruin. Crichton's wife, sprung from the Dunbar family, was remarkably handsome, and her husband having discovered that she had been seduced by the king, adopted a project, rash, indeed, but natural to a husband disappointed in love, and provoked by injury, he retaliated upon the king's youngest sister, a lady also exquisitely lovely, but infamous for too close a connexion with her brother, by her he had Margaret Crichton, who died not long ago. In the meantime, Crichton's wife died at his own castle, and the king's sister, whom, as we have mentioned, his majesty had previously debauched, lamented so much the absence of the restless William, that at times she seemed as if she would go distracted. On which, the king, partly moved by the entreaties of Crichton's friends, partly by the recollection of the injury he had done him, and desirous of concealing his sister's infamy under the cloak of matrimony, permitted him to return, on condition that he should marry her. Crichton, persuaded by his friends, and forced by the ruin of his prospects, after the death of Richard, king of England, came to Inverness, and had a conference with James, not long before they both died, in which he was encouraged to hope for his speedy recal. His tomb is still shown there. These circumstances which took place at different times, I have narrated together, that the course of the history might not be interrupted. I now relate what I have thus passed over.

LII. Edward, king of England, died in the April following the surrender of Dunbar, A. D. 1483, having left his brother, Richard, the guardian of his sons. He at first governed England for two months, satisfied with the title of protector, then, having by various arts conciliated a great part of the nobility and commons, he threw his brother's two sons into prison, shut up the queen with her daughters, in a nunnery near London, and in the month of June, assumed the name and the insignia of royalty. Alexander, duke of Albany, and James Douglas, desirous of trying the affections of the people towards them, having selected five hundred horsemen, proceeded to Lochmaben, on St. Magdalen's day, when a great

fair used to be held; where, from some sudden quarrel, a battle arose, which was fought with various success, according as assistance was brought to the one side or the other, from the neighbourhood, and continued to hang in doubt, from mid-day till night, when a bloody victory remained with the Scots, who had lost a great number of their friends. Douglas was taken prisoner, and sent by the king to the monastery of Lindores. Alexander escaped on horseback to England, but did not long remain there. Many incursions were made besides, more to the loss of the English, than the advantage of the Scots. Richard, uncertain of the issue of affairs at home, and afraid of the threatening aspect from abroad—the earl of Richmond, then an exile in France, being favoured by many of the English, and invited to assume the crown—was tortured with anxiety, nor was he less tormented by a consciousness of guilt. He therefore resolved, since he could not tranquillize his domestic seditions so quickly as he hoped, that he would conciliate his foreign enemies upon any terms, that by their authority and assistance, he might render himself safer, and more terrible to his enemies at home. In pursuance of these resolutions, ambassadors were sent to Scotland, to procure peace, or at least a truce for some years, who found every thing much more easy than they had expected; for James, who, on account of similar crimes, was equally detested by his subjects, listened willingly to the ambassadors of Richard, as he hoped, that upon a peace being concluded with the English, he would the more easily avenge his domestic wrongs, when a place of refuge was cut off from his enemies.

LIII. For these reasons chiefly, both kings sent some of their most confidential friends to the borders, who, after many and daily conferences about compensations, when they saw, that on account of the multitude of the claims, and the weakness of the proofs, a peace could not be effected, concluded a truce for three years; and, because restoration could not be made, on account of the difficulties I have mentioned, and the shortness of the time, commissioners were appointed on both sides, who, along with the wardens of the marches, were to take care, that this was equitably and faithfully attended to. One condition in this truce was dubiously expressed, respect-

ing the restoration of Dunbar to the Scots, by which the English understood they were to retain it, and the Scots, that they were to besiege it, notwithstanding the truce. When the Scots, after the six months which had been mentioned in the treaty were expired, demanded by their ambassadors, the delivery of the castle, Richard readily promised, in long letters, to restore it, but from some cause or another, kept possession till his death, which happened shortly after. But when he was killed by his subjects, and Henry VII. not yet securely seated on the throne, James invested it, during a very hard winter, and the garrison, on account of the unsettled state of England, expecting no assistance, surrendered.

LIV. Henry, distracted by many cares, in order to cut off all occasion for foreign war, and extinguish the seeds of ancient animosity, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, whence he sent ambassadors to Scotland, to procure a perpetual treaty of alliance, or at all events, a long truce; for, being a man of uncommon wisdom, and having experienced many vicissitudes, he thought peace with his neighbours, and especially with the Scots, of the utmost importance, for establishing the stability of his throne; because these two kingdoms were almost always waiting to take advantage of each other's distresses, first encouraging rebels at home, and then receiving them when they were banished; and seditions were thus cherished, either by the hope of assistance or of refuge. James, who desired nothing more than that, relieved from all fear of foreign interference, he might be at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought proper upon his disobedient subjects, received the ambassadors courteously; he told them, that he indeed was anxious for peace, but he thought he would not be able to obtain the consent of his subjects, either to a perpetual peace, or to a very long truce, partly because it was forbidden by an ancient law, lest, being relieved from all fear, their minds should grow languid, and their nerves get relaxed through idleness, and partly, because their fierceness, contracted by being so long accustomed to the use of arms, could not be instantly, and altogether laid aside, but if he could possibly bring them to a truce for six or seven years, it ought not to be rejected. As for himself, as long as he lived, he would preserve peace with

Henry, sacred and inviolate, and he would also take care that the truce should be renewed before the time expired; but he entreated the ambassadors by every consideration, not to divulge abroad what passed between them in secret, lest the nobles should be less willing to agree to a peace, if they perceived any wish on his part to procure it. This being reported to Henry, as he knew in what a troubled state Scotland was, and how convenient a peace would be to the king, thinking him sincere and hearty in his professions, he concluded a truce for seven years, and returned to York.

LV. In the meantime, the queen of the Scots died, a woman of uncommon beauty and virtue, who was thought to have moderated the unbridled rashness of her husband. Alexander, the king's brother, also died in France, leaving two sons, Alexander, by his first wife, a daughter of the earl of Orkney, and by his second, John, who was afterward some years regent of Scotland. James having secured peace abroad, and being freed from two troublesome disturbers of his designs at home, again gave himself up to the native bent of his mind, and excluding from his presence almost all his nobility, was surrounded entirely by upstarts, whom he preferred to the honours of his court, and the offices of state, and delivering over to them the care of the government, and the levying of taxes, he devoted himself wholly to his pleasures. The chief of the court faction was John Ramsay, who, preserved by the king's request, had escaped punishment at Lauder. He was so excessively proud, that although created steward of the household, esteemed an high honour among the Scots, and had had many valuable estates bestowed upon him, yet, not satisfied with his fortune, he obtained an order, that no one except himself and his companions, should carry arms in those places where the king lodged, that by this means he might protect himself and his faction against the nobility, who held frequent meetings among themselves, and paraded in armour, but this order procured for Ramsay more hatred than respect, for now the appearance of downright slavery struck every one.

LVI. The king in the meantime, was eagerly bent upon satiating his revenge by the blood of those whom he believed

to be the authors of the rebellion, which, when he could not obtain by open force, he endeavoured to accomplish by art. Pretending to be reconciled with several of the leaders, he behaved to them courteously, and treated them with more familiarity even than became a prince. The most powerful he loaded with honours and rewards; he created David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, duke of Montrose, wishing to attach to himself so rich a nobleman; he had Archibald, earl of Angus, frequently with him, and communicated to him his most secret designs, as if he had received him wholly into his favour, yet he could neither by gifts nor flattery, convince any one of his sincerity; for those who knew his disposition, did not doubt but he assumed this show of kindness, that he might separate the nobility, and arrest them apart, or that he might set them at variance among themselves, which appeared more plainly when he had collected them at Edinburgh. Having invited Douglas to come to him in the castle, he pointed out to him what an admirable opportunity presented itself for executing his revenge, for by apprehending the chiefs of the faction, and bringing them to punishment, the rest would be overawed, and if he neglected this opportunity, spontaneously afforded him, he might never after hope to find one similar.

LXVII. Douglas, who knew that the king was not better affected to himself than to the rest, discussed with him warily, this cruel and hazardous design; he argued, that every person would pronounce the action base and flagitious, if so many noblemen, who had been promised pardon for their former conduct, who were but lately reconciled, and were now secure in the public faith, which they had accepted, should, without a trial, be brought suddenly to punishment; that the fierce minds of his enemies would not be broken by the destruction of a few, but faith being once violated, all hope of agreement would be at an end, and despairing of pardon, anger would become madness, and thence greater stubbornness, and contempt of the king's authority, and of their own lives would follow. But if you trust me, he said, I will show you a method, by which the royal dignity may be preserved, and your vengeance satisfied. I will gather together my friends and vassals, and in the face of day, and openly, seize whoever you wish, bring

them to trial, and punish them according to law—a method not only more honourable, but safer than if they were put to death secretly, and in the night, as if murdered by robbers. The king, believing that the earl was sincere, for he knew he could perform what he promised, returned him his thanks, and dismissed him with many professions. Douglas, having warned the nobles to withdraw from such imminent danger, himself also immediately retired.

LVIII. From that day, his secret designs being exposed, the king trusted no person; after remaining for some time in Edinburgh castle, he crossed by sea to the districts beyond the Forth, which still remained obedient, and there, in a short time, raised a considerable army. The nobles, who formerly had desired his reformation, and not his ruin, despairing now of any reconciliation, turned all their endeavours to his destruction. The only difficulty which perplexed them, was what general they should appoint, who, upon the defeat of the king, might be a regent, not disagreeable to the people, and, at the same time, by the lustre of his name, protect the party. After many consultations, the king's son was unanimously fixed upon. He was gained over by his guardians and tutors, who threatened, if he refused, to transfer the government to the English, the perpetual enemies of his family.

LIX. The king, having again crossed the Forth, had encamped at Blackness castle, and his son's army prepared for battle, was not far distant, when, by the intervention of the earl of Athol, the king's uncle, an accommodation was effected, * Athol, himself, being given to Adam Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, as an hostage, with whom he remained till the king's death; but the concord, as usual, when parties are suspicious of each other, did not last long. Several proposals

* A skirmish, from several documents, seems to have taken place at Blackness, but it must have been of a very partial and doubtful nature. Mr. Pinkerton is inclined to believe that the prince was not in the hands of the rebels, till after the affair at Blackness, because Athol was given as an hostage, which they would not have required, if they had had the prince.—Hist. vol. i. p. 332. It would indeed appear that the king did not know of Shaw's treason till he went to Stirling, shortly before the battle, nor that his son was with the nobles, till he took the field.

having been mutually submitted, the nobles, at last, gave in their final decision:—That as the king did not act with sincerity, open war appeared to them better than an insidious peace; that the only hope of adjustment now left, was for the king to resign the crown in favour of his son; that nothing else would be listened to; and that it was in vain for him to lengthen out the negotiation. The king communicated this answer, by his ambassadors, to England and France, and earnestly entreated them to assist him by their authority, or, if necessary, by their arms, in repressing the madness of a few rebels, and bringing them to their senses; for they ought to consider this as a common cause, because it was an infection which would easily spread to the neighbouring nations. He sent also to pope Eugenius VIII., beseeching him, by his paternal love for Scotland, to send a legate to oblige his refractory subjects, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to lay down their arms, and obey their king. The pope, in consequence, wrote to Hadrian of Castile, a man of uncommon learning and wisdom, at that time his legate in England, to use his endeavours for restoring tranquillity to Scotland.

LX. These remedies, however, were too late. The nobles, who were informed of his proceedings, and knew the implacability of the king towards themselves, determined to bring their affairs to a decisive engagement, before any re-enforcements could arrive to him. For although they had the prince with them, both for ensuring the obedience of the common people, and to show that they were not arrayed against their country, but against a most pernicious king, yet, lest the arrival of foreign ambassadors should shake the determination of the lower orders, they anxiously exerted themselves to end the contest by a final battle. Their urgency was opposed by the timidity of the king, who, having sent for more troops from the northern parts of the kingdom, kept himself within Edinbargh castle, waiting for their arrival. From this resolution, which appeared the safest for him, he was induced to depart, either by the treachery or the unskilfulness of some of his own counsellors, who, on account of the numerous friths which might delay or endanger the arrival of his auxiliaries, persuaded him, that he should retire to Stirling, the most

convenient place of the whole kingdom for receiving assistance from every quarter ; that he would be as safe there as in Edinburgh castle, as his enemies were wholly unprovided with every article for undertaking a siege; besides, he might have his fleet prepared for all accidents, and stationed near.

LXI. This advice seemed faithful, and was safe enough, if the governor of the castle, James Shaw, had not been bribed by the opposite faction, and refused him admission on his arrival. Wherefore, when the enemy pressed close upon him, and he had no place to which he could retreat, he was forced to risk an engagement with what force he had. At the commencement, the battle was fiercely contested, and the first line of the nobles began to give way, when the men of Annandale, and their neighbours who inhabited the western coasts of Scotland, advanced boldly, armed with longer spears than their adversaries, and put the centre of the king's army to flight. He, himself, weakened by a fall from a horse, took refuge in some water mills, not far from the field of battle, intending to get on board one of the vessels which lay near, but being overtaken, he was slain there, with a few attendants. * There were three who pursued him very closely in his flight—Patrick Gray, the chief of his name, Sterling of Keir, and a priest named Borthwick. It is not known by which of them he was struck. The report of his death, although doubtful, when divulged through both armies, stopped the pursuit and slaughter of the fugitives; for the nobles wished it to appear, that the war was undertaken against the king only, and not against the people. Of the royal party, there fell Alexander Cunninghame, earl of Glencairn, with a few of his vassals and kinsfolk. Many were wounded on both sides.

LXII. Thus died James III., a prince not naturally of a bad disposition, but corrupted by evil communication; for, when

* The king, when carried into the mill, it is said, called for a priest, and a woman ran into the road calling for a priest to the king; on which, Borthwick turned aside to the hovel, and kneeling by his sovereign, inquired if he thought he might survive by the help of surgery; to which James answered, I believe I might, but let me have a priest to hear my confession, and give me the eucharist; on which, the wretch heard his confession, and then stabbed him!

in childhood he had given some indications of an excellent genius, and a mind truly royal, he was early, but gradually, debauched by the Boyds. On their fall, he was hurried headlong into every species of vice, by men of the very lowest description; even the degeneracy of the times, and the example of the neighbouring kings, contributed to his destruction; for Edward IV. in England, Charles in Burgundy, Louis XI. in France, James II. in Portugal, laid the foundations of tyranny in their different kingdoms, and Richard III. exercised it most illimitably in England. The death of James was branded with this ignominy, in the next convention of the estates, it was voted that he was justly slain, and an act passed to prevent all who had borne arms against him from being ever personally, or in their posterity, disturbed on that account. He died, A. D. 1488, in the 28th year of his reign, and the 35th year of his age.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XIII.

1. **JAMES III.** being killed near Stirling, on the 11th of June, the chiefs of the opposite party, still uncertain as to his fate, returned back to Linlithgow, where accounts were brought them, that boats had passed from the fleet to the shore, and carried off the wounded to the ships. From this circumstance, a suspicion having arisen that the king had been received on board the fleet, they removed to Leith, and **THE PRINCE**—the title of the king's eldest son among the Scots—sent an invitation to the admiral, to come on shore to him. The admiral, Sir Andrew Wood, grateful for the honours he had received from the king, and who cherished the most affectionate regard for his memory, refused to land, unless he obtained hostages for his safety; on which, Seton and Fleeming, two noblemen of the highest rank, were given. When he arrived, he was asked by the council if he knew where the king was, and who they were who had been carried in boats to his ships after the battle. He replied, that he knew nothing about the king, but said, he and his brothers had landed from the boats, in order that, along with other loyal subjects, they might defend their king; and when they saw their endeavours to preserve his life were vain, they returned to the fleet; if his majesty were alive, they would alone obey him, or if dead, they were ready to avenge his death. He, besides, threw out many reproaches against the rebels; but, notwithstanding, lest the hostages should suffer, he was allowed to return unhurt to the ships. When the hostages had arrived safe, the citizens of Leith were called before the council, and

solicited, by great promises, to rig out vessels, and attack Sir Andrew Wood. But they unanimously answered, that his two vessels were so well equipped, and manned with such experienced seamen, and he, himself, was so skilful a commander, that no ten vessels in Scotland would venture to attack them. The council then breaking up, proceeded to Edinburgh, where, having ascertained the truth of the king's death, they caused a magnificent funeral to be given him, at the abbey of Cambuskenneth, in the vicinity of Stirling, on the 25th of June.

CIV. JAMES IV.

II. In the meantime, a parliament was summoned on a certain day, for installing the new king, but few obeyed, and almost all who came, were those who had been conspirators against the former. Immediately after his ascension, James IV. sent a herald to the governor of Edinburgh castle, to require him to surrender, which being complied with, he marched straight to Stirling; that castle also was delivered up to him by the garrison. On the rumour reaching England, of the distracted state of affairs in Scotland, five picked vessels, from the royal navy, entered the Frith of Forth, plundered the merchantmen, obstructed the commerce, and making many descents on both shores, infested exceedingly the maritime places. Great apprehensions, too, were entertained from the rival armies of the Scots themselves, for the force of the unsuccessful party had been rather dispersed than destroyed in the late battle; the whole had not been present, nor of those who had, were there many killed. Therefore, a more violent tempest appeared imminent, from men whose minds, still hostile, were elated by a confidence in their own strength; whose indignation was heightened at the idea of so many noblemen having thus easily submitted, not to the crown, but to a cabal, for although the name and title of king was borne by a youth of fifteen, he did not govern, but was himself governed by the murderers of his father; the whole power remained in the hands of Angus, Hepburn, and Hume, and their insolence was increased, because the coasts were infested with the two fleets, the English and the Scots.

III. The new king, in order to lessen the difficulties with

which he was surrounded, resolved first to reconcile the naval forces to himself, lest they should occasion any disturbance, while he was at the distant parts of the kingdom, endeavouring to restore order, or afford the English access to the interior, for pillaging the midland counties. He, therefore, after the death of the late king was publicly announced, invited Sir Andrew Wood on shore, upon a royal protection, thinking he would now be less obstinate in his opposition, and having stated to him, both the danger and disgrace the whole nation incurred, by allowing a few ships thus haughtily to insult them, he not only won over Sir Andrew, but likewise roused him against the English. Several of the courtiers advised the admiral to take with him a greater number, and larger vessels, or, at least, have an equal fleet to the enemy; but he replied, that he was satisfied with his own two, and, unmooring with the first favourable wind, he set sail against the enemy, who were at anchor off the town of Dunbar, and, after a desperate action, brought them all as prizes into Leith, and presented their captains to the king.* Sir Andrew was munificently rewarded, and his skill in naval warfare, and the remarkable bravery of his men, was loudly applauded, while the court flatterers, who always rapturously applaud whatever is admired by kings, presaged that this victory was a certain omen of others far more glorious.

iv. Meanwhile, the adverse party of the nobles sent messengers every where, mutually exhorting each other:—Not to endure the present state of affairs, nor allow so many brave men to be abused by public parricides, who had killed one king, and held another in bondage, and who, with intolerable effrontery, accused the defenders of the late king of treason; who, while they violated all law human and divine, styled themselves protectors of order, and liberators of their country, while they kept the present king captive, for he had been forced to take arms against his father and his king; and after

* The English historians pass over in silence the naval glories of Sir Andrew Wood. Actions so remarkable, could only be omitted by design; and such an omission by no means justifies that superior veracity, which some of our later Scottish writers are disposed to allow them over those of their own country.

his majesty was villanously murdered, he was obliged to prosecute an impious war against his father's friends, and the defenders of his life. Many such speeches were spread among the common people, and to raise still higher the general flame of indignation, Alexander Forbes, the chief of a noble family, carried the late king's shirt, stained with blood, and torn with the marks of his wounds suspended upon a spear, through Aberdeen, and the chief towns of the adjacent counties, and by public proclamation, called upon all men to avenge the horrid deed.

v. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, a wealthy nobleman, who, universally beloved for his affability, was not less active in the districts on this side the Forth, raised the lords in his vicinity, and, having collected a pretty large force, when he could not proceed by Stirling bridge, as the royalists had possession of the town, marched hastily to the fords near the source of the river, at the foot of the Grampians, in order to join himself to his associates. His design, however, was discovered by Alexander Macalpin, one of his vassals who had joined the enemy, and who informed Sir John Drummond,* that the rebels were so secure and careless, that they straggled about wherever they went, placed no watch, nor used any military precaution. Drummond, on this, with the courtiers, and a few volunteers who had joined him, attacked them when they were asleep, and numbers slept the sleep of death, others unarmed, fled in confusion back whence they had come, and a great many were taken prisoners; but on being recognised, the majority were dismissed to their friends, these only being treated harshly who had written or spoken contumeliously.

vi. The joy occasioned by this victory, was increased by the arrival, on the same day, of accounts of a naval triumph gained by Sir Andrew Wood over Stephen Bull; for the king of England, upon hearing that five of his vessels had been beaten and captured by two Scottish ships of far inferior size, desirous of wiping away the ignominy, yet not having any just grounds for war, assembled his most experienced sea officers, and offering them the choice of his navy, and every naval

* Sir John Drummond of Cargill, created lord Drummond, 1488.—Crawford.

equipment they could desire, exhorted them to remove the stain from the English name, promising the highest honours to whoever would bring Wood to him dead or alive. Those who knew the bravery and uniform success of the enemy, hesitating, Stephen Bull, a knight of approved valour, undertook the expedition; and a favourable opportunity of successfully executing his design appeared to be offered, as he knew that Sir Andrew was about to return from Flanders, and he hoped to be able easily to surprise him unawares on his passage. Wherefore, having selected three vessels from the royal fleet, he fitted them out expeditiously, and sailing along the English coast, he bore for the May, a desert island in the Frith of Forth, a station which he chose for its convenient situation, because he had safe roadsteads on every side of the island, where he could ride in safety from every wind, and the sea there was so narrow, that the smallest vessel could not pass unobserved. In the meantime, he detained the most skilful of the fishermen, and kept them constantly upon the outlook in their small skiffs, to point out to him the enemy's vessels. He had not remained there long, when Wood's ships were descried approaching with every sail set; on which, weighing anchor, Bull, already confident of victory, prepared for an engagement. Wood only waited till his men had armed, and then immediately stood for his enemy. These two distinguished captains joined battle with all the spirit of great armies, and strove so desperately, that darkness interrupted the fight, while the victory remained doubtful. Next day, early in the morning, the commanders having encouraged their men, renewed the contest with fresh vigour, and having fixed the hostile vessels together with grappling irons, they fought hand to hand, as on firm ground, and struggled with such keenness, that neither of them perceived the ebbing of the tide, till they were carried upon the sand banks at the mouth of the Tay, and there the English vessels, who, on account of their size, became unmanageable in the shallows, were forced to surrender. They were thence towed up against the stream to Dundee, where they remained till their dead were buried, and their wounded placed under the care of surgeons for cure. The battle was fought on the 10th of August,

A. D. 1490. A few days after, Wood went to the king, carrying with him Sir Stephen Bull, the other captains of the vessels, and the most distinguished of the sailors; he was very graciously received, and honourably rewarded for his bravery. The young monarch munificently restored the captives, along with their vessels, to the king of England, at the same time, bestowing high encomiums on the valour of his warriors, evincing that he respected courage in an enemy who contended not for plunder, but for honour. Henry, although severely mortified at the unfortunate issue of the battle, yet returned thanks to the Scottish king, and readily acknowledged his munificence and magnanimity.

VII. About this time, a strange kind of monster was born in Scotland. In the lower part of the body it resembled a male child, differing in nothing from the ordinary shape of the human body, but above the navel, the trunk, and all the other members became double, and were distinct, both in their use and appearance. The king caused it be carefully brought up, and educated, particularly in music, in which it wonderfully excelled. It also learned different languages, and in their various inclinations, the two bodies appeared to disagree between themselves, sometimes disputing, each preferring different objects, and sometimes consulting, as if for the common pleasure of both; and what was remarkable, when the lower limbs, or loins were struck, both felt the blow in common, but when pricked, or otherwise hurt above, only one of the bodies was sensible of pain, which distinction was most conspicuous in death; for, when the one body had died several days before the other, that which remained, when the dead half became putrescent, wasted away by degrees. I write this the more confidently, because there are many persons of undoubted veracity still alive, who saw the prodigy.

VIII. The fame of Wood's naval victory being spread over the north country, the insurgents gave up all intention of war, and departed to their own homes. This tumult being so easily repressed, the king bent his attention, not only to quell all present seditions, but wholly to prevent them in future. The first meeting of the estates which was convoked, he held in Edinburgh, on the 6th of November. In it many salutary

acts were passed for securing the public tranquillity. First, that the different parties might agree more readily to peace, all blame was attached to a few, and the punishment in a great degree alleviated, or altogether remitted. When the justice of the war came to be discussed, John Lyon, lord of Glammis, produced certain articles, which had been sent by the nobles to the king for obtaining a pacification, which James III. had often assented to, and even subscribed, and on which terms he would have firmly agreed with his nobles, had not evil counsellors alienated his mind, and even prevailed upon him to introduce the ancient enemy into the kingdom, to oppose his own subjects; that for this inconsistency, the earls of Huntly, Errol, Marischal, Glammis himself, and several other noblemen had deserted him, and had followed his son James, on account of his regard for the public welfare, and his love of peace. After a long debate, it was at last unanimously resolved:—That they who fell at the battle of Stirling, appeared to have fallen through their own fault, but those who had borne arms against the public enemies, who, under honourable pretexts concealed their secret treachery, were neither worthy of blame nor guilty of treason, which resolutions being passed, were subscribed by all present, as a declaration of the sentiments of the estates, and a justification of the late proceedings, to be exhibited to the foreign ambassadors, whose arrival was expected. Many other acts were passed, restoring what had been taken away from the poor; to reduce the fines of the rich; and to provide that none of those who had taken arms, should themselves, or their children, suffer on that account.

ix. This moderation, so lovely in a youth of fifteen years, and a conqueror, invested with supreme power, was greatly enhanced by his benignity, and condescension, his fidelity to his word, and what chiefly captivates the vulgar, his graceful form, and sprightly manners. Wherefore, when he exercised his victory neither avariciously nor cruelly, and really, and unreservedly pardoned the delinquents, in a short time the greatest cordiality existed between the factions, and the parties vied with each other in their loyalty and affection towards the king. A few who were more obstinate, were moderately fined,

either of a sum of money, or a small part of their estates, none were stripped of their whole fortunes, and the fines were not carried to the exchequer, but expended upon useful works. What rendered the clemency of the present monarch peculiarly grateful, was the recollection yet fresh, of the slight causes for which the most illustrious men were, under the late reign, stripped of their estates, and what worthless successors were appointed in their room; besides, that he might render the leaders of the adverse factions more faithful to him, he joined them in affinity to himself. His aunt's two daughters, whom she had by different husbands, he gave in marriage, Gracina Boyd, to [lord] Alexander Forbes, and Margaret Hamilton, to Matthew Stuart, [earl of Lennox.] Thus in a short time all parties being reconciled, jocund peace, and universal tranquillity ensued, and, as if fortune had become handmaid to the king's virtues, a plentiful harvest followed, and a golden season seemed to have arisen after a more than iron age. The king, however, when he had repressed public robberies by arms, and other vices by the severity of the laws, lest he should be thought to be a severe avenger to others, and too indulgent to himself, in order to show openly, that his father was put to death against his desire, bound an iron chain round his body, to which he added a link every year during his life. This, although it might be disagreeable to the authors of the murder, yet, either trusting to the mildness of the king's disposition, or the power of the party, they abstained from every commotion.

x. Amid this public and private rejoicing, in the seventh year of the king's reign, Peter Warbec * came to Scotland, but before I explain the cause of his coming, it is necessary to go back a little.—Margaret, the sister of Edward the IV., king of England, when she had married Charles, duke of

* There is no problem in Scottish history more involved, than the story of Warbec in the English. It is foreign from the object of these notes to enter into the dispute, whether Perkins was, or was not the prince he represented himself, but to any person who wishes to see how plausibly a section of history, and that of no dark period, which has been received as authentic, and considered as settled, may be undermined by a little ingenuity, and a little scepticism, I would recommend Walpole's historical doubts on the reign of Richard III.

Burgundy, resolved to harass, if she could not overturn Henry VII., the leader of the opposite party. That she might the more easily effect this, she raised up one Peter Warbec, as a competitor for the crown. He was a young man of low parentage, born at Tournay, a town of the Nervii, but of such elegance of form, commanding stature, and dignity of countenance, that he was easily believed to be of royal origin. Having been constrained by his poverty to travel, he lived so long abroad, that he could with difficulty be recognised by a few of his own relations, and had acquired, together with a number of languages, the most invincible intrepidity of countenance and mind, Margaret, who eagerly watched every opportunity for disturbing the affairs of England, having discovered this youth, kept him concealed with her, until she taught him by what factions England was torn, who there were her friends, and who were her enemies, and made him completely acquainted with the whole genealogy of the royal family, and the prosperous, and adverse fortune of each individual.

XI. Having thus prepared him, when every thing appeared ripe for trying fortune, she took care to have him sent first to Portugal, and next to Ireland. He was received there by a great concourse, and shouting of the common people, as the son of king Edward, and, whether adapting himself to his own natural genius, assisted by art, for carrying on the cheat, or trusting to the credulity of the barbarians, he appeared likely in a short time, to raise a grand commotion, when a war suddenly breaking out between France and England, he was called from Ireland by the magnificent promises of Charles VIII., and came to Paris. He was there received honourably, and treated with all the marks of royalty, having a guard appointed to attend him, and by the English exiles, who in great numbers frequented that court, assured of success in his attempts upon the throne. But the quarrel having been adjusted, he withdrew secretly from the French court, lest he should have been given up, and retired to Flanders, where he was received by Margaret with the greatest kindness, as if it had been the first time she ever saw him, shown frequently to her courtiers, and often ordered in the presence of great numbers,

to repeat all the story of his adventures; then, as if she had never heard them before, she so accommodated her simulated feelings to his tale—to the prosperous and adverse events which he related, that every one believed she gave full credit to what she heard. After a few days, Peter was ordered to appear abroad, in a royal habit, followed by thirty attendants bearing the badge of the white rose—the emblem of the York faction in England—and was declared the true, and indubitable heir of the English throne. When these stories were divulged, first in Flanders, and afterward in England, the minds of the people were so much excited, that great multitudes flocked to him, not only of those, who from terror of the laws, lurked in asylums, and other places, but even noblemen, who were not satisfied with their circumstances, or were desirous of a revolution. But when a longer delay, which Peter hoped would increase his strength, threatened to diminish it, his fable by degrees beginning to be discovered, he resolved to commit his fate to the fortune of war. Wherefore, having collected a small band, he disembarked a few followers in Kent, and endeavoured without success, to excite an insurrection in his favour. All who landed being cut off, he sailed for Ireland, and there too, being disappointed, he bent his course to Scotland, knowing, that there seldom was peace, and never of any long continuance, between the English and the Scots.

XII. Here, when he was admitted into the king's presence, he deplored, in the most lamentable strains, the ruin of the house of York, and his own misfortunes, and earnestly besought his majesty to rescue a prince of the blood royal, from such indignity. The king desired him not to lose hope, and promised by his exertions, to convince him, that he had not in vain applied to him for assistance in his adversity. A few days after, a council being called, Peter was introduced, and delivered a piteous tale of his misfortunes:—He was, he said, the son of the most flourishing king of his age, and born to the highest hopes, but left destitute by the death of his father, he had nearly perished through the tyranny of his uncle, Richard, before he was capable of knowing the calamity that had befallen him. His elder brother being cruelly murdered, he was carried away by his father's friends, and now, in that

kingdom of which he was the just heir, he dared not, though reduced to the greatest poverty, seek even a precarious existence. He had spent such a life among foreign nations, that he accounted the condition of his brother—who had been taken away from these miseries by a sudden death—happy, in comparison of the wretchedness he had been doomed to endure; for he had been preserved the sport of fortune, nor was he even allowed to lament his disasters among strangers, to awaken their pity, for after he began to declare who he was, he was assailed by every ruthless weapon. To his former wretchedness, was added the hourly danger of treachery, his most insidious enemy now endeavouring to obtain his life, by bribing his hosts, and now privately enticing his subjects, who, under the guise of friendship, pryed into his most secret designs, corrupted his real friends, discovered his hidden partisans, and by false allegations, calumniated his descent among the vulgar. They defamed by their reproaches, his aunt Margaret, and the noble English, who had acknowledged him; yet she, trusting to her uprightness, had supported him against the malice of his enemies, and moved with compassion for her own blood, had supplied his necessities by her wealth. But at last, when he perceived he could not obtain efficient help from an aged woman, and a widow, he had gone among the neighbouring kings, beseeching them to respect their common cause, nor allow the blood royal, oppressed by tyranny, to pine away in poverty, anxiety, and grief. As for himself, although he had suffered such severe misfortunes, he was not yet so broken in spirit, as to give up his hopes of being restored by the help of his friends, who were numerous both in England and Ireland, when he would have it in his power to reward every one according to his merit, especially, were the assistance of the Scots added to his party, by whose aid, if he was restored to his kingdom, he would soon show them, that they had procured the firmest of friends, and that 'procured at a time when true friends are acquired, for the remembrance of such kindness would ever remain with himself and his posterity, who would always willingly acknowledge, that the accession of their better fortune was due to them alone. He added many things besides,

in praise of their king, partly true, and partly such as the present state of his fortune suggested.

XIII. After Peter had spoken, the king, calling him to him, encouraged him, and promised to refer his demands to his council, whose advice it was necessary to follow in weighty affairs; yet, whatever they might determine, he assured him, that he would never repent seeking refuge with him. Peter having withdrawn, when the subject came to be debated, the more prudent and experienced, were of opinion, that the whole ought to be rejected, either because they thought that the story they had been told was false, or, because they foresaw there would be more danger from the war, than advantage from a victory, even if certain. But the majority, either from inexperience, fickleness, or a wish to gratify the king, in delivering their sentiments respecting Peter, considered his pretensions as just, and commiserated his misfortunes, and were, besides, anxious for seizing the opportunity of England being in a state of confusion, and the people still unsettled, after the civil dissensions, because the English always were accustomed to do the same to them, and they ought to make an attempt to turn the distresses of the enemy to their own advantage; for they already promised themselves victory, before the trumpet was sounded, especially, as they anticipated being joined by great numbers of the disaffected. But even although fewer partisans should come in to them than they expected, yet one of two things must naturally follow, either, as conquerors, they would place on the throne a king bound to them by such important services, that they would obtain from him whatever they desired; or, were the dispute settled without a battle, Henry, when his domestic commotions were composed, not being firmly seated on the throne, would subscribe to whatever conditions they chose, but should he refuse, war once begun, many unforeseen advantages would spontaneously present themselves.

XIV. The majority agreeing in these sentiments, the king, fond of novelty, inclined to the same opinion, and carried the rest along with him. Immediately after, he treated Peter in the most distinguished manner, and exhibited him to the people as the duke of York. Not content with these favours,

he gave him in marriage, Catherine Gordon, a daughter of the earl of Huntly, who, besides the splendour of her family, was celebrated for her beauty, by this alliance confirming his hopes of better fortune. In the meantime, according to the determination of the council, James levied an army, and entered England, at first with caution, and prepared for battle, in case of any sudden attack. Afterward, when he understood, from the horsemen he had sent out to scour the country, that no army, and not even any military parties of the enemy were assembled, he dispersed his men to plunder, and in a short time, he pillaged almost all Northumberland. Having employed himself in this manner for some days, no one of the English joining Peter, and being informed that an army was raising in the neighbouring counties, thinking it hazardous to expose his troops, laden with plunder, to a contest with the unincumbered, and fresh forces of the enemy, he determined to return to Scotland, and having secured the booty, to return upon a new expedition, as soon as the season of the year would permit. Nor was he afraid of being followed by the English, as he knew that an army suddenly raised, could not be kept together long, nor could they pursue him through a poor, and lately plundered country, without having previously prepared provisions. When Peter, contrary to his expectation, saw himself joined by none of the English, fearing, if he remained longer in an enemy's country, his deceit would be discovered, as if he approved of the king's resolution, came to him, and with an appearance of much compassion, both in his manner and countenance, entreated him:—That he would not ravage so cruelly his kingdom, nor spill the blood of his subjects; for no power was so dear to him, as to purchase it by the blood of his people, and the misery of his country. The king, who perceived whither this excessive compassion tended, replied:—He was afraid he was preserving a kingdom, in which no one would acknowledge him as either king or countryman, for his most inveterate enemy. Thus, by common consent they returned home, and the army was disbanded.

xv. The English king, being informed of the invasion, and retreat of the Scots, determined to send an expedition against them next year, and with this intent ordered a powerful army

to be raised. In the interim, not to be idle, he assembled his parliament, which, having approved of his design, granted him a small subsidy, to be levied by a capitation tax upon the people. This, however, raised a more vexatious war at home, than the one it was destined to repress from abroad; for the commons complained, that by the many wars which had been carried on within these few years, their youth had been exhausted by draughts, and their incomes impaired by taxes; that the nobles and counsellors of the king, wholly unaffected by these calamities, during peace contrived new wars, in order to exact new taxes from the poor, that those whom they could not consume by the sword, they might waste by want and misery. These complaints becoming general, the inhabitants of Cornwall were much more highly incensed than the rest, because, inhabiting a country the great part of which is barren, war used to be to them rather a gain than an expense; therefore, that warlike population, whose wealth used to increase by warfare, rather than be diminished by taxation, first put to death the tax-gatherers, and ministers of the crown, then, conscious that they could not expect pardon after such an audacious action, and their numbers increasing daily, bent their course towards London. But I have no inclination to pursue the detail of this insurrection farther, it is sufficient for our purpose to say, that the Cornish, during a whole year, so completely occupied the king of England, that he was obliged to turn against them the forces he had prepared for the Scottish war.

xvi. In the meantime, the Scottish king, foreseeing that the enemy would not allow the mischief of last year to pass unrevenge, and also informed by his spies, that great preparations were making against him, on his part, assembled his troops, with the intention of defending himself, if the English should soon invade him; or, if not, by an expedition into the enemy's country, to waste all the places in the vicinity of the Scottish borders, that the country, not naturally fertile, should be unable to supply the necessary subsistence for the cultivators, much less support an army; but hearing of the Cornish insurrection, he immediately marched into England with a large force, formed in two separate divisions—one of which he

sent to ravage the country round Durham, while he remained with the other to besiege Norham, a strong castle, situate on a high hill, upon the banks of the Tweed. But in neither of his undertakings did he meet with much success, for Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, a man of remarkable discernment, suspecting, from the disturbed state of England, that the Scots would not omit so favourable an opportunity for attacking them, had strengthened several castles by strong garrisons, and carefully removed all the cattle, from places where they could be either killed or carried off, to situations secured by rivers or marshes; he likewise sent for the earl of Surry, who had a strong force in Yorkshire, by which means, he prevented much damage from being done to his country; and Norham being bravely defended by the garrison, the Scots returned home without effecting any thing of consequence. The English quickly followed them, and demolished Ayton castle, situate almost on the very limits of Scotland, after which, they too retired without having performed any notable exploit.

XVII. In the midst of these external and civil commotions, Pedro Hialas, a man of uncommon sagacity and learning according to the times, was sent by Ferdinand and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, to contract a treaty of marriage between their daughter Catherine, and Arthur, Henry's son, and, at the same time, negotiate a new treaty of alliance. The English king, having cheerfully acceded to the proposal respecting the affinity, wished Hialas also to mediate a peace with Scotland, as he thought it beneath his dignity to solicit one. Hialas cheerfully undertook the business, and went to Scotland. After various conversations with James, having at last induced him to listen to peaceful councils, he wrote to the English king, that he thought it would not be difficult to effect a peace, if he would send any able ambassador to arrange the conditions. Henry, who had often experienced the inconstancy of fortune, and who knew that his subjects, exasperated by the late disturbances, were rather irritated than subdued by their defeat, ordered Richard Fox, who resided in his own castle of Norham, to join Hialas in the negotiation. These negotiators, after many discussions with the Scottish ambassa-

dors at Jedburgh for several days, respecting the conditions, could come to no definite arrangement. What chiefly prevented a treaty being concluded, was a demand of Henry, who thought it just that Peter Warbec, an impostor, and the author of so much disturbance, should be delivered up to him. This James obstinately refused, as he did not think he could, without dishonour, and a violation of public faith, deliver up to his enemies, a man of royal extraction, who was first his suppliant, and but lately allied to him by marriage. The conferences were, in consequence, broken off, without a peace being concluded; but all hope of an adjustment not being laid aside, a truce was entered into for some months, till James could with honour dismiss Warbec.

XVIII. As the fable of Peter's extraction and fortune began now to be apparent, both from the conference with the English, and other strong evidence, the king, having sent for him, recapitulated the public favours he had bestowed upon him, and his own individual kindness, to which he himself could bear witness. First, on his account, he had undertaken a war with a most powerful king, and for two years carried it on with great loss to the enemy, and inconvenience to his own subjects; next, he had refused to accept an honourable peace, in which he was not included, and, in consequence, had almost equally offended both his own people and his enemies; but now he neither could nor would resist their inclinations longer, and, therefore, requested that whatever were his future intentions, he would seek out a more convenient place of exile, because he was determined to make peace with the English, and to preserve it religiously; of course, it was necessary to remove whatever might tend to disturb it. Nor could he, Peter, complain that he had been deserted by the Scots, until after he had been forsaken by the English, trusting to whose assistance, the Scots had undertaken the war; yet, notwithstanding, he would amply provide him for his voyage. Warbec, although grieved at being dismissed contrary to his expectation, relaxed nothing of his affected high spirit, and, in a few days, set sail with his wife and family for Ireland, whence, in a short time, he crossed to England, and joined the remains of the Cornish rebels. After many unsuccessful attempts, he

was at last taken prisoner, and having confessed his imposture, he was hanged.*

XIX. The seeds of war between the English and Scots being almost extinguished, and every thing assuming a peaceful appearance, a bitter war had nearly arisen, from a very trifling quarrel suddenly arising among the irritable borderers. Several Scottish young men went frequently, as was usual during peace, to a town near the castle of Norham, to amuse themselves with games and other diversions, and mingled as familiarly as at home with their neighbours, from whom they were separated only by the river, not very broad at that place. The garrison who were stationed in the castle, whose minds rankled with the animosity of the late hostilities, being ruffled by some recent provocation, accused the Scots as spies; from words they proceeded to blows, and many being wounded on both sides, the Scots, who were inferior in number, returned home with some loss. This affair having been frequently agitated in the meetings between the wardens, James, violently enraged, sent a herald to Henry, to complain of this violation of the truce, and of the insincerity of the English in preserving the peace; threatening to declare war, unless reparation was made, according to the usages which, by the consent of both people, were held sacred on such occasions. The king of England, who had experienced the severity of fortune almost from his cradle, and was anxious for peace, replied:—Whatever had been done, was done against his inclination, and without his knowledge; if any of the garrison had rashly offended, it was in opposition to his wishes to preserve the treaty inviolate, and he would give orders for instituting an inquiry, and punishing the guilty. But as steps

* The confession of Warbec, is alleged by Walpole to have been a fabrication of Henry's. His wife, who was either his dupe or accomplice, faithfully accompanied him in all his dangers. After the capture of her husband, Henry summoned her from St. Michael's mount in Cornwall, where she had taken refuge, for he was anxious lest her pregnancy should occasion repeated tumults, but his apprehensions were vain. Struck with her beauty and virtue, he recommended her to the charge of his Queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed many years after his death. The popular voice applying to her elegant form, the title of the *White Rose*, the badge of her husband's claim. Warbec is by other historians styled Perkin.

were very slowly taken for this purpose, the answer appeared to be intended, by delaying the punishment, to allow his resentment to evaporate, and, therefore, James was more enraged than soothed.

xx. Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, proprietor of the castle, grieved that any cause for breaking the treaty should have originated with his vassals, and wishing to prevent any rupture, sent letters to James, breathing so much kindness and humanity, that James, influenced by them, wrote him in reply, that he would willingly confer with him, not only about the recent injury, but about other business, which might be for the advantage of both kingdoms; and he, upon acquainting his own king, and receiving his permission, came to Melrose, where James then was. There, after a strong complaint of the injury received at Norham, his majesty, soothed by the conciliating and calm speech of Fox, for the sake of peace, of which he showed himself very desirous, remitted the offence. Several other arrangements were privately settled between them, the chief of which, as afterwards appeared, was introduced by the king, who observed, that he not only desired peace, but, in order to secure it more firmly, wished a nearer alliance with Henry; and if Henry would bestow his daughter Margaret in marriage upon him, he hoped it would produce advantages to both countries; and if he, Fox, whose influence he knew was deservedly great at home, would lend his assistance to procure this alliance, he did not doubt but every thing would be easily effected. Fox cheerfully promised his endeavours, and set out for the English court. After having communicated the affair to the king, he encouraged the Scottish ambassadors to hope that peace would be quickly established between the two monarchs. Thus, at last, after three years, A. D. 1500, at the same time, Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, was betrothed to James IV., and Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, to Henry's eldest son; the nuptials were celebrated after another year with great splendour.*

* This marriage, so important in its consequences, as it was in the third generation, to unite the two crowns, being the favourite object of Henry, and which had been in agitation from the time the princess was eight years

XXI. A general tranquillity followed the marriage, and the attention of the court being turned from the study of arms to games and amusements, nothing was to be seen but pompous spectacles, entertainments, and balls; and a constant succession of sports, gave every day the appearance of a holiday. Tournaments, after the French manner, were frequently exhibited; and duels, between men accustomed to live by rob-

old, and the king twenty-five, was consummated on the 8th of August, 1503, when the bride was fourteen, and the husband thirty-one. The dower of the queen was thirty-one thousand angel-nobles, a gold coin, value 6s. 8d., or £10,000 Sterling, to be paid in three instalments. The queen's dowry was fixed at £2000 Sterling, per annum, to secure which, she received legal seizen of Ettrick-forest, with the tower of Newark, the lordships of Dunbar and Cowbrands-path, the palace of Linlithgow, and lordship of the shire, the castle of Stirling, and lordship of the shire, earldom of Monteith, lordship and castle of Down, and palace and lordship of Methven, value £2000 Sterling money, or £6000 Scottish currency, clear of all burdens and expenses. Her majesty's private purse was £1000 Scottish, to be paid in equal sums at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas. The following account is given of the young queen's reception:—

“When Margaret arrived at Newbottle, James flying like a bird that seeks its prey, entered her chamber, and found her playing at cards; he entertained her by his own performance on the claricord and lute, and at his departure, leaped on his horse, a fair courser, without putting his foot in the stirrup, and spurred on at full gallop, follow who might; but hearing that Surry was behind, the king returned, and saluted the earl bareheaded. At another visit, the queen gave a specimen of her skill in music, while James listened with bended knee, and on another, he was attended by forty horse, while he himself rode a mule. When she left Dalkeith, the king met her half way, mounted on a bay horse, trapped with gold, he, and the gentlemen in his train, riding as if after a hare, and an exhibition of chivalry took place between Sir Patrick Hamilton, and another knight. A lady attending one of them, and bearing his hunting horn, the other knight seized the damsel, and a conflict ensued, till the king called *peace*. Of the pageants at Edinburgh, one represented a *licorn*, or unicorn, and a greyhound supporting a thistle, and a red rose interlaced. At the nuptial dinner, the first course was a boar's head gilt. The tapestry of the chamber was figured with the Trojan story, the windows bore in various compartments, the arms of England and Scotland, and a thistle and rose interlaced under a crown. After supper, and after dinner, moralities were frequently acted by John Inglis and his company, and the minstrels diversified the scene with music.”—Young. Somerset Herald's Acct. Lel. Col. quoted by Pink. Hist. of Scot. vol. ii. p. 428.

Dunbar celebrated the nuptials in a beautiful allegory, *The Thistle and the Rose*.

bery, sometimes formed as it were tragical interludes, to which the king did not appear very averse, as he reckoned the death of such characters a gain to the community. The fame of these festivities spreading among foreign nations, many strangers, chiefly from France, arrived daily, desirous of exhibiting their bravery, who were courteously received, and honourably dismissed by the king. Nor did the generous monarch confine his expenses to magnificent exhibitions; he expended great sums in beautifying the palaces at Stirling, Falkland, and other royal residences, besides erecting several monasteries. His greatest extravagance, however, was ship-building. He constructed three vessels of very large bulk, besides others of smaller dimensions; but one far exceeded in size, cost, and equipment, any ship that had ever been seen upon the ocean.* Besides the descriptions of this vessel given by our historians, and her dimensions preserved in some places, this sufficiently indicates her magnitude:—That when Francis, king of France, and Henry VIII., king of England, stimulated by emulation, endeavoured to outvie her, and built each a vessel a little larger, they, after being finished and fully equipped, when launched, were immoveable from their magnitude, and unfit for any useful purpose.

XXII. In these works which we have mentioned, immense sums were expended, and the treasury being exhausted, the king was forced to employ new methods for raising money, and among others, one proposed, it is generally believed, by William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, which was very oppressive to the whole nobility. Among the tenures of land among the Scots, there is one by which the landlord holds an

* Pitscottie gives the dimensions of this huge vessel, which were in his day preserved at Tullibardin, “planted in Hawthorn, the length and breadth by the wright that helped to mak her.” She was two hundred and forty feet long, and thirty six within the sides, which were ten feet thick. In building her, all the oak wood of Fife except Falkland, was expended, besides what was brought from Norway, and upwards of a year was employed by Scottish and foreign carpenters in her construction, although the king in person anxiously urged the work, her guns were only thirty-two, but she had an immense number of small artillery, cross bows, serpents, falcons, hagbuts, &c. The mariners were three hundred, gunners one hundred and twenty, and the whole complement about one thousand men.

estate, obtained either by purchase or gift, that is, if the possessor dying, leaves an heir under age, his pupilage belongs to the king, or some other lord superior, to whom belong all the rents, till the pupil attain the age of twenty-one. There are, besides, other servitudes annexed to this species of property, if the possessor sell above the half of his estate, without the consent of his superior, the whole reverts to the superior lord. This law, which had lain long dormant, as unjust, and enacted by court parasites, for readily filling the exchequer, the king was advised to revive, as he would be able to raise some money from those who had violated it, by a process they called recognition. This method of exacting money, although it did not deprive any person of their whole estate, being of more general application, was more troublesome than his father's avarice, for the injury extended to many and most honourable men, who—as under the two last kings, on account of the external and civil wars in which they were engaged, the very remembrance of such a law had nearly been lost—were forced either to redeem their lands from the collectors of the exchequer, or surrender some part of them. Yet such was the love of those who suffered, and such their regard to their prince for his other virtues, that their dissatisfaction broke out into no sedition.

XXIII. But as the king would neither set bounds to his expense, nor wanted flatterers—the perpetual bane of a court—who encouraged his profusion, under the plausible names of splendour and magnificence, he determined to proceed to Syria, that he might diminish, by his absence, the unbounded waste which he could neither continue without ruin, nor retrench without disgrace. He assigned, as the honourable pretext of his journey, his desire to expiate the crime he had committed by bearing arms against his father; and, of the repentance, whether true or pretended, which he professed in all his conversations, he had given an evidence, already mentioned in the commencement of his reign. With this intention, he had rigged out a fleet, and nominated the chief officers of his retinue, and announced his purpose, by his ambassadors, to the neighbouring kings. Many of his subjects, too, as if they had bound themselves by the same vow, allowed their beard and

hair to grow, and it was believed that they would have set sail immediately, had not an impediment occurred at the moment when the king was most intent on his object; for just as about to proceed, there arose a suspicion of war between France and England. The king of England, who beheld with jealousy the success of the French in Italy, was solicited, by pope Julius II., and Ferdinand, his father in law, to join in alliance with them; to whom, the Venetians and Swiss being added, and the emperor Maximilian acceding—although in general his councils were directed by events—the combination against France appeared so strong, that they threatened, by bursting upon that country with numerous armies in every direction, completely to overwhelm it. The king of England, exulting in the flower of his youth, proud of the power of his kingdom, and fond of warlike exercises, wished to join the allies, but had no just cause of quarrel with France; however, having communicated their plans to each other, as France would not desist from carrying on war against the pope, then Henry's ally, he at length sent heralds to the French king, to demand the restitution of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, as old possessions of England; but not being able, by these threats, to prevent hostilities in Italy, he declared war, sent an army to Biscay, to join his father-in-law, Ferdinand, and he, himself, prepared an expedition against France.

xxiv. James, king of Scotland, although he had determined to remain neuter, yet being inclined to favour his ancient ally, resolved to send the fleet, formerly mentioned, as a gift to the French queen, Anne, that it might appear rather as a pledge of friendship, than any assistance for carrying on the war. The clergy, who had been accustomed to receive Gallic pensions, wished to show their attachment to Louis; but when they dared not do this openly, they sought out occasions for alienating the mind of their own king from the king of England. Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray, was sent to England, by the faction that favoured France, to demand a great quantity of gold and silver jewellery, chiefly female ornaments, said to have been bequeathed by Arthur, Henry's elder brother, to Margaret his sister, married, as we have seen, to

the king of Scotland;* but Henry, although it is probable he considered the demand as a pretext for war, returned a mild answer:—That he would not only pay whatever was due, but if James needed more, he would refuse him nothing in his power. Upon receiving this answer, James resolved to assist France in any other way, but to abstain entirely from invading England, and sent Foreman to France, to announce this to Louis.

xxv. In the meantime, having heard that great preparations were making for a maritime war, James determined to send the fleet, we have mentioned, to Anne immediately, that it might, if possible, arrive there before the war broke out. He appointed James Hamilton, earl of Arran, admiral, and ordered him to sail with the first fair wind; but Hamilton, a simple kind of man, more acquainted with the arts of peace than of war, either afraid of danger, or through his natural indolence, having delayed to go to France, landed at Carrick-Fergus, a town in Ireland, opposite Galloway, and after pillaging the place, burned it, and set sail for Ayr, a harbour of Kyle in Scotland, as if he had performed a great exploit. The king, on being informed of his return, was enraged beyond description, and could neither restrain his threatening,

* The legacy, here mentioned, was left by Henry VII. to his daughter, queen Margaret, not by her brother Arthur. Henry VIII., whose fondness for splendid pageantry and expensive show, was attended, as all foolish extravagance usually is by numberless mean and pitiful shifts, in resisting this just claim, made upon him for his sister's jewels, behaved in the most ungenerous manner. The *magnificent* monarch cuts a very poor figure in the correspondence of his sister on this subject: "We cannocht beleve," says she in a spirited letter from Linlithgow, "that of youre mynd, or be youre command, we ar sa freindly [probably misprinted for *fremdly*,] delt with in oure faderis legacy: quharof we wald nocht have spokyn, nor writing, had nocht the doctoure now spokyn to us of the sammyn in his credence. Our husband knawis it is withalden for his saik, and will recompense ws sa for as the doctoure schew him. We ar eschamet thairwith, and wald God nevir word had bene thairof: it is nocht worth sic estimacion, as is in your diverss lettres of the sammyn. And we lak nathing: oure husband is evir the langar the better to ws, as knawis God."—Appendix to Pinkerton's History, vol. ii. No. 8. It was not till after this letter, written on the 11th April, 1513, that Henry made an offer to James to pay this legacy, upon condition of his breaking off with France; but James *then* refused to accept as a bribe, what he had previously and repeatedly demanded as a right.

nor his abuse; and his indignation was still more inflamed by letters which he received from France, from Anne, the queen, enticing him, by flattering compliments, to undertake a war against England; and from Andrew Foreman, informing him, that his promise of sending the fleet, was universally considered as vain ostentation. The king, therefore, to remedy the mischief as much as possible, with the advice of his council, deprived Hamilton of his command of the fleet, for having departed from the course he was directed to steer, cruelly wasting a city never inimical to Scotland, at that time in alliance with the king, and attacking his friends without a declaration of war; and ordered him to be brought to him. Archibald, earl of Angus, was appointed his successor, and Sir Andrew Wood sent along with him, to take charge of the ships. But Hamilton, before their arrival, having heard from his friends how the king stood affected towards him, hoisted his sails, and stood out to sea, choosing rather to commit his fate to the uncertain fortune of the deep, than trust himself in the hands of an irritated king. Whilst he made for France, after being long tossed by contrary winds and violent storms, he arrived with his shattered fleet at Brittany, too late, after all maritime preparations had been laid aside by the French; and there that vessel, constructed with so much labour and expense, being dismantled, was laid up to rot in the harbour of Brest.*

* On this, Pinkerton remarks: "Buchanan fables that the fleet of Arran was scattered by tempests, and that the Michael was suffered to rot in the harbour of Brest! He was an enemy of the Hamiltons." From this, it would naturally have been expected, that he had a well authenticated opposite tale to tell us; but in his text, vol. ii. p. 91, he says: "The fate of the fleet was obscure; a part sailed back and mouldered in neglect, while a part was sold in France, in particular, the great Michael, which was purchased by Louis XII., on the 2d April, 1514, for 40,000 livres, from the duke of Albany, in the name of the Scottish government;" i. e. the whole vessel was bought by Louis, for about one half the value her stores and artillery might amount to; so that because Buchanan used a very common expression, "laid up to rot," to express the fate of a "sheer hulk," instead of saying, "sold for fire-wood," he fables, and he fables too from hatred to the Hamiltons, who, at any rate, left the fleet in France, to moulder, or rot, or be sold, as might be; for Arran returned to Scotland in September, 1513, and the Michael was not disposed of till the April following.

xxvi. In the meantime, other causes of discord arose at home, which almost wholly alienated the mind of the Scottish king from the king of England. In the reign of Henry VII., Sir Robert Kerr, a noble knight, who was so highly esteemed by James for his splendid virtues, that he made him at once his chief cupbearer, the master of his ordnance, and warden of the middle marches, incurred by his severity in punishing robbers, as much hatred from the borderers, as he procured favour from the king. On which account, both the English and Scots, whose licentiousness was repressed by the necessary strictness of his judicial proceedings, threatened his life. At an annual meeting, which used to be held between the nations for adjusting compensations, an altercation having arisen, three audacious Englishmen, John Heron, Lilburn, and Starhead, attacked him, one stabbed him with a lance in the back, and the others, after he was wounded, despatched him. When this circumstance appeared likely to originate a war, Henry, who on ordinary occasions was not unjust, equally displeased as James at the atrocious murder, ordered ——— Heron, lord of Ford, and warden of the English borders, the brother of John Heron, along with Lilburn, to be delivered up to the Scots, for the other two had fled. They were, accordingly, committed to Fast castle, where Lilburn died in confinement, and it was also resolved, as an expiation of so manifest a crime, that the future meetings—the English receiving a pledge of public faith—should be held upon the Scottish territory, and that English commissioners should solemnly declare, that their council was not privy to the perpetration of the deed. The other two assassins lurked in the interior of England, until the reign of Henry VIII., when, perceiving the young king arrogant, and fond of displaying his power, they came from their lurking places. Heron, trusting to the influence of his relations, returned home, and secretly suborning robbers in Scotland, disturbed the peace, hoping, if war were once declared, he would obtain oblivion for the past, and might inflict new injuries with impunity. Starhead settled about ninety miles from the border, and thought himself safe, from the distance to which he had removed, but Andrew, the son of Robert Kerr, who saw the

seeds already sown of a new war, fearing, if once arms were openly assumed, he would lose the opportunity of avenging his father's death, employed two of his vassals, of the name of Tait, to go in disguise, and put Starhead to death. They accordingly, in the night entered his house, which he thought perfectly secure, being so far from the borders, murdered the lord of the mansion, and cutting off his head, brought it to Andrew; and he, as a proof that he had obtained his wished for vengeance, sent it to Edinburgh, and caused it be affixed upon the most conspicuous place. Of Heron, we shall speak afterward.

XXVII. A new outrage following this old offence, the anger of the Scottish king, which was asleep rather than extinct, revived. There was at that time a Scottish merchant, Andrew Barton, whose father's vessel had been plundered, and himself killed by the Portuguese. For this the son brought an action in Flanders, the deed having been perpetrated there, in which the Portuguese were condemned, but refused to pay the damages decreed against them, neither would their king, although James demanded it, order his subjects to give any satisfaction for the murder and robbery. In consequence, Andrew—the son—obtained from his sovereign, letters of marque and reprisal against the Portuguese, and in a few months did them a great deal of mischief. Now, when the French war was raging against Julius II., and when it was understood that the English king would join the party of Julius, Portuguese ambassadors came to Henry, and represented:—That Andrew, a bold and daring fellow, who had done them, the ancient allies of the English, immense damage, and would certainly, in the event of a war with France, prove a formidable enemy to the English, could at present be easily taken unawares, and destroyed, and the odium of the action averted, by stigmatizing him as a pirate; a proceeding by which Henry would provide for the safety of his own subjects, and gratify their sovereign, his friend and ally.

XXVIII. The English king, persuaded by this representation of the Portuguese, despatched Thomas Howard, his admiral, to lie in wait for Barton, with two of the best ships of the royal navy, at the Downs—sand banks which are seen at ebb

tide—and intercept him on his return from Flanders ; nor was it long before they espied him coming in a small vessel,* attended by a sloop, and made towards him. Howard, himself attacked Andrew, with whom he had a sharp action, for although greatly superior, it was with difficulty, and not until the captain, and greater part of the crew were killed, that he took the vessel. In this engagement, Barton displayed such courage, that even when the fight seemed desperate, although he was severely wounded, and had one of his legs broken by a shot, he seized a drum, and beating a charge, encouraged his men to fight bravely till he expired. The sloop, being so unequal to the enemy, endeavoured to escape by flight, but was captured after a much shorter contest. The survivors, who were taken on board both vessels, were carried to London, and thrown into prison, whence being brought before the king, they humbly besought him for their lives, as they had been instructed by the English, and he, with a haughty show of clemency, dismissed the poor guiltless sailors unhurt. Ambassadors being sent by the Scottish king to England, to complain that his vessels were captured in time of peace, and his sailors killed, received for answer, that the destruction of pirates was no infringement of their treaty, nor any just cause for war. This contemptuous reply, justifying the crime of palpable murder, seemed as if they wished to provoke war, and the English borderers, who, from the transactions which were going forward, understood the inclination of their king, and being accustomed in times of the greatest tranquillity, to scatter the seeds of hostility, and fond of any disturbance, began to drive away the cattle from the neighbouring Scots' estates.

xxix. Alexander Hume, at that time sole governor of the whole Scottish border—usually divided into three wardships—a great favourite with the king, but of too fierce a disposition, when he saw the king bent upon war, and anxious to wipe away the ignominy sustained by these incursions, promised :

* The name of Andrew Barton's vessel was the *Lion*, and the small sloop, the *Jenny Pirwen*. Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Edward Howard, sons of the earl of Surrey, commanded the English. Sir Edward was in the following year, made lord high admiral of England.

—That he and his relations, with their vassals, should soon turn the rejoicings of the enemy for their success, into lamentations for their loss and disgrace. In order to perform his promise, he collected about three thousand horse, and entering England, he pillaged the seven nearest villages before any assistance could be brought them, but on his return, laden with immense booty of every description, his men, accustomed to robbery, and impatient of delay, divided their plunder in the enemy's territory, and each proceeded home with his portion by the nearest route. Alexander, with a small band, brought up the rear, to protect their retreat, but, seeing no enemy, while marching incautiously, fell into an ambuscade of three hundred English, who, having watched an opportunity, surprised him, and put him to flight. In this skirmish, many of the Scots were killed, and two hundred taken prisoners, among whom was George Hume, a brother of Alexander's, who was exchanged by the English for lord Heron, of Ford, who had been many years kept prisoner in Scotland, for the murder of Robert Kerr. All the plunder which had been taken, having gone on before, arrived safe in Scotland.

xxx. The unfortunate issue of this inroad operating upon the mind of the king, already irritated by the circumstances before mentioned, drove him headlong into measures he had been eagerly desiring, and he assembled a parliament, to deliberate about war. In this assembly, the wiser part were for avoiding hostilities, but La Motte, the French ambassador, by his entreaties and promises, Andrew Foreman, by his urgent letters, and the king by his declaration, urging a rupture, a majority appeared desirous to gratify him, while the minority, fearing to exasperate, withdrew a vain opposition, and war was declared against the English, and a day appointed for assembling an army, a resolution of which it would be difficult to say whether it was more unwise, or fatal. A herald was then despatched to Henry, at that time besieging Tournay, to announce this determination. The reasons assigned for taking arms were:—The compensations claimed for losses had not been granted; John Heron, the murderer of Robert Kerr, was allowed to be at large, and Andrew Barton, in violation of the league between the nations, had been robbed and killed,

by order of the king himself. But even passing over these provocations, it was impossible to allow the territories of Louis, king of France, the ancient ally of Scotland, and of Charles, duke of Guelderland, the king's relation, to be invaded, and therefore, if this were not stopped, he declared war against England. Henry, exulting in the vigour of youth and the strength of a flourishing kingdom, united with almost all Europe in a league against France, desirous of war, and ambitious of military glory, returned the herald a more haughty answer than was seemly for his age:—That he had heard nothing from him, which he had not long expected from a king regardless of all law, human and divine; that he might act as he saw proper, but as for himself, he would not desist from a war so prosperously commenced for any threats of his, nor did he regard his friendship, having already experienced his levity.

XXXI. This declaration of war being brought to Scotland; one evening whilst the king, who was upon the point of setting out for his army, attended the vesper service, as he was wont, in the church at Linlithgow, an old, venerable looking man entered the cathedral, bareheaded—his hair of a bright golden lustre, flowing over his shoulders, but thinly scattered on his smooth bald forehead—clothed in a long, azure coloured robe, and girt about the middle with a linen girdle, who pressing forward to the king, through the surrounding crowd, when he reached him, bending over the chair in which he sat, thus addressed him, with emphatic simplicity:—I am sent to warn thee against proceeding in thy present undertaking, which admonition, if thou neglectest, it will not fare well, either with thee, or those who may accompany thee. I am, besides, ordered to warn thee to beware of using any familiarity in associating, or advising with women, but if thou dost otherwise, it will occasion thy destruction and disgrace. Having spoken thus, he mingled with the crowd, and after the service was ended, when the king inquired for him, he could nowhere be found. What rendered the occurrence more astonishing, was, that all those who stood nearest him, and who had observed him, and were desirous of putting many questions to him, no one perceived how he disappeared.

Among these was Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount, a man of unsuspected probity and veracity, attached to literature, and during life, invariably opposed to falsehood, from whom unless I had received the story, as narrated, vouched for truth, I had omitted to notice it, as one of the commonly reported fables.*

xxxii. The king set out upon his intended expedition, and having reviewed his army near Edinburgh, in a few days after, he moved thence into England, where he took the castles of Norham, Werk, Eittle, Ford, and several others near the Scottish borders, by storm, and wasted all the adjoining part of Northumberland. In the meantime, the king became ensnared in an amour with a noble lady he had made prisoner, the wife of Heron of Ford,† neglected all military affairs, and allowed his troops to remain idle, in a country not remarkably fertile; provisions, therefore, soon began to grow scarce, nor was it easy to bring them from a distance, and the greater part of the army dispersing, left their banners but thinly attended, the nobles alone with their relations, and a few vassals remained in the camp, and even these were dissatisfied, for the greater part were of opinion, that they ought not to wait longer in a country wasted with war, and naturally barren, but return and attack Berwick, which they had left behind, in which alone they would find greater reward for their labour, than in all the surrounding villages and castles;

* It is generally conjectured, that this was a device of the queen, and the party averse to the war, to operate on the king's superstition, and divert him from his rash projects; as was another equally unsuccessful warning, given at the dead hour of night, at Edinburgh cross, when a voice was heard, summoning the chief leaders of the army to appear before "Plotcock," the infernal ruler's tribunal.—Pitscottie, p. 176.

† Lindsay, of Pitscottie says, p. 176, that the archbishop of St. Andrews, James' natural son, the friend of Erasmus, and a young man of great promise, was captivated by a daughter of lady Ford's, at the same time his father was ensnared by her mother. In the genealogical table of the house of Heron, no daughter appears to have been born to Sir William Heron, who succeeded his brother John, in 1498, at the age of twenty, and did not die till 1535. Weber's Notes to the battle of Floddon Field, a poem, p. 187. It is certain, however, that lady Ford not only delayed all the operations of the Scottish monarch, but kept up a close correspondence with Surrey, to whom she communicated the movements, and state of the Scottish army.

nor would the siege be difficult, because both the city and castle were wholly unprepared for resistance. The king, however, who thought nothing too difficult for his arms, especially as the English were employed in the French war, and his vanity being encouraged by sycophants, imagined he could easily reduce it upon his return.

xxxiii. While he thus trifled at Ford, heralds were sent to him by the English, desiring him to appoint a day and place where he would fight. On which, having called a council of war, the majority were of opinion:—That he should return, nor hazard the fate of the kingdom in an engagement, with so small a force, especially as he had already done all that was requisite to satisfy his honour, his glory or friendship; nor did there appear any sufficient reason, why he should with so few, and they fatigued by besieging so many castles, attempt to engage such a multitude of untired English, increased by new re-enforcements, for it was reported, that Thomas Howard had that very day arrived with six thousand of the bravest soldiers, sent back from France; and besides, it would follow, if he retreated, that the English army must of necessity disband, nor could they again be collected that year, as the soldiers must be drawn from a distance. But if he were absolutely determined to try the chance of a battle, it would be better to fight in his own country, where time, place, and supplies would be more in his own power; yet when the French ambassador, and certain French stipendiaries advised otherwise, the king anxious to engage, was easily persuaded that he should there wait for the enemy.

xxxiv. On the day named by the herald, when the English did not arrive, the Scottish nobles seizing that opportunity, again waited on the king, and represented to him;—That the enemy designedly protracted the time from day to day, while their own force was increasing, and that of the Scots diminishing, and therefore he ought to use similar artifice with them; for when they did not keep the day set by themselves, no disgrace could attach to the Scots, if they departed home without fighting, or only fought when they could obtain the vantage ground. The first plan was for many reasons the safest, but if it was rejected, a convenient opportunity was

offered for practising the latter, for the river Till, whose banks were very steep, was nowhere fordable, and had no other passage, within some miles, except one bridge, where an army could cross, and there a few could oppose a very great number; and it was even possible, after part of the English were passed, to plant their cannon advantageously and beat down the bridge, so that those who had first passed over, might be destroyed before assistance could arrive from the opposite bank. The king, who approved of neither of these advices, replied:—Although there were an hundred thousand English against him, he would fight them.

xxxv. The whole nobility were offended at such a rash reply. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, who far exceeded the rest in years and authority, endeavoured to bend the king's mind by a soothing speech, in which he endeavoured to explain the reasons, and point out the advantages which would arise from the two former propositions:—Your majesty has, said he, sufficiently evinced your friendship for the French king, by turning a great part of the enemy's army from the French against yourself, and prevented them from over-running France with their arms as they had hoped, while, at the same time, they cannot materially hurt Scotland, because they cannot long continue encamped in a cold country, already wasted by all the calamities of war, and naturally not fertile; besides, the winter approaches, which in these northern climates, commences early. As to the ambassador's urging us so strongly to fight, I think it ought neither to appear new nor wonderful, if a stranger, who does not regard the common advantage of the parties, but the private interest of his own nation, should be so prodigal of foreign blood. His demand is, besides, sufficiently impudent, for he asks from the Scots, what the French king, an exceedingly wise prince, would not himself think advisable to be done for his own kingdom and dignity. Nor was the loss of this army to be deemed trifling, because their number was small, for it contained all who were eminent for valour, authority, or wisdom, in Scotland; and they being cut off, the remaining crowd would be an easy prey to the victor. Besides, protracting the war, is both more safe for the present, and more useful

for the main object; because, if Louis thinks the English ought to be exhausted by expense, or worn out by delay, what can be done, more adapted to the present state of affairs, than that we compel the enemy to divide his forces; that we keep one part of his army constantly employed in watching us, lest we should invade them; and by the fear of this, through our means, relieve France from a great part of the weight of the war. Enough too, I think, has been done for glory and show, under which I fear some men, braver in words than in action, disguise their rashness; for what can occur more splendid to the king, than to have demolished so many castles, wasted the enemy's country, and from such an extensive devastation, to have carried off so much plunder, that years of peace will not restore the country so grievously wasted? And what greater advantage can we expect from the war, than that, after such an expedition, in which we have acquired so much renown, and our enemy so much shame and disgrace, we should refresh our soldiers, and enjoy quietly our glory and wealth; besides, that victory which is obtained by wisdom, rather than arms, is the most glorious for a general, as no share can be claimed by the common soldier.

xxxvi. Although all who were present assented to what was said, yet the king having solemnly sworn, that he would fight the English, heard the discourse with impatience, and ordered Douglas to go home if he was afraid. Angus, who already foresaw the end to which the rashness of the king would precipitate every thing, burst into tears, and as soon as able to speak, shortly replied:—If, said he, my past life does not free me from any suspicion of cowardice, I do not know what can; certainly, as long as my body was capable of exertion, I never spared it, either for promoting the safety of my country, or the honour of my king; but now, when my advice, by which only I can be serviceable, is despised, I leave here my two sons, who, next to my country, are most dear to me, and my friends and relations, certainly the strongest pledges of my affection for yourself and the commonwealth, and I pray God, that my fears may prove groundless, for I would rather be esteemed a false prophet, than that what I fear should come

to pass. Having said this, he accepted his discharge, and departed.

xxxvii. The other nobles, when they saw it impossible to bring over the king to their opinion, adopted the next best plan, and, as they were inferior in numbers to the enemy—for they had discovered by their spies, that the English army was twenty-six thousand men strong—took advantage of the nature of the ground, and encamped on a hill in the neighbourhood. It is situate where the Cheviot mountains gradually decline into the plain, is of moderate size, and accessible by a narrow sloping pass; this approach they fortified with their brass guns. In their rear were mountains, from whose base arose a marsh, which, stretching to the left, covered that flank; on the right, ran the river Till, whose banks are very steep, across which there was a bridge not far from the camp. The English, when they learned by their spies that they could not approach the Scottish lines without certain ruin, directed their course away from the river, and made a feint, as if they intended to leave the enemy to march upon Berwick, and thus proceed straight into the nearest Scottish county, by far the most fertile, and retaliate, by inflicting a greater disaster than they had received. These suspicions were increased by a report, either rashly spread a few days before among the common soldiers, or intentionally raised by the English, in order to draw their enemy from their commanding station into the plain. The king, who could not endure the idea of his country being ravaged, set fire to his forage and huts, and removed his camp, while a cloud of smoke spreading wide over the river, concealed their movements from the English. Thus the Scots marching through an open country, by the river side, and the English by a circuitous and rougher road, both, unknown to each other, arrived near Flodden, a very high hill, at which place the ground becomes more level, stretching almost into a plain, and the river is passable by a bridge at Twesel, and by a ford at Milford.* On their arrival, the English ordered their advanced guard to pass the bridge with their artillery, and the main body to cross at the ford, that

* Should be Milfield, but it is also styled Mylforde by Halle.

the line of battle being formed according to the nature of the ground, they might be placed in a situation to cut off the enemy's retreat; superior in numbers, they arranged their army into two divisions, either of which nearly equalled the whole Scottish force.

xxxviii. In the first division, Thomas Howard, the admiral, who had arrived a few days before with the sea forces to his father's assistance, led the centre, Edmund Howard the right wing, and Marmaduke Constable the left. The other body, divided likewise into three, was placed in reserve; the right commanded by Dacres, the left by Edward Stanley, and the centre by the earl of Surrey, generalissimo. The Scots, who, from their smaller number, could not divide their army into so many parts, without weakening their front, drew up their forces in four battalia, at short distances from each other, three of whom were to advance against the enemy, and the fourth to remain in reserve; the king led the centre; Gordon, earl of Huntly, commanded the right wing, to which was attached Alexander, lord Hume, and the March men; Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Gillespie Campbell, earl of Argyll, the left. Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, and his vassals, with the rest of the Lothian nobility, were in the reserve. The Gordons began the battle briskly, and, in a short time, put the left wing of the English to flight, but on their return from pursuing the fugitives, found the other divisions of their army almost all routed; for the left wing, in which Lennox and Argyll were, excited by the success of their companions, rashly rushed upon the enemy in a disorderly manner, leaving their colours behind, notwithstanding the exertions of La Motte, the French ambassador, who strove to prevent them precipitating themselves upon their ruin; these were not only received by their opponents in front in good order, but were attacked in rear by another body of English, and almost wholly annihilated. The king's division and Hepburn's, with the men of Lothian, fought with great obstinacy, and immense slaughter ensued on each side, while both, though fatigued, continued the engagement till night. Many noblemen fell in the king's division. They who reckon the number of the slain, by the number of individuals taken from each parish,

make the amount of the Scots, who were slain in this battle, above five thousand; but almost all these consisted of the noblest and the bravest, who chose rather to die than to survive their friends. Of the English, nearly the same number were killed, but they consisted chiefly of the common soldiery. *

xxxix. Such was the celebrated battle of Flodden, remarkable, among the few overthrows of the Scots, not so much for the number of the slain—for often double the number perished in their battles—as for the destruction of the king and the principal nobility, which left few remaining capable of governing the multitude, naturally fierce and licentious when there are any hopes of impunity. Two descriptions of men, however, derived an accession of wealth from the calamity of the rest. The opulent churchmen, whose insolence was so much increased by this disaster, that, not content with their own function, they grasped at every high office in the kingdom; and the mendicant friars, then the most strictly religious species of monks, who had the money which those who fell in battle had deposited for security in their hands; but having received it without witnesses, they retained it, and becoming

* In the accounts of this unfortunate battle, the English and Scottish historians differ in some of the particulars, especially in the disposition of the troops. All agree in the arrangement of the English; but Buchanan appears to have been misled in his arrangement of the Scots, by the left wing having advanced first, and thence styled the *van*; whereas, in general, the right used to be the *van*. The English right, under Sir Edmund Howard, was opposed to Huntly and Hume, by whom he was defeated; of course they were on the Scottish *left*; to the admiral, Crawford and Montrose were opposed, so that they also must have been on the left; Lennox and Argyle were attacked in flank by Sir Edward Stanley, which marks their situation on the *right*; the king and Surrey encountered, each commanding the centre divisions. The battle commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon; Dacre's cavalry supported Howard, and enabled him to rally after he was broken; Hepburn's (Bothwell's) reserve re-enforced the king; where Sir Marmaduke Constable fought is uncertain. James fought on foot at the head of his division, which, towards the close of the engagement, was attacked in flank by the admiral, after he had routed Crawford and Montrose, and in rear by Stanley, after he had dispersed Lennox and Argyll. He fell amid heaps of his nobles, pierced by an arrow, and mortally wounded on the head with a bill. Twelve earls, and about fifty gentlemen of high rank, fell with the king, together with the archbishop of St. Andrews, and a number of dignified clergymen.

greatly enriched by this plunder, relaxed the severity of their ancient discipline. Nor were there wanting among them, wretches who approved of this species of gain, as a sacred and pious fraud, who contended that the money could not have been expended to greater advantage, than by being given to holy men, whose prayers would redeem the deceased from the terrors of punishment. Such was the obstinacy of the combatants, that, at night, both parties retired fatigued, and ignorant of each other's condition, while the soldiers of Alexander Hume, who had remained entire, gathered a great part of the spoil at their ease. Next morning, Dacre, being sent with the horse to reconnoitre, when he came to the field of battle, and found the brass cannon of the Scots deserted, and the greater part of the dead stripped, sent for Howard, who leisurely collected the spoil, and celebrated the victory with great rejoicings.

XL. There are two accounts of the fate of the Scottish king. The English affirm that he was killed in battle; the Scots, on the other hand, assert, that there were many that day clothed in armour similar to what the king usually wore, partly lest the enemy should chiefly aim at one alone, on whose life hung victory, and the issue of the war; or if the king should chance to be slain, that the troops might not be disheartened, or think that they had lost him, so long as others, armed and accoutred like him, were seen in the field, witnessing their brave or cowardly conduct; that one of these, Alexander Elphinstone, was very like the king in stature and appearance, and he being clothed in royal insignia, was followed by the flower of the nobility, who mistook him for the monarch, and were killed bravely fighting around him, but that James himself repassed the Tweed, and was killed near the town of Kelso, by the vassals of Hume; but it is not said, whether by his orders, or by the rashness of the men, who wished to please their master, a factious noble, who hoped, on the king's death, to escape punishment, but feared, if he survived, to be called to account for his inactivity in the battle. Other conjectures are added. On the night following this unfortunate battle, the abbey of Kelso was taken possession of by Kerr, an intimate of Hume's, and the abbot ejected—which it

is not likely he durst have done, unless the king had been killed—also David Galbreath, himself one of Hume's family, at the time the regent John prosecuted the Humes, is said to have strongly blamed the cowardice of his fellows, for allowing a stranger to tyrannise over them, when he, with six private companions, had checked the insolence of the king at Kelso; but these reports are in general esteemed so doubtful, that upon Hume's trial before James, earl of Moray, the king's natural son, they never were brought against him. *

XLI. There is one thing, however, I must not conceal, which I heard from Laurence Telfer, an honest and learned man,

* The various reports respecting the king, which Buchanan mentions, had arisen from the unwillingness of the Scots to believe his death; for notwithstanding all his faults, he appears to have been passionately loved by his subjects. It is now ascertained, that his body was found in the field, and sent to England. Dacre, in a letter to Surrey, informs him, that he found the body of James, and that it was brought to Berwick. Now Dacre, from having been frequently sent as an ambassador to the Scottish court, knew James well: "At Berwick it was embowelled, embalmed, cered, and closed in lead, and secretly, among other things, conveyed to Newcastle, thence it was carried to London."—Lambe's Notes to the battle of Floddon. Stow, in his survey of London, says it was carried "to the monasterie of Sheyne, in Surrey, where it remained for a time, in what order, I am not certaine; but since the dissolution of that house, in the reygne of Edward the sixth, Henry Gray, duke of Suffolke, being lodged, and keeping house there, I have been shewed the same bodie, so lapped in lead, and other rubble. Since the which time, workmen there, for their foolish-pleasure, hewed off his head; and Lancelot Young, master glazier to queen Elizabeth, feelinge a sweet savour to come from thence, and seeing this same dried from all moisture, and yet the form remaining, with the haire of the head and beard red, brought it to London to his house, in Wood Street, where, for a time, he kept it for its sweetness, but, in the end, caused the sexton of that church, St. Michaels, Wood Street, to bury it among othef bones taken out of their charnel." This account coincides with a letter from Leo X. to Henry VIII., in which he mentions the body being deposited in a respectable place, but not in sacred ground, and exhorts him, on account of James' regal dignity, and his affinity to himself, to cause him to be buried with due pomp in the cathedral of St. Pauls; which, notwithstanding he had died under excommunication, his holiness authorized him to do, "because he had been informed, that, in his last moments, he had given some signs of repentance!" The inexorable tyrant refused to allow the last honours to be paid to his relation, and the royal remains were exposed to the contumely mentioned by Stow; but the disgrace attaches to the memory of Henry.

then one of the king's pages, who was a spectator of the battle—he said, that after the day was lost, he saw the king cross the Tweed upon horseback. Many other persons affirming the same thing, a report was current for many years, that the king was alive, and would appear afterwards, having gone to Jerusalem to perform the religious vow which he had sworn. A report equally vain with that spread by the Britons respecting Arthur, and, a few years ago, by the Burgundians respecting Charles. It is certain the English found a body either of king James or Alexander Elphinstone,* surrounded by an immense number of the slain, which they carried to the interior of England, and to show their inexpiable hatred for the dead, whether more barbarously or foolishly, I shall not determine, kept in a leaden coffin, unburied, on the pretence that he had borne sacrilegious arms against pope Julius, who was then in alliance with the English; or, as others say, because he was a perjured man, who, against the stipulations of treaties, had carried on war against Henry VIII. neither of which accusations ought to have been urged against him, either by a king, who, while he lived, was not firm to the profession of any Christian creed, nor by a people, who had so often carried on war against the Romish church. Not to mention a number of English kings who were perjured, according to the testimony of their own writers; take as a specimen, William Rufus, mentioned by Polydore and Grafton; Henry I., by Thomas Walsingham, in the *Hypodigmate Normaniæ*; Stephen, by Newburry, Grafton and Polydore; Henry II., by Newburry, Grafton and Polydore; Richard I., *Hypodigmate Normaniæ*; Henry III., *Hypodigmate Normaniæ*, Grafton, Walsingham; Edward I., Walsingham. And these I have selected, not from the first kings of the Saxon race, a great many of whom might have been adduced, but from the Norman family, whose posterity still fill the throne, and under whom England has enjoyed the greatest prosperity, on purpose to admonish those, who bear with so much patience the perjury of their own monarchs, not to be so severe upon those of strangers, especially when the blame of the crimes,

* First created lord Elphinstone, 1511, two years before the battle.

which they allege, must rest with them who first violated the truce.

XLII. But to return to the history. Thomas Howard would have reaped great glory from this victory over the Scots, had his moderation equalled his fortune, but intoxicated with success, and forgetful of the instability of human affairs, he made his domestics wear upon the badges they carried on their left arms, as is usual in England, a white lion, his own arms, standing over a red lion rampant; yet, as if providence meant to humble such insolent boasting, almost none of his posterity of either sex, departed this life without some mark of ignominy or misfortune. James, as he was greatly beloved while alive, so when dead, his memory was cherished with an affection beyond what I have ever read, or heard of being entertained for any other king. This perhaps, was occasioned as much by a comparison of the evils which preceded his reign, and an anticipation of those which were about to follow, as by his illustrious qualities, or even his popular vices, which attracted the vulgar by their affinity to certain virtues. He was of an athletic form, a proper height, and dignified countenance. His genius was quick, but, by the vice of the times, uncultivated. One of the ancient customs of the nation he eagerly followed; he was exceedingly skilful in the treatment of wounds, a skill which in former days, was common to all the Scottish nobility, who were constantly accustomed to the use of arms. He was easy of access, condescending in his answers, just in pronouncing judgment, and so moderate in inflicting punishment, that all might easily perceive he was unwillingly forced to award it. He bore the malevolent speeches of his enemies, and the admonitions of his friends, with such greatness of mind, produced by the tranquillity of a good conscience, and the confidence in his own innocence, that he not only did not resent them, but never even used any angry expressions. Among these virtues, some vices obtruded, which arose from his too great desire of popularity; for while he endeavoured to avoid the reproach of avarice, incurred by his father, and to attract the affection of the common people by sumptuous buildings, by the exhibition of tournaments and spectacles, and by immoderate gifts, he reduced himself to such poverty,

that if he had lived longer, he might have extinguished the affection of former times, by the hatred he would have excited by new taxes, so that perhaps upon the whole, his death may be thought to have been for himself rather fortunate, than premature.

CVI. JAMES V.

XLIII. James IV. at his death, left Margaret his wife, with two sons, * the eldest of whom had not completed his second year; on the 24th day of February, the parliament assembled at Stirling, and declared him king, according to the custom of the country. Then, directing their attention to arrange the new government, they at length began to perceive the extent of their calamity, for almost all the nobility who possessed either authority or experience being killed, the majority of them who remained, were unfit, on account of their youth, and incapacity for business, to undertake the management of public affairs in such troublous times. The most powerful of the survivors who were possessed of any abilities, were ambitious, avaricious, and averse to peace. Alexander Hume, the governor of all the borders, who had obtained great reputation and wealth, during the life of the king, upon his death became possessed of almost royal power, in the counties bordering upon England; but actuated by a criminal ambition, he encouraged outrage and robbery, because, by attaching to himself daring and desperate characters, he hoped to open the road to greater power, a pernicious design, and fatal in the issue. To him was committed the government of the regions on this side of the Forth—those lying beyond were intrusted to Alexander Gordon, † that they might reduce the factious to order. The name of regent was conferred upon the queen, for the king in the will which he had made before setting out to the war, had appointed her, in case of his death, to be at the head of the government as long as she remained unmarried; and this, although in oppo-

* This expression is scarcely accurate, Alexander, the second son, was not born till 30th April, 1514, 7 months, and 21 days after his father's death.—Ruddiman.

† Earl of Huntly.

sition to the practice of the country, and the first example of female government among the Scots, yet, from the scarcity of noblemen, appeared tolerable, especially to such as were desirous of peace.

XLIV. She did not, however, long exercise this office, for before the end of spring, she married Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, the foremost of Scottish youth in descent, comeliness, and every liberal accomplishment, and the seeds of discord were sown before the end of the year. They sprung up at first among the ecclesiastics; for, after the destruction of the nobility, the clergy, possessed a majority in every parliament, a number of whom intent upon private advantage, amassed such wealth in the midst of the public distress, that nothing contributed more to their destruction, than the immoderate power which they afterward used with intolerable arrogance. Alexander Stuart, archbishop of St. Andrews, being killed at Flodden, three different competitors started for the see with various pretensions. Gavin Douglas, trusting to the splendour of his family, his own virtue and learning, and his nomination by the queen, took possession of the castle. John Hepburn, abbot of St. Andrews, who, before the archbishop was appointed, collected the revenues as proctor, a powerful, factious, and cunning priest, being chosen by his monks, with whom he contended the right of election lay by ancient custom, as successor to the deceased, drove the servants of Gavin from the castle, and fortified it with a strong garrison. Andrew Foreman, who had ingratiated himself highly by his former services with the courts, both of Rome and of France, besides the bishopric of Moray, which he held in Scotland, had received from Louis XII., king of France, the archbishopric of Bourges, and Julius, the Roman pontiff, on his departure, loaded him with honours, and ecclesiastical preferment, bestowed on him the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and the very rich abbacies of Dunfermline and Aberbrothick, and likewise appointed him his legate, *a latere*. But so great then was the power of Hepburn, the Humes being still in alliance with him, that no person could be found, who dared to publish the pope's bull for Foreman's election, until Alexander Hume, by great promises, and besides other gifts, the

abbacy of Coldingham, for his youngest brother David, was gained over to the apparently honourable cause—for the Foremans being vassals to the Humes, the request did not appear improper—and procured its promulgation at Edinburgh; which proceeding was the origin of the immense mischiefs that followed, for Hepburn being a man of an imperious disposition, from that time incessantly plotted the destruction of the Humes.

XLV. The queen, while regent, performed one action worthy of being remembered, she wrote to her brother to abstain from hostility, in consideration of herself, and her young children, requesting, that he would not disturb with foreign war, his nephew's kingdom, divided into so many internal factions, but rather respecting his age and relationship, defend him against the injuries of others. Henry replied in a noble, and truly royal spirit:—That he would maintain peace with the Scots who were inclined for peace, and war with those who wished for war. * When the queen by her marriage, lost

* Mr. Pinkerton, in his Hist. vol. ii. p. 117, quotes, from original letters of lord Dacre, an account of some border incursions, which were made in obedience to the orders of Henry VIII., which he thinks completely overturns the ridiculous praises bestowed on Henry's lenity at this crisis. As Henry appears in common with his crowned brethren, to have entertained very little sympathy for the sufferings of those whom the accident of birth made subjects, it is not improbable that our historians may have misplaced their encomiums on this occasion, but it is a wanton sporting with the credibility of all history, to resort constantly to a charge of fable, upon the *discovery* of every little discrepancy between history and official papers. The writers of official correspondence have temptations to falsify, which can have little influence upon a man who writes in his closet, and for posterity, and the official papers of one nation or party, are very far from being safe guides for the historian of an enemy. In our own day, state papers, manifestos, royal proclamations, and other official et ceteras, are notorious for mis-statements, and false colouring; nor were politicians of old, more remarkable for their love of truth than they are now. English accounts must not therefore, be over-rated, especially as they confessed themselves, of what they heard, "al's not gospel." Here, however, Mr. Pinkerton's deduction bears, as several of his inferences do, the marks of too great an anxiety to contradict established historians, upon the authority of "original papers," though, as a discoverer, he may perhaps, be pardoned for prizing the *invaluable treasure* a little highly. The correspondence of Dacre refers to *border inroads*, which although fierce and cruel, and inconsistent with humanity, were comparatively little cared about by our his-

the regency, the nobility openly divided into two factions. The Douglas party desired, that the sovereign power should remain with her, and a peace, not only useful, but necessary, be preserved with the English. The other party, of whom Hume was the chief, pretended a show of regard for their country, and the ancient mode of electing regents. They declared they would preserve whatever honour belonged to the queen, as far as the laws, and public advantage would allow, of which they had already given proof, in obeying her government, although contrary to the customs of their ancestors, to which they were not obliged by statute, but induced by affection, and still, if any honourable or fair pretext could be shown, would continue to obey. But, when she herself by marrying, had of her own accord retired from the regency, there could be no indignity in substituting another, to fill the situation she had deserted, and which, indeed, the ancient laws refused her; for they did not suffer women to administer the government, even in times of tranquillity, much less in such turbulent times as these, when men of the greatest wisdom and authority, could scarcely apply remedies to so many pressing evils.

XLVI. While both factions disputed pertinaciously about electing a regent, and either through improper ambition, or private hatred, passed over those who were present, and turned to John, duke of Albany, then residing in France, where he enjoyed a high reputation, William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, is said to have pathetically deplored the situation of the country, and to have greatly affected the assembly, when he eulogised the chiefs who had fallen in the late battle, and lamented how inferior they were who remained, of whom not one appeared worthy to be placed at the helm of affairs. He

torians; the lenity which they praise in Henry, was his abstaining in such circumstances, from invasions similar to those of Edward I. or III. From the same correspondence, Mr. P. vol. ii. p. 118, under the month November, has, "Nor among the smaller events of this period, must it be omitted, that David Kerr, of Fernihurst, entered by force upon the abbey of Kelso, and enjoyed his intrusion;" and in a note adds, "This intelligence, of November 1513, shows the error of Buchanan and others, who date this event in September, and build upon it an hypothesis concerning the death of James IV." Now, the truth is, Buchanan builds nothing upon it at all, he mentions it simply as a very vague rumour, "*addunt et alias conjecturas*," are his expressions.

then proceeded to point out how exhausted the public revenue was, and how greatly it had been reduced by the late king, how much must be taken off for the support of the queen, how much would be necessary for the education of the king, and how small a part would remain for carrying on the government; and although at present no one seemed better adapted for that situation than the queen, yet, as concord could not be obtained upon any other terms, he would yield to the opinion of those who wished to call John, duke of Albany, out of France, although he thought this remedy more likely to palliate than to heal the public disorders. Alexander Hume was so violent on this side, that he dared to declare in the assembly, that if all the rest should refuse, he alone would bring over Albany to Scotland, to assume the government. But he is generally believed to have acted thus, not from any regard either to public or private advantage, but solely because, being an ambitious man, who knew that he owed his rank to his riches, and not to the love of his countrymen, he despaired of obtaining the dignity himself, and feared if the government remained with the queen, the power of the neighbouring Douglasses would increase too much, and his own be lessened, as the inhabitants both of Liddisdale and Annandale, were already gradually returning to their ancient vassalage; besides, the queen, by the assistance of the English, would at all times be ready to thwart his designs.

XLVII. When the majority had declared in favour of Albany, an embassy was appointed, at the head of which was the celebrated Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo, to invite him to undertake the government of Scotland, not only on account of his own virtue, but also from his affinity to the king, for he was the son of Alexander, brother of James III. Being called by the Scots to assume the direction of their affairs, Francis, the French king, thinking that his elevation would be advantageous to him, furnished the new regent at his departure, both with money and attendants. Before Albany's arrival, when no one exercised the chief authority, murder and rapine were committed everywhere, and while the nobles mustered their private forces and factions, the common people, poor, and unprotected, were afflicted with every species of misery.

Among the robbers of that time, was Macrobert Struan, who, with eight hundred ruffians, and sometimes more, ravaged the whole of Athol, and the neighbouring provinces at his pleasure. At last, when he was at his uncle, John Crichton's, he was surprised by stratagem, seized, and put to death.

XLVIII. Greater danger, however, seemed to be threatened by the dissension of Andrew Foreman and John Hepburn; but the difference of their dispositions and manners, greater even than their mutual aversion, deferred for a time the brooding mischief. John was as profoundly avaricious, as Andrew was careless of money, and profuse in his expenditure. The one was frank and open in all his designs, nor was there any necessity for concealment with him, whose vices were considered as virtues by the vulgar; and his simplicity procured him not the less favour, when opposed to the hidden cunning, malicious dissimulation, implacable unforgivingness, and ardent revenge of Hepburn. Wherefore, Foreman, before the arrival of the duke of Albany was certain, as he could not be put in possession by Hume, and Hepburn kept a strong garrison in both the castle and abbey, in a country where the power of Hume could not reach, determined to attempt, by means of his friends, if he could not altogether satisfy the avarice of the man, whether he might not, at least in some measure, effect a compromise. At last they agreed upon condition, that Foreman should allow Hepburn to keep the revenues of the former years, which he had collected as proctor, give him the bishopric of Moray, and pay him annually three thousand French crowns from his ecclesiastical revenues, to be divided among his friends. Thus the hatred of the implacable abbot being a little soothed, affairs were settled in that quarter

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XIV.

I. SUCH was the state of Scotland, when John, duke of Albany, landed at Dunbarton, on the 20th of May, A. D. 1515, amid the universal congratulations of the people, who hoped to enjoy more tranquil times, and a fair administration of justice under his government. At a full meeting of parliament, called by him on his arrival, his paternal estates were restored, he was declared duke of Albany and earl of March, and created regent till the king should come of age. At the same time, James, a natural son of the late king—afterward earl of Moray—a young man whose virtues exceeded the greatest hopes which had been conceived of him, was invited to court. The regent, now, strongly confirmed the expectations he had previously excited, by the punishment of Peter Moffat, almost in the hall of the assembly. Moffat was a notorious robber, who, after many cruel and nefarious acts, perpetrated during the license of the two preceding years, had reached such a pitch of audacity, that he openly appeared in the royal palace; but his unexpected punishment, so suddenly changed the face of the court, that the guilty slunk to their lurking places, while the virtuous were encouraged, and immediately the political atmosphere began to clear, and the stormy tempest to be succeeded by profound tranquillity.

II. In the meantime, John Hepburn, having secured the regent's friends by private gifts, obtained the entire possession of his ear, and by secret accusations, and a show of knowledge in the manners of his country, so insinuated himself into the confidence of a prince ignorant of Scottish affairs,

that he was almost solely intrusted with the management of the most important transactions. He was sent by him with a commission to travel over all Scotland, and inquire into the misdemeanours of those who oppressed and enslaved the common people; and he still farther insinuated himself into his confidence, by the manner in which he executed this trust. He particularly pointed out, in the several districts, what recent quarrels, or ancient animosities existed; likewise, what factions there were, and who were their chiefs; and the facts which were known to all, he narrated with sufficient fidelity, but as often as an opportunity offered, he excited informers to bring complaints against the tyranny of Hume, and partly by true, and partly by false representations, completely prejudiced the duke against him. After he had surveyed the whole kingdom, on his return, when he explained to the regent, the relationships, connexions and leagues which existed among the different families between themselves; he persuaded him, that not one of the powerful noblemen could be brought to punishment for his crimes, however flagrant, without giving offence to a number; and that not so much on account of the enmity and conspiracies of the relations, as because, although the punishment extended only to a few guilty, yet the example would reach a great many, who, formerly enemies, from a similarity of crime, and a dread of punishment, would become friends; nor was it possible to chastise such great and extensively spread factions by domestic forces. He therefore advised him to request the king of France to send a greater number of troops, to break down the contumacious race, which would equally promote the advantage of Scotland, and the interest of France; but, in the meantime, the chiefs of the factions ought to be humbled, or, if possible, cut off, yet cautiously, that they might not perceive that a number were aimed at. These, at present, were principally three, of whom Archibald Douglas enjoyed the greatest popularity with the crowd, for the name of his family was fondly cherished, on account of the many services they had rendered the Scots, besides, being in the flower of youth, and supported by his affinity with the king of England, he was too ambitious for a private station; next, Hume, who, he said, was a

man of great weight from the power he had enjoyed for such a length of time, and more formidable; then, digressing, he proceeded invidiously to relate all that had been done by the Humes against the regent's father and uncle, in which, although the Hepburns were participators, he attributed the whole blame to the Humes; besides, he often repeated, with many asseverations, the story of their standing aloof in the late battle with the English, the malicious rumour respecting the king's death, and the rebuilding of Norham castle through their connivance; and lastly, Foreman, who, though neither formidable, on account of his relations, nor his noble descent, yet would form a great acquisition to whatever side he should incline; for all the wealth of the kingdom being gathered into his one house, he could either relieve the present want of the party by money, or by his promises—every thing being in his power—allure numbers to their common confederacy.

III. Hepburn's representation of Foreman was rendered of less weight, by the known enmity which existed between them; besides, the archbishop created little envy, on account of that wealth, which he delighted more in scattering profusely, than in hoarding, and in the disposal of which, he was not more munificent to any than to the French attendants of the regent; neither did he so much endeavour to attach himself to one party, as to extend his benevolence to the whole. But the suspicions respecting the warden of the borders, sunk deeper in the mind of the regent, which he soon betrayed by his estrangement from Hume, and his coldness when they met. Wherefore, in a few months, Alexander, not being treated as he expected by Albany, began to hold secret meetings with the queen and her husband, in which he greatly lamented the situation of the country, because the infant king was intrusted to an exile, born and educated in a state of banishment, whose father's ambition had nearly deprived his elder brother of his kingdom, and who, himself, as next heir, it was evident, only waited till every thing else was settled according to his wishes, to remove the innocent child, assume the crown, and complete what his father had impiously projected. One only method of avoiding the danger remained, it was for the

queen to depart to England with her son, and commit herself and her interest to the protection of her brother. *

iv. The regent, when informed of these proceedings, which he easily credited, being naturally acute and active, trusting only to the troops he had ready, anticipated their attempts. He seized the castle of Stirling, and with it the person of the queen. He then openly took the oath of allegiance to the king, and having removed the queen and Douglas, by an act of parliament, he appointed, besides John Erskine, governor of the castle, three principal noblemen, of tried fidelity and integrity, to superintend the education of the king; they were to succeed each other alternately, and he added a guard, to protect them against violence or art. On this, Hume, and his brother William, fled to England. Douglas and his wife, who only remained till they knew Henry's pleasure, followed them, and were ordered to remain at Harbottle, in Northumberland, and wait further instructions. Albany, in the meantime, greatly alarmed at their departure, immediately sent ambassadors to England, to vindicate himself to Henry, and to inform him, that he had done nothing which ought to terrify the queen, or alienate her mind from him, neither had he proceeded against the other companions of her flight in any manner, so as to prevent them from enjoying their liberty and estates in their native country. These things he wrote

* From the original correspondence of the parties, preserved in the Cottonian library, it appears that Henry VIII. had tampered, through the medium of one Williamson, a priest, with Margaret, his sister, and Gavin Douglas, the celebrated bishop of Dunkeld, to obtain possession of the persons of the young king and his brother, previously to Albany's arrival, but could not prevail upon them to accede to his treacherous proposals. His agents were more successful in their infamous employment of sowing dissension among the Scottish nobles, or in perpetuating it. The intrigues of lord Dacre, warden of the marches, were early used to instigate Hume against Albany, who, besides the influence of Hepburn, was estranged from the regent, by being obliged to restore to him part of the estates of March, which he had held since the forfeiture of Albany's father. Dacre, in his letter to the English council, 7th August, 1515, takes credit to himself for having induced Hume to join the queen's party, and very naturally declines lessening his own merit in his correspondence with his superiors, by attributing any share of his success to Hepburn's insinuations; a circumstance which Mr. Pinkerton is astonished at his omitting!

publicly to the king; at the same time he privately, by the medium of their friends, invited Hume and Douglas to return, and by pledging the public faith, and making the most liberal promises, he at length prevailed. They therefore returned, but the queen, being very near the time of her confinement, remained, and was delivered of a daughter, Margaret, of whom I shall speak afterward; but as soon as she appeared capable of enduring the fatigue of travelling, she had a royal household, and retinue sent from court to her, with whom she went to London, where she was honourably and lovingly received by her brother Henry, and her sister Mary, who had returned from France, upon the death of her husband, Louis, which had happened not long before.

v. But the suspicions lately raised in Scotland by the departure of the queen, were not greatly allayed by the return of her companions; for Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, and Peter Panter, the late king's secretary, together with John Drummond, the chief of his name, had been banished to different quarters. Alexander Hume was summoned to stand trial before a parliament, on the 12th of July, 1516, but not obeying he was condemned, and his goods confiscated. Exasperated by this affront, as he conceived it, in despair he sent out, or permitted freebooters to commit great outrages on the neighbouring counties, against whom the parliament voted ten thousand horse and foot to the regent, with orders either to take him, or expel him the kingdom. But before matters proceeded to an extremity, Hume, by the advice of his friends was persuaded to surrender to the regent, and being carried to Edinburgh, he was given in charge to James Hamilton, earl of Arran, his sister's husband, under pain of being considered a traitor, if he suffered him to escape. But the event proved different from what was expected, for Hume persuaded Hamilton to fly along with him, and form a conspiracy for seizing upon the administration, as being next heir after the children of the late king, James III.'s sister's son, as it was more equitable that he should exercise the regency than John, who, though descended from a brother of the same monarch, had been born in exile, and was in every respect a foreigner, not even understanding the language of the coun-

try. The regent, as soon as he heard of their flight, marched against Hamilton's castle, which surrendered two days after he had opened his batteries. Hume, in the meantime, making excursions through March, pillaged the country, and burned the greater part of the town of Dunbar. These were the transactions of that year.

VI. In the beginning of spring, John Stuart, earl of Lennox, Hamilton's sister's son, joined the party of the rebels, with a great body of his friends and vassals, and having taken Glasgow castle, waited there, along with Hamilton, the approach of the regent. Albany, by the advice of his nobles, whom he assembled at Edinburgh, suddenly raised an army, entered Glasgow unexpectedly, the enemy not having dreamed that he would dare to attack them, and recovered the castle. One French gunner, a deserter, was the only person who suffered punishment, the rest, upon the intercession of Foreman, were pardoned. The earl of Lennox was received into favour in a few days, and ever afterward, behaved with the greatest fidelity and honour towards the regent, nor was it long before, first Hamilton, and then Hume returned to court. They too, were forgiven the past, but Hume, who had often rebelled, obtained pardon with some difficulty, and upon this condition, that if he ever rebelled again, his former crimes would be brought against him.

VII. Peace being thus restored among all parties, the regent retired to Falkland, where he remained for some months, but Hume's conduct becoming again very suspicious, he returned to Edinburgh, and held a parliament on the 24th, whither he endeavoured, through the medium of friends, and by great promises, to draw Hume. Against this the earl was strongly dissuaded, by a number of his adherents. They advised him, if he determined to go thither himself, that he should leave his brother William, who, on account of his bravery and munificence, possessed almost greater authority than himself, alleging, that the regent would not proceed too harshly against him while his brother was safe. He, however, as if compelled by a fatal necessity, in opposition to the warning of his friends, went to court with his brother, and Andrew Ker, of Farnihurst, where they were immediately thrown into separate

prisons, by the advice of the council, and a few days after, brought to trial, according to the custom of the country, not upon any new charge. Prince James, earl of Moray, accused Alexander, earl of Hume, of the death of his father, who, he understood by many witnesses, escaped alive from the battle; but this charge, although strongly expressed, being feebly supported by proof, was withdrawn, and recourse had to private crimes; the charge of former rebellions was revived, in all of which, Alexander was accused of being either the principal, or participator, and besides, he was charged with not having faithfully performed his duty at the battle of Flodden. Being found guilty by the court, Alexander was beheaded on the 11th of October, and his brother on the day after. Their heads were affixed in the most conspicuous places, and their estates confiscated.*

* Mr. Pinkerton, in his *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 159, says, "The new crimes alleged against Hume, are unknown, and if he had not been pardoned for former transgressions, he could not have sitten in the parliament of July," and adds in a note, "Redpath, p. 505, enumerates the *supposed* charges. The chief are, Hume's assassination of James IV. after the battle of Flodden. 2d. Some gross crime—perhaps the same—imputed by Albany to Hume, and over which it was necessary to draw a veil. The first is from Buchanan, who, to confirm his fable, adds that Moray, the natural son of James IV. appeared in evidence; but that peer was only aged twenty in 1519, [*Original*, Dacre to Wolsey, B. III. 16.] and was apparently now on his travels, for after a long absence, he returned to Scotland, in 1519, *ib.* Perhaps James Hepburn, bishop of Moray, may be meant. The second charge is from Drummond, and is improbable in itself, as Albany, lately arrived in Scotland, could only know what was known to others, and as regent, could hardly be admitted as an accuser." Mr. P. in his text, chooses to overlook the plain tale of our historian, why he has not told us, and because the original correspondence of the English spies says nothing, he very gravely informs his readers, nothing is known about the crimes for which Hume was condemned, and suggests, as a discovery, that he must have been pardoned for former transgressions. Buchanan tells us he was pardoned, and he tells us more, that he was only conditionally pardoned, so long as he continued quiet. He did not continue quiet, and was arraigned upon his old accusations. Mr. P. in order to support his favourite charge of fable, first misrepresents the meaning of Redpath, and then of Buchanan. Redpath distinctly enumerates the charges. 1. James, earl of Moray, charged him—Hume—with being guilty of the death of his father—which was not proved. 2. He was charged with treacherous inactivity in the battle of Flodden. 3. Criminal connivance at the

VIII. Thus perished Alexander Hume, the most powerful nobleman of all Scotland in his day, who, although during life he had excited considerable hatred and envy, yet his death, as the odium decreased, was variously regarded; and the more so, because he was accused of no new crime, but was believed to have fallen a victim to the calumnies of John Hepburn, the abbot, a factious priest, inflamed with the most implacable desire of revenge against Hume, by whose means he had been excluded from the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and who, though he had for a time concealed his ancient resentment, was generally understood to be the instigator of the severe measures pursued against the Humes by the regent, by representing to him, already irritated and suspicious, the imminent danger that threatened the king, if he were to depart to France, and leave so fierce an enemy alive behind him; for what would he not dare, during his absence, who had despised his authority so frequently when he was present; the contumacy of such a man, who could neither be won by rewards, honours, nor repeated pardons, must be broken by the sword. By these, and similar argu-

rebuilding of the castle of Norham; and *lastly*, with being principal actor, and contriver of the late treasons and insurrections against the governor," He then adds in a note, "Drummond relates there was another, with which the governor acquainted the judges, so gross and heinous, that it was on that account concealed from the public." Redpath in all this, except the note from Drummond, a thing noticed by the by, gives none as *supposed* charges, but, as they appear on the face of history, as real accusations. Mr. P. asserts, "that Buchanan says, Moray appeared in evidence," now Buchanan only states that he appeared as an accuser, which a very young man might do, but he adduced evidence which was not sustained. Mr. P. further insinuates that Moray could not have been present, because "he was then *apparently* on his travels; for, after a long absence, he returned to Scotland in 1519." But he might have been in Scotland in October 1516, and in 1519, have returned after a long absence. A twelvemonth might be a long absence, or two years might be a long absence, the expression is arbitrary, and wholly unfit, when unsupported, to bear out the insinuation of Mr. P. The charge against Buchanan by Mr. P. closes with as original a *PERHAPS*, as we could well desire! How James Hepburn, bishop of Moray, could *perhaps* be meant by *prince* James Stuart, *natural son* of James IV.; or how the bishop of Moray could accuse Hume of murdering his father, is a puzzle Mr. P. may be able to solve, but it will perhaps be as easy for plain readers, to take Buchanan's plain story.

ments, under a show of regard for the commonwealth, he easily swayed a prince, already sufficiently inclined to severity, and his insinuations, it was thought, rather than any new accusation, occasioned the death of the Humes. After the Humes were executed, Andrew Ker obtained a respite for one night, that he might attend to his soul's salvation, but by means of his friends, or rather, as was suspected, by bribing a Frenchman, who had him in custody, he made his escape. Alexander left three brothers, who were all equally unfortunate about the same time. George, for murder, was an exile in England, John, the abbot of Jedburgh, was banished beyond the Tay, David, the youngest, who was prior of Coldingham, nearly two years after the execution of his brothers, inveigled by James Hepburn, his sister's husband, under pretence of a conference, fell into an ambush and was slain. He was much lamented as an unoffending young man, of great promise, shamefully betrayed by one from whom it was least to have been expected. When punishment had in this manner visited almost the whole house of Hume, the tide of public hatred turned toward their enemies, and chiefly John Hepburn, the bitter exactor of such unjust revenge; but the calamities of a family once so powerful, terrified others, and produced a temporary tranquillity.

IX. Next December, the regent brought the king from Stirling to Edinburgh, and asked leave from the parliament to return to France; but a great majority disapproving of his request, he remained some months, till the beginning of spring, when, after promising to return, if any disturbance requiring his presence should arise, he set sail, having left the care of the government, in his absence, to the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Huntly, with the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, to whom he added Antony D'Arcy, a Frenchman, governor of Dunbar, with instructions to inform him of whatever might occur during that time. And to prevent dissension among the noblemen, from their being all equal in authority, he allotted to each his several province. With the concurrence of the rest, he appointed the Frenchman president, and intrusted him with March and Lothian. The other provinces were distributed as suited mutual convenience. In

the meantime, the queen, after she had been nearly a year in England, returned, in the latter end of May, to Scotland, and was conducted by her husband to Berwick, but they did not live together with the same cordiality as before.

x. The regent, at his departure, to prevent any sedition in his absence, under the appearance of doing them honour, carried along with him, as hostages, the chiefs of the noblest families, or their sons or relatives, sent many away to distant parts of the kingdom as prisoners at large, and placed French governors in the castles of Dunbar, Dunbarton, and Inch-Garvy; yet, from a trifling circumstance, and in a quarter whence it was least dreaded, a commotion arose. Antony D'Arcy displayed great justice and wisdom in his government, and chiefly in restraining robberies. The first tumult which assumed the appearance of war, arose in his district. William Cockburn, uncle of the lord of Langton, having expelled the tutors of the young man, took possession of the castle, which he kept, relying chiefly upon the power of David Hume of Wedderburn, whose sister Cockburn had married. Thither the Frenchman proceeded with a sufficient force, but they who had possession of the castle refused to give it up, and David Hume, accompanied by a few picked horsemen, rode up to him, and upbraided him with the unjust death of his relation Alexander. D'Arcy, having no confidence in his attendants, and trusting to the fleetness of his horse, fled towards Dunbar; but his horse falling under him, his enemies overtook him, put him to death, and cutting off his head, affixed it upon a conspicuous place on Hume castle. This murder took place on the 20th of September, 1517. The other governors, expecting from this beginning some greater commotion, assembled, and chose the earl of Arran president, committed George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus, a prisoner, to the castle of Inch-Garvy, upon suspicion of being connected with the late murder, and sent to France, to hasten the regent's return to Scotland.

xi. Almost at the same time, a dispute arose, between the earl of Angus and Andrew Ker of Farnihurst, respecting the jurisdiction of certain lands belonging to the earl, but in which Ker affirmed he possessed the right of holding courts;

the rest of the family of the Kers favoured the claim of Andrew, as did the Hamiltons, but more from a hatred to the Douglasses, than from being convinced of the justice of Ker's demand. Therefore, when the day for the meeting of parliament approached, both parties prepared themselves to contest the point by arms, with greater keenness than the subject was worth. John Somerville, a young and high spirited nobleman of the Douglas' faction, attacked James, the bastard son of the earl of Arran, * upon the road, slew five of his attendants, dispersed the rest, and took upwards of thirty horses.

XII. The parliament was summoned to be held in Edinburgh, April 29th, 1520, and the Hamiltons alleging that they could not be safe in a city, of which Archibald Douglas was provost, he, in order not to obstruct public business, voluntarily resigned his office, about the end of the month of March, and was succeeded by Robert Logan, one of the citizens. The noblemen of the west of Scotland, who had held frequent meetings, being called together in the house of James Beaton, the chancellor, to concert measures for apprehending the earl of Angus, who was thought to be too powerful and formidable to the public; for while he was at liberty, it was alleged, there could be no freedom of debate, and a favourable opportunity seemed now to be offered for accomplishing their desires, because his relations were at a distance, and he, together with his few vassals, might easily be overcome, before his friends could arrive to his assistance. The earl, when he understood what was in agitation, sent his uncle, Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, to them, to sooth their unprovoked resentment, and to request, that they would reason without appealing to force or arms; and if they had any just cause of complaint, he was ready to give every fair and honourable satisfaction. But this proposal was made to men, fierce on account of their numbers, confident in their strength, and eager for revenge; wherefore, Gavin, when he could effect no accommodation, returned to Angus, and acquainting him with the arrogance of his enemies, ordered his whole family to

* Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, founder of the house of Avendale.—Crawford.

attend the earl, but he, himself, as being a priest, and infirm on account of his age, retired home, on purpose, as was thought, to reprove, by his conduct, the unseasonable, bustling interference of the chancellor, who, when he ought particularly to have been the promoter of peace, flew about armed as a torch of sedition. Douglas, when all hope of agreement was broken off, having advised his adherents rather to die with credit, than remain like cowards in their houses, whence they would soon be dragged to punishment—for the enemy had already taken possession of every gate and avenue, and precluded a retreat—and those who were present, assenting, went armed, accompanied by his attendants, and took possession of the broadest street in the city. He had about eighty in number, but all stout, determined men, of tried valour. These he distributed according to the nature of the place, and attacking the enemy as they came out of the many narrow steep closes, slew the first, and drove the others back headlong in confusion. The earl of Arran, the commander of the multitude, with James his son, escaped by a ford through the north loch; the rest of the chiefs, scattered through the town, fled to the convent of the Dominicans for shelter. While these transactions occasioned great confusion in the city, William, brother of the earl of Angus, entered with a powerful band of his vassals. Emboldened by this accession, Douglas, although the numbers of the enemy were vastly superior to his, forbade, by proclamation, any person, except his friends and retainers, from appearing armed. Those who asked permission to depart, were allowed to retire without molestation; and one band, consisting of eight hundred horsemen—besides all who had precipitately fled—marched out with greater ignominy than loss; for there were not killed above seventy-two, but among these were the brother of the earl of Arran, and Eglinton's son. This skirmish happened on the 30th of April, A. D. 1520. To revenge this affront, the Hamiltons laid siege to Kilmarnock, a castle in Cunningham, kept by Robert Boyd, a client of the Douglasses, but, in a short time, gave up the attempt. Next year, Douglas came to Edinburgh, on the 20th of July, bringing with him the Humes, who had been exiled, and took down the heads

of Alexander and William Hume, which had been publicly exhibited.

XIII. In this manner, during the whole five years, from the regent's departure till his return, the whole country was one scene of confusion, rapine, and slaughter. He came back on the 30th of October, A. D. 1521. That he might the more easily settle the disorder which had arisen during his absence, he determined to reduce the power of the Douglasses. He banished the earl of Angus, the chief of that illustrious family, to France, and he caused his uncle, the bishop of Dunkeld, to be summoned to Rome by the pope, to plead his cause, who, next year, proceeding on his journey, was seized with the plague, and died at London, regretted greatly by all good men, on account of his worth; for besides the splendour of his birth, and the dignity of his personal appearance, he was distinguished for learning, exemplary conduct, and peculiar moderation of spirit, and for his unshaken probity and authority among adverse factions in turbulent times. He left some admirable monuments of his learning and genius in his native language. *

XIV. Next year, after the return of the regent, a parliament was held, and an army ordered to be ready on an appointed day at Edinburgh. A considerable number, in consequence, assembled, who were encamped in the fields near Roslin, without knowing whither they were to be led. In this station they received a route to proceed towards Annandale, and a heavy punishment was denounced against those who should absent themselves. They accordingly marched with tolerable obedience, till they reached the Scottish border on the Solway; only Alexander Gordon and his followers halted at three miles distance from England, which when it was told the regent, he went back to him next day, and brought him to his camp. He then called a council of the chiefs, to whom he addressed many and weighty reasons for the determination he had formed to attack that most powerful quarter of England; but the majority, induced by Gordon, who far surpassed the rest,

* A translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, and the *Palace of Honour*, an allegorical poem, are his principal works.

both in power and in years, either from disaffection to the regent, or because they thought it, as they declared, most advantageous for Scotland, refused to enter England, and their reasons, when published, were in general approved of. For, they alleged, if these operations were intended to assist France, by preventing the English from attacking them with their whole force, it was sufficient for the purpose to have made a show of war; and if the domestic state of Scotland were considered, where all was unsettled, and the king still a child, it was their duty to act only on the defensive, to preserve the ancient boundaries, and protect the kingdom; but if they went forward, they would incur the blame of an unauthorized attack, and might afterwards be called to account for their misconduct. And if they ever so strongly desired it, if they should overlook the danger from the common enemy, and forget the state of affairs at home, they much feared they had not sufficient influence to induce the Scots to enter the hostile territory; and it was above all things to be avoided, lest through envy, hatred, or their yet recent quarrels, they might be exposed to disgrace.

xv. The regent, who saw that it would be in vain for him to oppose the current, was constrained to yield. But that he might not appear to have altogether failed in the object of his great preparations, and his expedition to the Solway, he secretly, by means of a merchant accustomed to transact business in England, apprized Dacre, the warden of the English borders, that some advantageous arrangements might be made if they had a conference. Dacre, as he was wholly unprepared—for he did not expect any invasion from the Scots, and least of all, into his marches—listened readily to the suggestion, and, upon sending a herald, obtained a passport to come to the Scottish camp. Next day, attended with twenty esquires, among whom the most distinguished were Thomas Dacre and Thomas Musgrave, he came to the regent's headquarters, with whom he had a private interview, each only attended by an interpreter. Dacre, being taken completely by surprise, was desirous of peace, and the regent, from the mutinous state of his army, was incapable of carrying on the war; a truce was therefore concluded, and, in expectation of

a peace following, they separated. * Those among the Scots who had prevented the expedition, in order to shift the blame from themselves, insinuated that Dacre, for the purpose of obtaining peace from the regent, had presented him with a sum of money, and promised more, which was never paid; and by spreading such reports among the vulgar, endeavoured to vilify the conference.

xvi. The regent, on the 25th of October, departed again to France, having promised that he would return before the 1st of August; at which time, being prevented from undertaking the voyage, as he knew that the English had fitted out a large fleet to intercept him, he sent before him five hundred French foot soldiers, in the month of June, with assurances to his friends, among the Scots, of his speedy return. These met with no enemy upon their passage, till they came near the isle of May, in the Frith of Forth, where they fell in with the English ships, who were watching them in the narrow strait. A furious battle then ensued, in which the French, attempting to board the enemy's vessels, lost several of their captains, and on their being killed, when the sailors would not obey the military, nor could the soldiers, from their ignorance of sea affairs, understand the orders of the naval officers, they were driven back into their vessels with immense slaughter.

xvii. During the absence of the regent, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, being sent, by the king of England, to Scotland, with a thousand regular soldiers, and as many auxiliaries, finding the Scots at variance among themselves, without a chief magistrate, or any settled state of government, overran March and Teviotdale, and seized all the castles in the

* The account here given of the failure of the expedition, from the mutinous state of the army, is so completely satisfactory, that it would command our belief from its high probability alone, were even Buchanan not confirmed by the original correspondence quoted by Mr. Pinkerton himself, vol. ii. p. 207. yet Mr. P. prefers a most improbable supposition, he narrates that Albany, without any rational cause, at the simple request of lord Dacre, who was wholly unprepared to use any other influence, consented to disband a fine high spirited army! A writer that can choose this alternative, may be excused for believing Buchanan to be a fabulist.

two countries, to the great loss both of the nobles and the common people, who used these as defences, in which they were accustomed, on sudden irruptions, to secure themselves and their effects; and Scotland, at the same time, was so oppressed by intestine seditions, that all mutual sympathy, for each other's calamity, was destroyed. The English, after having wasted wherever they chose, for several months, without opposition, disbanded their army. The Scottish borderers, then, that they might in some measure revenge the mischief they had suffered, made incessant plundering incursions into Northumberland, on which, Howard, being again sent against them, took Jedburgh, which, although unwall'd, according to the Scottish custom, was not reduced without much labour and considerable loss. During these transactions in Teviotdale, a sudden terror, from some unknown cause, seized the English horses one night, and nearly five hundred having broken their bridles, rushed into the camp, overthrew every thing that opposed them, trampled over a number of the soldiers, then, madly galloping out again, dispersed themselves over the country, and were taken by the Scots. This raised a mighty trepidation in the camp, and crying to arms; nor could the tumult be calmed till morning. In consequence, the English, three days after, dismissed their army, without attempting any thing else.

XVIII. The duke of Albany, understanding that all the ports on the French coast were blockaded by the English, who were ordered to prevent his return to Scotland, being inferior in strength, determined to elude them by art. He did not collect his vessels in any one harbour, but kept them scattered in various ports, and that there might be no appearance of any warlike preparation, he so stationed his soldiers in inland places, that he seemed to think of nothing less than embarkation. The English admiral, who watched to intercept him, and had kept at sea in vain till the 13th of August, being informed by his scouts, that there was neither the appearance of fleet nor army along the whole French coast, supposing that no attempt would be made till the spring, withdrew his ships. The duke of Albany, as soon as the departure of the enemy was ascertained, suddenly assembled a fleet of fifty

sail, on board of which he embarked three thousand foot soldiers, and one hundred cuirassiers, set sail from France, after the autumnal equinox, and arrived at the Isle of Arran, on the 24th September, by accident the same day on which the English burned Jedburgh.

XIX. I have showed in what a wretched state Scotland was, during the last summer, the nobles at variance with each other, those places next to England, visited with all the horrors of war, and so blockaded by sea, that every hope of aid from abroad was cut off. The design of the enemy in all this, was evidently to humble the fierce spirits of the Scots, and force them to make peace, while the Scots, who were averse to the French party, laboured strenuously at the same time, to promote a perpetual league with them. At the head of this party stood the queen, for after Hume was executed, and Douglas banished, those who remained, being considered as fit rather to follow than to lead, all who were opposed to the French applied to her. She, that she might at once gratify her brother, and obtain possession of the chief power, dissembling her private ambition, advised her party, that as her son was now almost of age, they ought to free him from the hands of strangers, and from a foreign yoke. She likewise looked forward to a protection against her husband, whom she had for some time past begun to dislike. The king of England too, by frequent letters, and promises to the Scottish nobles, promoted the design of his sister. He told them, that there remained with him no obstacle why there should not be continual peace between the neighbouring kingdoms; that as he had formerly, so now he greatly desired it, not from any wish for his own aggrandisement, but to show to the world, that he wished to cherish, protect, and by every means in his power, promote the advantage of his sister's son; and, if the Scots would consent to break their alliance with France, and join with England, they would soon be convinced that he was influenced, neither by ambition, nor love of power, but by a desire of concord alone, in uniting his only daughter Mary, in marriage with James, by which alliance, the Scots would not be reduced under the government of the English, but the English under that of the Scots; adding, that hatred

as inveterate between other nations, had been subdued, and extinguished by affinities, commerce, and mutual kindnesses. Others enumerated the advantages and disadvantages which would arise from the friendship of the different nations. The one were a people born in the same island, reared under the same sky, the same in language, laws, customs, and manners, so like, even in countenance and colour, that they appeared rather one than separate nations. The other not more divided by climate and country, than by their whole manner of living, could do the Scots little harm by their enmity, and little service by their friendship. The English were at hand, but the French were friends afar off, whose only communication by sea might be obstructed by enemies or storms, and it ought to be considered how inconvenient it must be for the government, and how dangerous for the public to have all hopes of assistance hanging on the wind, and the safety of the state placed at the mercy of an inconstant element. How much the aid of absent friends against present danger was to be depended upon, they might perceive, for they had felt it, during last summer, when the king of England invaded them, and they were deserted by their allies, while, on the one hand, with his whole force he threatened to overwhelm them, and on the other, kept the assistance so often promised, blocked up in the harbours of France, by his fleet.

xx. These were the reasons urged, when the league with England was discussed, and not a few, convinced by them, favoured the alliance. But they were combated by a strong opposition, for the majority in that parliament were previously secured by French bribes, and others, who reaped private advantage from the public distress, hated all idea of peace. There were, likewise, some who suspected the sincerity of the English promises, from the readiness with which they were made, especially as the direction of the English government was then chiefly committed to cardinal Thomas Wolsey, an ambitious priest, whose whole measures tended to increase his private power and dignity, and therefore, he accommodated them to every breath of fortune, all these, influenced by different reasons, yet equally promoted the French alliance,

and denied that this sudden liberality of the enemy was gratuitous. It was not the first time, they said, that these arts had been used by the English, for deceiving the unsuspecting Scots, Edward I., after he was sworn and bound by every legal tie to act honourably, on being chosen as arbiter by the competitors for the throne, most unjustly created himself king of Scotland; and even lately, Edward IV., after he had betrothed his daughter Cecilia, to James III., when the princess arrived at the age of puberty, on the very eve of marriage, took advantage of a war which arose from their domestic dissensions, and forbade the nuptials. Nor did the English king intend any thing else now, than by flattering them with the empty hope of dominion, to make them really slaves, and when he had deprived them of all foreign assistance, to overwhelm them unexpectedly with the whole weight of his power. Nor was the assertion, which the others seemed to exult in, true, that an alliance is more secure with a near, than with a distant state, for causes of dissension are constantly arising between neighbours, often from chance, and often from very trifling incidents among the nobles; that the terms of peace are always prescribed by the strongest, nor was there ever yet any treaty of friendship so sacred between neighbouring nations, but what opportunities offered, or occasions were sought for violating it; nor could it be expected that the English would abstain from such violations, under a king of Scottish descent, more than they did under so many kings of their own blood. For the sanctity of leagues, the holiness of the most solemn oaths, and the faith of treaties, which are the firmest bonds among the good, are among the wicked only convenient snares for deceiving; and these can be most successfully laid among bordering nations, whose language is the same, and whose customs and manners are alike. But setting aside all these arguments, two things ought to be considered; first, that we do not renounce rashly old friends, to whom we are under many obligations, and next, that we do not waste our time in fruitless altercation about a subject, which cannot be determined except in a meeting of the estates. In this manner did the favourers of the Gallic faction restrain their opponents, and prevent any decision from being come to,

till they had received certain intelligence of the arrival of the French auxiliaries.

xxi. The news of the regent's arrival, diffused great joy among his friends, confirmed the wavering, and deterred many from joining the English alliance, who were inclined to espouse it. Having sent his warlike stores by the Clyde to Glasgow, he reviewed his army there, and issued a proclamation for the nobility to meet him at Edinburgh, where, in a flaming oration, he praised their constancy in adhering to their ancient league, and their prudence in refusing the perfidious promises of the English, and expatiated on the affection, and liberality of the French king toward the Scottish nation, and exhorted them to lay aside their private animosities, and now, that foreign assistance had arrived, avenge their injuries, and check, by some signal blow, the insolence of the enemy.

xxii. After refreshing his soldiers a few days, and being joined by the Scottish forces, the regent, on the 22d October, marched towards the borders, but when he was about to enter England, and had already led the greater part of his troops across the wooden bridge near Melrose, the Scots, pretending the same excuses as in the former expedition to Solway, refused to advance into England, and those who had crossed, repassing the river, returned by the same way, on which, he encamped a little farther down on the left bank of the Tweed, and prepared to besiege Werk castle, situate on the opposite side. In the meantime, a party of horse, sent across the river, shut up all the passages, lest any relief should be introduced, and wasted all the adjacent country. Werk castle consists of a strongly fortified, and very high tower, in the inner court, which is surrounded by a double wall. The outer wall encloses a large space of ground, whither the country people in time of war, are accustomed to seek refuge, together with their cattle, and the produce of their farms. The inner encloses a much narrower space, but is surrounded by a ditch, and better fortified with towers raised upon it. The French took possession of the exterior court by assault, but the English setting fire to the barns and straw, they were forced by the flames and the smoke, to evacuate it. Then,

the next two days they battered the inner wall with their cannon, and when they had effected what they thought a practicable breach, the French mounted with the greatest ardour, but, being exposed to every missile weapon from the tower, which still remained entire, after losing a few men, they were beat back, and retired to the army, on the other side of the river

XXIII. The regent, when he perceived the Scots averse to the war, and at the same time receiving certain information that the English were advancing with an army much more numerous than his own, according to their own writers, fifty thousand men, besides six thousand in garrison at Berwick, in the vicinity, he decamped on the 11th November, and marched to Eccles, a monastery about six miles distant, and thence, at the third watch, by a nocturnal march, he retreated to Lauder, during which, both men and horse were greatly annoyed by a severe fall of snow; and the same storm caused the English to disband their army, and return home without effecting any thing. The rest of the winter was tolerably quiet. In the spring, the regent, in an assembly of the nobles, explained the reason why he was under the necessity of returning to France, but he promised he would be back before the 1st of September, and required of them, that during his absence, the king should remain at Stirling, and that neither peace nor truce should be concluded with England, nor any innovation be made in the administration, till he came back; all which they solemnly promised, and he, with his retinue, set sail for France, on the 20th of May.

XXIV. On the departure of the regent, the country becoming a scene of complete anarchy and confusion, the king, although a child, was brought to Edinburgh by his mother, the earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and a number of the chief nobility, and on the 29th of July, an assembly of the nobles being convened in the palace of Holyroodhouse, he, by their advice, was declared of age, and next day, they all renewed the oath of allegiance to him. On occasion of his assuming the government, he, as a piece of form, dismissed all who exercised any public office, and in a few days, reinstated them in their places, and on the 20th of July, the king held a parliament,

in order to abolish the office of regent. Having taken the power into his own hands, he went in great pomp to the Town Hall of the city, the bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen alone dissenting, who thought that they ought to wait till the 1st of September, and they were in consequence, committed to prison; in return they, that they might revenge themselves by their own proper arms, excommunicated all within their jurisdiction, but before another month, they were reconciled to the king, and restored to favour.

xxv. About the same time, Archibald Douglas, who was banished, as I mentioned, to France, sent Simon Penning, an agent on whom he could depend, to procure for him from the king of England, a safe passage through his kingdom, on his return home. Henry, who desired to weaken the authority of so active a man as the duke of Albany, listened willingly to any change in the government of Scotland, received the earl on his arrival, courteously, and dismissed him liberally. His return home variously affected the leaders of the Scots. A great part of the nobility, at the head of whom were John Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle, dissatisfied at seeing the whole government in the hands of the queen, and the earl of Arran, and themselves admitted to no share, received Douglas with every expression of joy, as by his assistance, they hoped either to transfer the power of the opposite party to themselves, or at least, humble their pride. On the other hand, the queen, whose affections were estranged from her husband, vexed at his arrival, determined to oppose him by every means in her power; Hamilton, who not only retained his old hatred, but feared being displaced by Douglas, as he knew he would not rest satisfied with any secondary station, directed his whole strength against him, in order to retain his office. These remained in the castle of Edinburgh, and though well aware that many of the nobility desired a change, yet, trusting to the fortifications of the place, and the feeble authority of the king, believed themselves safe from violence. The other faction having assembled, a majority of the nobility chose three of their number as guardians of the king and the kingdom, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, John Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell, earl of

Argyle, these without delay, crossed the Forth, and constrained James Beaton, a man of great ability, to join their party, who seeing their power, did not dare to refuse. Thence they proceeded to Stirling, and transferring all the public offices and authority, to their own friends, they then marched to Edinburgh, which being unfortified, they entered without resistance. They surrounded the castle with an insignificant trench, and those who were within, having made no preparation for a siege, surrendered. All the inmates, except the king, being dismissed, the weight of government remained with the three earls, who agreed to take charge of it by turns, each of them attending four months on the king.

xxvi. But this association was neither sincere, nor of long duration. Douglas, who was employed to superintend the royal court for the first four months, carried away the king to the house of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and took possession of all his furniture, and household stuff, for he had already deserted the party, and that he might engage the affection of the king, he suffered him to indulge in every unlawful enjoyment, but yet he did not gain his purpose, the king's domestics being in the interest of the queen, and the Hamilton party. The first animosities at court arose about the division of ecclesiastical preferment, the Douglasses grasping at every thing for themselves. George Crichton having been translated to the bishopric of Dunkeld, Douglas gave the abbey of Holyroodhouse, in the suburbs of Edinburgh, which he resigned, to his brother William, who had forcibly held the abbey of Coldingham, six miles from Berwick, for five years, since the murder of Robert Blackadder, the last abbot; for Patrick Blackadder, cousin-german of Robert, had received that abbacy from the pope, with the consent of John, the regent, and had also commenced a lawsuit against John Hume, a friend of the earl of Angus, and married to his sister's daughter, concerning the whole ancient patrimony of the Blackadders. Patrick, unable to contend with his adversaries, aided by the power of the Douglasses, patiently suffered the injury, and withdrew to a distance from countries under their dominion, to await more favourable times, among his maternal relations. The Douglasses, although they disregarded

ed Patrick, yet when they came to exercise the government, were desirous of effacing the stain of having violently obtained the possessions of another, and through the medium of friends, offered to make him some reparation. He, on the other hand, showing himself not disinclined to reconciliation, and even willing to relinquish a considerable part of his right, on receiving the public faith, sent in writing from Douglas, came to Edinburgh with a few attendants, and unarmed, but not far from the gates of the city, he was waylaid by John Hume, and killed. When the report of this transaction reached town, many persons mounted their horses, to apprehend the assassins, but when they had pursued them some miles, perceiving George, the earl of Douglas' brother in their company, besides a number of the relations, both of the Douglasses and the Humes, uncertain with what intention they came, whether to take, or to defend the authors of the murder, they gave over pursuing. Reports were on this every where raised against Douglas. Already Argyle had withdrawn from the triumvirate, and Lennox, although he followed the king, gave many indications of his mind being alienated from the Douglasses, who seized for themselves every office of trust or emolument. But they, confiding in their own power, paid little attention to the reports or dis gusts of others.

XXVII. In the midst of these contentions, the king, although he was treated with greater indulgence than was proper, that his tender mind might be retained by such licentiousness, yet began, by degrees, to be tired of the authority of the Douglasses; and his domestics, by vilifying their actions, sometimes truly, sometimes falsely, and always by putting the worst construction upon what was dubious, completed his dislike, and he began to consult secretly with his intimate friends, about asserting his liberty. Of all the nobles, John, earl of Lennox, was the only one to whom he could unbosom himself freely and without fear, who, besides his other mental and bodily accomplishments, had a fine open countenance, and a suavity of manners, peculiarly engaging. Him, therefore, he made his confident, and whilst they were deliberating about the time, place, and manner of effecting his design, Douglas, who had made many unsuccessful expeditions for checking rob-

beries, at last, about the end of July, determined to carry the king into Teviotdale, thinking that the terror of his presence would have some influence. A meeting being held at Jedburgh, to which the chiefs of all the neighbouring clans were summoned, the king ordered them each to apprehend the most notorious criminals within their bounds, whose names he produced; which order being strictly obeyed, many leaders of the robbers were brought to punishment, and many received pardon, on their promises of amendment. While the court were indulging in festivity on the occasion, it appeared to those who wished to rescue the king from the power of the Douglasses, a favourable opportunity for making the attempt. Walter Scott,* who lived not far from Jedburgh, had numerous vassals in the adjoining vicinity, and the plan was, that Walter should invite the king to his house, and detain him there by his own consent, till on the news spreading, a greater force should arrive. This design, whether accidentally or otherwise, appears to have been discovered, and the king was again carried back to Melrose; but, notwithstanding, Walter proceeded straight on his journey to the king. When not far distant, a messenger, in affright, brought intelligence to Douglas, that Scott was advancing in arms, with a great body of followers; nor was there any doubt but this factious and quarrelsome man intended mischief. Douglas, therefore, ran instantly to arms in great confusion, and though inferior in numbers, yet as he had the picked men of his army with him, besides several of the Humes and Kers, with their chiefs, George Hume, and Andrew Ker, he determined to try the chance of a battle. At that very moment, George Hume had nearly defeated all his arrangements; for upon Douglas ordering him to dismount, and take part in the battle, he replied:—He would alight if the king bade him. The contest was fiercely maintained on both sides, as by men who had the king both for the prize and the spectator of the engagement. John Stuart, earl of Lennox, remained inactive beside the king, as if arbiter of the fight. After a severe struggle, Walter being wounded, his vassals gave way, but

* Walter Scott of Buccleugh.

the joy of the Douglasses for their victory was much diminished by the death of Andrew Ker of Cessford, who was greatly lamented by both sides, on account of his virtues; his death occasioned a long feud between the Kers and the Scots, which was not ended without blood. From this time, Lennox, who had behaved ambiguously in the battle—having been before suspected by the Douglasses—was treated as an open enemy, and retired from the court. This action took place on the 23d of July, 1526.

xxviii. The Douglasses perceiving themselves become obnoxious to a number of enemies, in order to increase their party by a new accession of strength, composed their ancient differences with the Hamiltons, a numerous, powerful, and flourishing family, but who had long been absent from court, and associated them with themselves in the government. On the other side, Stuart, trusting to his popularity, and to letters which he had secretly obtained from the king to the principal nobility, whom he hoped would have kept the secret, made great accessions to his party. Having called a meeting of his principal partisans at Stirling, which James Beaton, with some of the bishops, and many of the nobility, attended, he openly laid before them his intention of procuring the liberty of the king. His proposal being unanimously agreed to, although the day appointed had not arrived, Lennox, upon hearing that the Hamiltons had collected at Linlithgow to prevent his march, determined to attack them before they were joined by the Douglasses. He, therefore, with the force he had ready, marched thither direct; but the Hamiltons being informed of the day on which he would leave Stirling, early in the morning, sent for the Douglasses from Edinburgh; but they, besides other impediments, were detained by the king, who, having pretended illness, was later in rising than usual, travelled slowly, and often turned aside upon the journey, endeavouring, by every means in his power, to delay their progress, till at last George Douglas, when he found he could not by flattery persuade him to quicken his motions, told him:—Before the enemy shall take thee from us, if thy body should be torn in pieces, we shall have a part.

xxix. This saying sunk deeper in the king's mind than

could have been expected from his age; and when the Douglasses were exiles many years after, and he was not unwilling to forgive the rest, no one durst mention to him the name of George. The Hamiltons, threatened with the approach of the enemy, and expecting the assistance of their friends, drew up their forces in order of battle, at a bridge over the river Evon, about a mile beyond Linlithgow, and having placed a small guard upon the bridge, posted the rest along the tops of the hills, which they knew the enemy must pass. Lennox, being prevented from crossing the bridge, ordered his troops to ford the river at a shallower place, a little farther up, near Manual abbey, a small nunnery, and drive the Hamiltons from the hills, before the Douglasses joined them. The Lennox men marched rapidly through a rugged road, annoyed by the stones thrown from the heights, and had just reached the enemy, when a shout announced the arrival of the Douglasses, who, rushing from the road into the midst of the battle, quickly decided the fortune of the day. The Lennox party were forced to fly with great loss. The Hamiltons, but particularly James the bastard, used the victory cruelly. William Cunninghame, the earl of Glencairn's son, was severely wounded, but his life was spared by the Douglasses, on account of his relationship. John Stuart was killed, greatly lamented by the earl of Arran, his uncle, and even by Douglas, but above all by the king, who, when he heard by the tumult and noise that the battle had commenced, sent Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, his favourite, before, to endeavour to save his life, but he unfortunately arrived too late.

xxx. After this victory, the faction of the Douglasses, in order to strike terror into their rivals, and humble them effectually, determined to bring those to trial who had carried arms against the king. In order to avoid which, several compounded for money, while others put themselves under the protection, some of the Hamiltons, and some of the Douglasses. The refractory were indicted. Among these, Gilbert, earl of Cassillis, a high spirited nobleman, when urged by James, the bastard, to put himself under the protection of the Hamiltons, replied:—In the ancient league entered into by their ancestors, his grandfather, as the most honourable, was

always named first, and he would not now so far forget the dignity of his family, or so far degenerate from his forefathers, as to voluntarily put himself under their patronage—the next step to slavery—the chief of whose family, when entering into a bond on equal terms, was content with the second place. Wherefore, on the day of trial, when Gilbert was called, Hugh Kennedy, his relation, answered for him:—That he had not appeared in that battle against the king, but in obedience to his commands; and on some of the Hamiltons accusing him of audacity, he offered, if necessary, to produce the royal letters, for the king had written to him, along with a number of other noblemen, on his retiring from court, to join John Stuart; and he, in consequence, when he saw the battle approaching, as he had not time to assemble his friends and vassals, turned aside from his journey, and with the attendants he had went to Stirling. The arrogance of the Hamiltons being a little humbled by the issue of this trial, James, the bastard, highly incensed against Cassillis, a few days after procured him to be murdered, on his return home, by Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr. Hugh, to conceal his participation in the deed of his vassals, on the day on which the murder was perpetrated, paid a visit to John Erskine, * Gilbert Kennedy's brother-in-law; but his lady, immediately on hearing of the deed, bitterly accused him of the crime. Thus the noble family of the Kennedys was nearly rendered extinct. The son of the earl who was killed, being quite a youth, fled to his relation, Archibald Douglas, then lord treasurer, and put himself and his family under his protection. He was kindly received by the treasurer, who, on account of his excellent disposition, destined him for his son-in-law. Hugh Campbell was summoned to stand trial, but his guilt being too clear, he fled the kingdom. Nor did the Douglasses exercise less revenge towards James Beaton, but marching to St. Andrews, they took and dismantled the bishop's castle, whom they considered as the author of all the plans of the earl of Lennox; and as nobody durst openly afford him an

* John, lord Erskine, father to the regent, earl of Marr, was married to a daughter of the earl of Argyle. Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassillis, was married to Isabel Campbell, her sister.

asylum, he himself escaped with difficulty, by often changing his lurking places. The queen too, lest she should fall into the hands of her husband, whom she hated, kept herself also concealed in disguise.

xxxI. In the beginning of next spring, Douglas made an expedition to Liddisdale, and destroyed many robbers, by coming unexpectedly upon them in their huts, and before they had time to assemble together for defence. Of the prisoners whom he took, he hanged twelve, and kept as many as hostages, whom he also hanged a few months after, as their relations would not abstain from their depredations. At the commencement of this expedition, a remarkable occurrence took place, which from its singularity, I think ought not to be omitted. There was in the stables of John Stuart, a man of very mean extraction, who was retained in the lowest situation for taking care of the horses; after his master was killed by the Hamiltons, he wandered about for some time in a loose unsettled state, till his mind became roused to a determination of executing a deed far above his rank or station, and he resolved to avenge the death of his master. With this intention he set out for Edinburgh, where, by chance meeting an acquaintance of the same rank, and who had belonged to the same family, he asked him, whether he had seen James Hamilton, the bastard, in the city? And when he confessed he had seen him:—Thou most ungrateful of men, said he, and didst thou suffer the villain to live, who murdered our best of masters, away, you deserve to be hanged; and having thus spoken, he proceeded hastily on his journey, direct to court. There were at that time in the palace yard, in front of Holyroodhouse, two thousand of the Douglas and Hamilton clans, armed, and prepared for the expedition we have mentioned. Here, the avenger of his master, overlooking all the rest, fixed his eyes and his mind upon Hamilton alone, then coming out of the area unarmed, and with only a short cloak, and having seen him enter the dark archway, over the gate, he rushed upon him, and stabbed him in six different places, some of the wounds nearly reaching his vitals, and the others more or less severe, having been warded off by the bend of his body, and by the cloak, which having done, the assassin immediately

mixed with the crowd. A sudden tumult instantly arose, and some of the Hamiltons suspecting that this villanous action had been perpetrated by the Douglasses, who had not yet forgotten their ancient feud, an engagement had very nearly taken place between the factions. At last, the disturbance being a little settled, all who were present were ordered to draw up round the wall, in single file, when the assassin was seized with his knife, yet bloody in his hand. Being asked whence he came, and for what purpose, not being able to give any satisfactory answer, he was carried to prison, and on being put to the torture, immediately confessed that he had undertaken the act, to revenge the murder of his master, and only lamented that he must die without having accomplished such a noble attempt. Although tormented a long time, he discovered nothing. At last, being condemned, he was led round the city naked, and every part of his body was pinched by red hot iron instruments, yet he neither either changed countenance, or uttered a groan, and when his right hand was torn off, he said it was less punished than it deserved, because it had not obeyed the dictates of a brave mind.

xxxii. In the same year, Patrick Hamilton, a son of the sister of John, duke of Albany's, and a brother of the earl of Arran's, a young man of the greatest genius, and most singular erudition, was condemned, by a conspiracy of the priesthood, and burned alive at St. Andrews, not long after whose execution, the death of Alexander Campbell, attracted the public attention. He belonged to the Dominican order, was himself a young man of good ability, and esteemed the most learned among the followers of the sect of Thomas Aquinas. Patrick had often disputed with this man, concerning the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and in their controversies had brought him to confess, that almost all the points which were then held heretical, were true. Notwithstanding, Alexander, fonder of life than of truth, was persuaded by his friends, to become Hamilton's public accuser. Patrick, who was naturally very vehement, could not remain silent at the rhetorical declamation of this man, but exclaimed openly:—I summon thee, thou most aggravated sinner, who knowest the things which thou condemnest are true, and didst confess

so to me only a few days ago, to take thy trial before the tribunal of the living God, which address so disturbed Alexander, that he never from that hour enjoyed peace of mind, and not long after died mad.

xxxiii. During all this time, and a great part of next year, the Douglasses were variously employed, and quite secure with regard to the king, because they believed, by the allurements, and improper pleasures, in which they had allowed him to indulge, they had completely gained his affections, nor, even if he were otherwise disposed towards them, was there any faction sufficiently powerful to oppose them, nor any fortified place to which he could retire, except Stirling castle alone, which had been allotted to the queen for her residence, but had been, at the time when the queen herself was under hiding, from a dread of the Douglasses, deserted by her servants, and, on the disturbance subsiding, was fortified more for show than defence. The king, now rather less strictly watched, perceiving that this was the only place he could fly to, privately bargained with his mother, to exchange the castle, and the lands adjoining, for lands equally convenient for her. Then, having completed all his other arrangements as secretly as he could, he took advantage of the negligence of his guard, and withdrew in the night, with a few attendants, from Falkland to Stirling, where having called hastily a number of the nobility to join him, and a number voluntarily coming on the report of his escape, he was soon sufficiently secured against violence. By their advice, the king issued a proclamation, commanding the Douglasses to resign all their public employments, and likewise prohibiting their relations, friends, or vassals, from approaching within twelve miles of the court, on pain of death. This order reached the Douglasses on their march to Stirling, and many of their companions were of opinion they should proceed, but the earl, with his brother George, determined to obey, and therefore returned to Linlithgow, to await more certain intelligence from the court.

xxxiv. In the meantime, the king sent messengers to the most distant parts of the kingdom, to order every nobleman, who had a right of voting, to attend the parliament in Edin-

burgh, summoned for the 3d of September, whilst he at Stirling, and the Douglasses at Edinburgh, assembled their forces, both, however, more for protection than offence. At length, on the 2d of July, the Douglasses left Edinburgh, and the king entered that city in martial order. By the mediation of friends, conditions were offered the Douglasses by the king:—That the earl of Angus should be banished beyond the Spey, and George, his brother, and Archibald, his uncle, be confined in Edinburgh castle, which if they obeyed, they might entertain hopes of the king's clemency. These terms being rejected, they were ordered to attend the first meeting of parliament. In the meantime, the public offices they held were taken from them, and Gavin Dunbar, lately the king's preceptor, was made chancellor, in room of the earl. He was upright and learned, but rather deficient in political knowledge. Robert Cairncross, more remarkable for his riches than his wisdom, was made treasurer. The Douglasses, now nearly reduced to despair, sent Archibald with some troops of horse, and endeavoured to recover Edinburgh, after the king had left it, intending to exclude the king, and dissolve the parliament; but upon the 26th of August, [lord] Robert Maxwell, with his friends and vassals, and a great, promiscuous multitude, by the king's command prevented their advance, and by diligently placing guards and watches, preserved the tranquillity of the city till the time of the meeting of parliament. Douglas, disappointed in this hope, retired to his castle of Tantallon, about fourteen miles distant.

xxxv. The day on which the king left Stirling, the rain fell in such torrents that his attendants, divided into many parties, and, greatly retarded by the swelling of the brooks, entered Edinburgh at midnight, so much fatigued by the violence of the tempest, that a few horse might have occasioned great mischief. In that parliament, the earl of Angus, his brother George, his uncle Archibald, together with Alexander Drummond of Carnock, their intimate friend, were outlawed, had their estates confiscated, and all who should have any communication with them, were subjected to the same punishment. What was thought chiefly to have conduced to this severity, was the king's declaring upon oath, that as long as

he remained with the Douglasses, he was in fear of his life, and that fear had been increased after the violent threatenings of George. Only one adherent of the Douglasses, John Bannatyne, * was found in this assembly, who dared publicly to protest against the proceedings, and to affirm, that no act ought then to pass, to the disadvantage of the earl, who was prevented, by a reasonable fear for his safety, from attending at the day appointed. A few days after, William, another brother of the earl's, abbot of Holyrood monastery, died, being worn out by sickness and anxiety of mind, on account of this sad overturn. Robert Cairncross, a low born man, but rich, bought his benefice from the king, then greatly in want of money, both eluding the law against trafficking in church preferment, by a novel species of fraud. Robert wagered a large sum of money, which he deposited with the king, that his majesty would not bestow on him the next benefice which fell vacant, but the king gave him Holyrood abbacy, and he lost the wager.

xxxvi. The Douglasses, thus seeing themselves cut off from all hope of obtaining pardon, had recourse to open violence, and sought to gratify their revenge by the calamities of their enemies, whose estates they visited with every species of outrage. They burned Cosland and Cranston, and kept riding daily before the gates of Edinburgh, so that it appeared like a city besieged, and the innocent citizens suffered for the crimes of the nobility. In the midst of these distractions, on the 21st of November, the *Martine*, the noblest vessel of her time, laden with a very valuable cargo, was driven on shore by a storm, at Innerwick.† Part of the cargo was carried off by Douglas' horsemen, who were scouring that quarter; the rest was plundered by the countrymen, who were so ignorant of its value, that they divided the cinnamon as common bark, for firewood, but the odium of the whole fell on the Douglasses. Upon this change of circumstances, the robbers, who had been long restrained by fear, ventured out from their holes,

* John Bannatyne, tutor of Corhouse, in Clydesdale, great grandfather to Lord Newhall.

† On the eastern coast of Lothian, in the county of Haddington, not far from Dunbar.

and renewed their depredations; and when crimes began again to abound, every theft and murder was laid to the charge of the Douglasses by the courtiers, because they thought it would gratify the king, that a name formerly so popular, now became detested by the people.

xxxvii. In the beginning of winter, the king, that he might leave no receptacle for the earls, set out to besiege Tantallon, Douglas' castle, on the sea coast; and that he might carry on the siege with the least labour and expense, he brought brass cannon and powder from Dunbar castle, six miles distant from Tantallon, which was still held by a garrison of the late regent, because it was part of his patrimony. After attacking the place for several days in vain, when none of the besieged were hurt, but several of the besiegers were killed, wounded, and burned, by the explosion of a magazine, the attempt was abandoned. On the retreat, David Falconer,* who had been left, with a party of foot soldiers, to bring away the cannon, was slain by some horsemen of the Douglasses, sent out to harass the rear, and cut off the stragglers; which circumstance so enraged the young king, that, in a passion, he solemnly swore, that while he lived, he would never allow the return of the Douglasses; and immediately on his arrival at Edinburgh, in order to straiten them the more, he determined to station a force at Coldingham, rather active than numerous, to protect the country from their depredations. Bothwell, the chief person either for power or wealth in the Lothians, was appointed by the king to this command, but refused it, either fearing the power of the Douglasses, to whom all the rest of Scotland seemed lately unequal, or being unwilling, by the destruction of a noble family, to inure to cruelty a youthful prince, who appeared naturally keen and violent; and the king not having much confidence in the Hamiltons, as friends of the enemy, and, besides, being incensed at them for the murder of John Stuart, earl of Lennox, and

* A native of Borrowstouness, Linlithgowshire, one of the most experienced naval officers in the Scottish service. He is mentioned along with the Bartons, in lord Dacre's correspondence, as formidable to the English commerce, during the reign of James IV. At the siege of Tantallon, he acted as captain of the king's guard of infantry.

none of the neighbouring nobility having either authority or strength sufficient for the undertaking, he had, at last, recourse to Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle, inhabiting the most distant part of the kingdom, but celebrated for his prudence and tried valour in war, and universally beloved for his equity by the people. To him the king resolved to commit the charge of the operations against the rebels. The Douglasses, being deserted by the Hamiltons and their other friends, were reduced to the greatest straits by Argyle, and George, the chief of the Humes, and forced to flee to exile in England.

xxxviii. In the month of October, two noble knights arrived as ambassadors from England; but although both kings anxiously desired peace, they could with difficulty arrange a method by which it might be accomplished. Henry, who was about to set out upon an expedition against the emperor Charles, wished to leave every thing quiet behind him, and by the same treaty, secure the return of the Douglasses to their own country. James strongly desired to have Tantallon castle in his possession, but abhorred the idea of recalling the Douglasses. For these reasons the negotiations were protracted some days, and, at last, when it appeared difficult to conclude a peace, a truce was agreed upon for five years, on condition that the castle of Tantallon should be delivered up to the king, who, in return, promised, under the great seal, that he would settle the other demands separately. The castle was accordingly surrendered, but the other conditions were not sincerely observed, except that Alexander Drummond was pardoned, as a boon to Robert Barton, who was then high in favour at court, having, a few months before, been appointed to fill the offices, from which James Colvill, * and Robert Cairncross, were removed, on suspicion of favouring the Douglasses.

xxxix. After this, although tranquillity was not perfectly restored abroad—for the English burned Arne, a village in Teviotdale, before their ambassadors returned—yet the remainder of the year was tolerably quiet; but the audacity of the robbers not being altogether repressed, the king, to strike

* Sir James Colvil of Ochiltree, afterwards exchanged for Easter Weemys, predecessor of lord Colvil.

terror in the rest, apprehended William Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scot of Tushilaw, notorious thieves, who chanced to be at Edinburgh, and hanged them. Next year, in the month of March, his majesty appointed James, earl of Moray, deputy governor of the kingdom, and sent him to the borders, to meet with the earl of Northumberland, in order to preserve peace, and settle the mutual compensations. A dispute, however, arising between them at the conference, it was broken off, the one insisting that the meeting for expiating the murder of Robert Ker, ought, according to the laws, to be held in Scotland, and the other contending that the place where it should be held must be in England. In the meantime, messengers were sent by both to their respective kings for instructions. On the 15th day of April, in a meeting of parliament, after a long debate, which continued till the evening, the earl of Bothwell, Robert Maxwell, Walter Scot, and Mark Ker, were ordered to be committed as prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, and almost all the chief men of March and Teviotdale were banished to different quarters on suspicion of their secretly endeavouring to excite war with England. In the month of July, the king, having collected about eight thousand men, undertook an expedition, on purpose to check depredations, and marching with great celerity, encamped at the river Ewes, not far from which John Armstrong lived, the chief of a freebooter's band, who had inspired so much dread in his neighbourhood, that the English, for many miles round, paid tribute to him; but Maxwell, who dreaded his power, endeavoured by every means to effect his destruction. John, enticed by the royal servants, and having neglected to procure a safe conduct, proceeded to meet the king with about fifty unarmed attendants. On his journey, he fell in with a party of rangers, and being brought by them as a captive before his majesty, was by his order hanged, together with the greater part of his company. The courtiers, who advised this execution, spread a report, that Armstrong had promised to reduce that part of Scotland, for several miles round, under the obedience of England, if he were properly rewarded, while the English, on the contrary, were delighted at his death, being freed by it from

a very troublesome enemy. Six of his retinue who were spared and kept as hostages, were likewise, when the king saw that fear for their safety produced no effect, in a few months after, put to death, and new hostages exacted from those who remained at home; for the men of Liddisdale plundered England in bands, and infested the neighbouring countries by almost daily incursions. Not long after, the king liberated the imprisoned noblemen, on receiving hostages. One of them Walter Scot, in order to gratify the sovereign, slew Robert Johnston, a robber, remarkable for his cruelty, whose death gave rise to a deadly feud between the parties, which occasioned great loss to both.

XL. Next year, A. D. 1531, a circumstance occurred, remarkable on account of its novelty; the astonishment at which, is not lessened by the obscurity of the author, nor satisfied by the inquiries which were instituted at the time. John Scot, a man neither polished by learning, nor accustomed to business, nor sufficiently shrewd for practising deceit, having been unsuccessful in a lawsuit, and unable to pay the expenses, took refuge in the asylum of Holyrood abbey, where he continued a number of days without sustenance of any kind. The story spreading, was at last told to the king; by his order, his garments were changed, and after being rigidly examined, he was shut up in an apartment in Edinburgh castle, entirely secluded from all communication with any person, but having bread and water placed daily beside him, and during thirty days, he voluntarily abstained from all human food. Thence, when the fact had been sufficiently ascertained, he was publicly exhibited naked. To the mob which assembled, he made an incoherent harangue, containing nothing remarkable, except that he said, trusting to the assistance of the Virgin Mary, he could fast as long as he chose. Discovering more folly than cunning, he was dismissed; on which, he set out for Rome. On his arrival there, he was put in prison by pope Clement, till he confirmed the truth of the miracle by another fast; thence, clothed in a robe in which the priests say mass, and which he received, together with a certificate sealed with a leaden seal, a testimony of the greatest weight among the Romanists, he came to Venice, and, having proved

his powers of fasting among them, when he said he wished to perform a vow, he received fifty gold ducats, to pay the expenses of his journey to Jerusalem. On his return, he brought back some leaves of palm trees, and a bag full of stones, which he represented as taken from the pillar to which Christ was bound when he was scourged.

XLII. When he returned home, in passing through London, he mounted a pulpit in St. Paul's church-yard, harangued to great crowds about the king's divorce from his queen, and separation from the Popish faith, in such strong language, that if he had been found possessed of the smallest common sense, he would have been in danger of his neck; but being thrown into prison, and kept there for fifty days, during which he abstained from food, he was dismissed unhurt. On his return to Scotland, he wished to join himself with Thomas Doughty, who, about that time, had come back from Italy, and built a church to the Virgin Mary, with the money he had collected from the vulgar, and made great gain by his fictitious miracles; but the flagitious life of Thomas had become known, and the falsity of his miracles was beginning to be understood, although nobody dared openly to expose them, for fear of the bishops, who endeavoured, by this new Atlas, to prop up their falling purgatory; and he, in return, whenever any of the richer bishops came to perform mass, had always some mendicant, who pretended to be either disordered in mind or body, ready to be cured by their masses. John Scot, being rejected by this Thomas, who would admit no one to share his profit, hired an obscure garret in the suburbs of Edinburgh, and having erected an altar, which he adorned as well as he could, he placed upon it his daughter, a young girl of the most exquisite beauty, surrounded with lighted wax tapers, and ordered her to be adored for the Virgin Mary. But when this method of acquiring a fortune did not answer his expectation, he returned to his former way of life, after having evinced, by this preposterous show of saintship, that he did not want the will, but the genius for inventing impiety.

XLIII. In the beginning of the next year, A. D. 1532, the earl of Bothwell was committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle,

January 16th, because he had gone privately to England, and had held secret consultations with the earl of Northumberland. Sir James Sandilands, on account of his wisdom, loyalty, and the superior influence he possessed with all good men, was sent to the hermitage, a castle in Liddisdale, to restrain the incursions of robbers.

XLIII. From the earliest period, there never had been in Scotland any stated times or certain places for trying civil law-suits, till John, duke of Albany, obtained from the pope, the right of levying, from the clergy, an annual sum, by way of income tax, sufficient to pay the salaries of a few judges. Against this, Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, appealed, in his own name, and that of the rest of the clergy, to the pope; and this controversy lasted from the 11th of March to the 24th of April, on which day, the College of Justice was established at Edinburgh. At first, much utility was expected from the equal distribution of justice by these judges, but the events which followed, did not answer the expectations which had been formed; for in Scotland, as there are almost no laws except acts of parliament, and these in general not fixed, but temporary, and as the judges, as much as they can, hinder the passing of statutes, all the property of the subject is intrusted to the will of fifteen men, who evidently possess a perpetual tyranny, because their will alone is law. * In grati-

* Ruddiman, in a long note on this chapter, accuses Buchanan of giving a false and injurious character of the judges of the court of session, in the reign of James V., because those in the reign of George II. were just and honourable men. A most logical conclusion! Pinkerton represents the passage as a "rancorous attack" upon "the new institution," originating in "protestant enmity to James;" and then adds with characteristic consistency "This satire might have some justice when Buchanan wrote," though circumstances have concurred to lessen its force now! This court was first erected by James I., A. D. 1425, and consisted of the chancellor, and other persons nominated from the three estates of parliament by the king, and was termed *session*, because it was to sit thrice in the year, at such places as the king should appoint. After several fluctuations in its constitution, it was new modelled by James V. after the form of the parliament of Paris, dignified with the name of College of Justice, and the members styled senators. Its jurisdiction extended over all civil cases. The number of members was fifteen, seven clergymen, and seven of the laity, with a president, who, by the first institution of the court, was to be a churchman. After the reformation, sev-

tude to the pope, a severe inquisition was instituted against the opinions of Luther, and the pope, in return, to testify to the king his sense of his merit, granted him a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues for the next three years.

XLIV. This year the English perceiving the tranquillity of Scotland daily increasing, and thinking they were stripped of their foreign aid—as they themselves had joined the French king against the emperor Charles—sought, on every side, a pretext for a quarrel. In April, they sent out an expedition from Berwick, and burned and plundered Coldingham and Dunghlas, and many of the neighbouring villages, without any apparent provocation, or declaration of war. How desirous the king of England was to commence hostilities, appeared soon after, by the manifesto which he himself published, for he says, the garrison of Berwick were irritated by licentious expressions of the Scots, yet the words themselves, inserted in that paper are not contumelious; but as this reason did not appear sufficiently satisfactory, even to himself, he demanded the restoration of Canaby as his right, a wretched village, with a poor monastery, situate on the border, which had never before been a cause of dispute, and the restoration of the exiled Douglasses; for the king of England, who saw his assistance absolutely necessary to the French king, and had concluded a treaty with him, in which the Scottish interest had been neglected, did not think it would be difficult to force them to accept any conditions he chose; and, besides, being alienated from the emperor by his peace with France, and the divorce from his aunt, and the pope being engaged in stirring up war among all the Christian kings, he thought he might lose a grand opportunity of effecting a revolution at

eral parsons and rectors were admitted to seats in the court, till A. D. 1584, when parochial ministers were declared incapable of exercising any office in the College of Justice, under pain of deprivation, that they might not be diverted from their proper functions. By a posterior act, during Cromwell's usurpation, 1640, all clergymen, without distinction, were incapacitated, and the court ordained to consist wholly of laymen; and although this act was repealed, Charles II., 1661, c. 15. no clergyman has since that period been admitted to the bench.—*Erskine's Inst.* vol. i. p. 40, &c. It is now separated into two divisions.

home; and the king of Scotland not to be altogether unprepared, proclaimed his brother, the earl of Moray, his deputy over the whole realm; and because the inhabitants of the borders were not able of themselves to resist the English, who were re-enforced with a great number of regular troops, he divided the kingdom into four parts, and ordered the noblemen of each by turns, with their clans, to march to their support, and remain there for forty days. These forces succeeding in rotation, made great havock among the villages and castles in that quarter.

XLV. The king of England, disappointed by the war being lengthened out beyond his expectation, and desirous of directing his attention to other affairs, was inclined to peace, but desired it to be requested of him, not thinking it consistent with his dignity, either to offer or to ask it. The most convenient manner, therefore, of effecting a reconciliation, appeared to be through the mediation of the king of France, their mutual ally. He accordingly sent Stephen D'Acques, his ambassador, into Scotland, to inquire into the origin of the war. The king of the Scots completely cleared himself of having afforded any grounds for hostility, complained of his ambassadors having been so long detained in France, without receiving any answer, and gave Mons. D'Acques letters, at his departure, requiring the French king to maintain the ancient league renewed at Rouen by the Regent John. He, at the same time, sent David Beaton to France, to answer the calumnies of the English, who was likewise instructed to treat about preserving the old league, and conclude a new matrimonial alliance. He, at the same time, gave him some severe letters, addressed to the parliament at Paris, full of complaints respecting the stipulations of the treaty of Rouen; of the ancient friendship, leagues, and agreements, having been neglected, to gratify the inclinations of their former common enemy. These letters, the ambassador was ordered, if unsuccessful in his other negotiations, to deliver to the parliament, and immediately depart for Flanders, with the intention, it is probable, of entering into a league of alliance and affinity with the emperor. In the mean time, the war was carried on in Britain, and the discussions continued at Newcastle, where the

ambassadors of the two nations not agreeing, Vido Floreus * was sent by the king of France, to assist at the conference. The king of Scotland informed him, that he would do whatever he could to gratify the French king, in this, as well as in the matrimonial alliance, for transacting which, he had then ambassadors in France. By the mediation of Floreus, the garrisons were withdrawn from both the borders, and a truce entered into, which was shortly after followed by a peace.

XLVI. James being freed by the peace from all other cares, bent his attention to the conclusion of a matrimonial alliance, which he had during the last year been attempting, by his ambassadors, with the French king and the emperor; for, besides the common reasons for strengthening himself by a powerful alliance, and establishing the family, which now depended upon one twig, the presumptuous hopes of the next heirs distressed his naturally suspicious disposition. And many things concurred to raise their expectation of the succession; their family influence, the king being a bachelor, the rashness of his youth, and his contempt of danger, a spirit which led him not only bravely to meet, but even to court it, marching often with a feeble band, against the most ferocious robbers, and either taking them prisoners by surprise, or forcing them to surrender by the terror of his royal name, continuing in the pursuit days and nights together, upon horseback, with only such refreshments as chance offered, and always using these sparingly. Although these circumstances almost assured the Hamiltons of the succession, it appeared long to wait the chance of accident, or the course of nature, yet his death might be hastened by treachery, for which his nocturnal visits to his female friends, in which he was generally accompanied only by one or two companions, afforded an opportunity. But, when none of all the contingencies which they wished for occurred, they resolved to destroy the hope of legitimate offspring, by doing every thing in their power to prevent his marriage. This inconvenience, John, duke of Albany, when regent, appeared to have anticipated, who, when he renewed the ancient league between the French and

* Redpath supposes the name Fleury; Pinkerton calls him Beauvois.

Scots, at Rouen, provided, that the eldest daughter of the French king, should be married to the king of the Scots. But two obstacles occurred, which almost destroyed this treaty. The king of France having obtained his liberty from the Spaniards, chiefly through the kindness and exertions of Henry VIII. of England, made so comprehensive a treaty with him, that the alliance with Scotland was greatly infringed; besides, the eldest daughter of Francis being lately dead, James demanded Magdalene, the next eldest, but when he sent his ambassadors to bring her away, her father refused to send her, on account of her health, alleging that it was so infirm, that not only could there be no hopes of children, but not even of long life.

XLVII. At the same time, a matrimonial alliance was in agitation with the emperor Charles, and at last, on the 24th of April, 1530, the emperor sent Godeschalco Errigo, on a secret mission, from Toledo, through Ireland to Scotland. Godeschalco, after he had, according to his instructions from the emperor, given in a memorial, respecting the injuries done his aunt and her daughter by Henry—the convocation of a universal council—the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy—and contracting an affinity—delivered the emperor's letters to the king, offering him his choice of three Marys, his relations. These were Mary, the sister of Charles, a widow, her husband Louis having been killed by the Turks, Mary of Portugal, his sister's daughter, or Mary of England, the daughter of his aunt Catherine; and as Charles knew that the Scottish monarch was more inclined to this last match, so he also was desirous that she should be his choice, that by this means he might break the alliance between Scotland and France, and at the same time, involve James with the English king. James replied to these proposals, that a matrimonial alliance with England would be the most advantageous in many respects, if it possibly could be brought about, but it was an affair of more uncertainty, hazard, and delay, than his situation, as the last of his family would admit of, and therefore, the princess, of all the emperor's relations who would best meet his views, was the daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark, and of Isabella, his—the emperor's sister. To this proposal, Charles

soon after, when he reached Madrid, answered, that she was already promised to another; and, although the emperor, by bringing forward conditions, seemed rather wishing to prolong the negotiations with the king by his promises, than bring it to a decided conclusion, yet the business was not wholly laid aside.

XLVIII. During this state of tranquillity at home, the king resolved to circumnavigate Scotland, and reduce the fierce spirit of the Islanders to the obedience of the laws. He first sailed to the Orkneys, where he quieted the disorders, by apprehending, and imprisoning some of the nobility, and placed garrisons in two castles, the king's castle, and the bishop's. Then, visiting the other islands, he summoned the chiefs to appear before him, and those who refused, he took by force. Having imposed tribute, and obtained hostages, he carried off with him the principal authors of the disturbances, leaving garrisons from among his attendants in their castles. Some of the leaders he sent to Edinburgh, and others to Dunbar, for John, duke of Albany, about this time restored to the king the castle of Dunbar, which he had hitherto kept possession of by a garrison of Frenchmen. *

XLIX. Next August, a severe inquisition was made after those suspected of Lutheranism. Some were forced publicly to recant. Some, who when cited did not appear, were pronounced exiles, and two were burned, of whom, one, David Straiton, was perfectly clear of the crime alleged; but being rather tardy in paying his tythes to the collectors, he was accused of Lutheranism, and suffered for his supposed crime. In an assembly which the king held at Jedburgh, for clearing that neighbourhood of robbers, Walter Scot was condemned for high treason, and sent to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained as long as the king lived. In this same month, when the French king had refused his daughter to James, on account of her health, but offered him any other princess of

* Buchanan has erred in the date of this voyage, which took place in the year 1540. James carried with him a skilful pilot, Alexander Lindsay, to attend him, and report his nautical observations, which were printed in Paris, 1583, reprinted in the *Miscellanea Scotica*, London, 1710, and in Edinburgh, 1819.

the blood royal, he sent as ambassadors to France, James, earl of Moray, vicegerent of the kingdom, and William Stuart, bishop of Aberdeen, to proceed by sea, and John Erskine, was to go by land, as he carried a message to the king of England, to whom he added a fourth, Robert Reid, an honourable, and a wise man. On their arrival, Mary of Bourbon, a princess of the royal blood, daughter of Charles, duke of Vendome, was offered to them as a bride for the king. But although every thing else was easily arranged, the ambassadors, being afraid that this marriage would not be agreeable to his majesty, durst not agree to the espousals without consulting him.

L. In the meantime, the king of England, that he might interrupt this negotiation, so nearly concluded, sent into Scotland, in the month of November, the bishop of St. David's, with books written in the English language, concerning the doctrines of the Christian religion, which he presented to the king, and requested him to peruse, and diligently weigh what they contained. The king gave them to some of his courtiers, most attached to the clerical order, to inspect, who had scarcely looked into them, when they condemned them as heretical, and congratulated the king upon not having contaminated his eyes, by reading such pestiferous writings. This was the common account of the embassy, but it was understood that they had some secret instructions besides, for the king alone. Afterward, the same bishop, with William Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, came altogether so unexpectedly to Stirling, that they arrived almost before the king had heard of their coming. They brought a request from the king of England to the Scottish king, for him to appoint a time, on which they might meet, and discuss affairs of the greatest importance for the welfare of both nations, and giving him great hopes, that if they agreed in other respects, he would bestow his daughter in marriage upon him, and leave him the whole kingdom of Britain after his death, and, that he might the more firmly rely upon his promise, he engaged for the present, to create him duke of York, and vicegerent of the kingdom of England.

LI. James readily acceded to such liberal promises and

appointed a day for meeting with Henry, but two parties resolved to prevent his journey to England. The Hamiltons secretly, as the next heirs, endeavoured to prevent the king from marrying, that he might not leave children, who would exclude them from the succession. The priests more openly opposed it, under very specious pretexts. First, the danger of the king's putting himself in the power of his enemy, with only a few attendants, where, whether he chose it or not, he must be subservient to the will of another, and they enumerated a great number of examples among his ancestors, who either by their own credulity, or the perfidy of their enemy, had been led into extreme danger, and had reaped, as the fruit of the magnificent promises made to them, only loss and ignominy. They instanced the fatal error of James I., who, induced by an existing truce, landed, as he supposed, upon a friendly coast, yet was detained a prisoner by the English eighteen years, and was at last, avariciously sold to his subjects, under conditions which he neither ought, nor could accept. They then adduced king Malcolm I., and next his brother William, seduced to London by Henry II., and afterward carried over to France, in order to appear as if engaged in war against their ancient ally. But—continued they—Henry VIII., it may be said, will not act in this manner. To this we reply; first, what assurance have we of that, then, what imprudence is it, while free, to commit our life, fortune, and honour, into the power of another; and as a last resource, the clergy, who believed that they contended for all that was dear to them—their altars and their revenues—brought to court James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, infirm old men, to weep over their religion, now about to be betrayed by that conference. Protected so long by our ancestors, our religion, said they, always preserved its protectors, but its ruin must soon be followed by the ruin of the kingdom. To desert it on slight grounds, especially at a moment when the whole world offer their vows, and put on their armour for its security, would be attended not only with peril at present, and infamy for ever, but would be inexpressibly impious, and criminal. When they had by such arguments, made an im-

pression on the king, who was naturally prone to superstition, they then bribed the courtiers who possessed the greatest influence over him, and promising him by them, a large sum of money, completely dissuaded him from attending the interview. The king of England was justly indignant at the disappointment, and thus the seeds of dissension were again sown between them.

LII. In the meantime, the king was sick of his protracted celibacy, and tormented as much by the various solicitations of foreign ambassadors, as by the dissensions of his courtiers, who all pretended great regard for the common weal, while the greater part looked only for their private advantage from some public employment. But although the majority were of opinion that an alliance with Charles would be of the greatest utility, from the then flourishing situation of his affairs, yet the king himself was more inclined to a league with France. Wherefore, when he could not accomplish his object by his ambassadors, he resolved himself to go to that country, and having hastily rigged out a small fleet, he set sail from Leith, on the 26th of July, without informing any person of his destination. Many thought he intended to go to England, to meet with his uncle, to ask pardon for not having kept the appointed interview last year, but a storm arising, when the pilots asked what course they should steer, land me, he replied, on any coast except England, then his design was understood. Wherefore, although he might have returned home, he chose rather to sail round Scotland, and attempt a passage by the Western Ocean. There too, the weather proving tempestuous, the fleet, by the advice of some of his domestics—while he was asleep—was put about, and sailed back again. On awaking, when he understood what had been done, he was so much displeased, that from that time, he prosecuted James Hamilton, [earl of Arran,] whom he already hated, on account of the earl of Lennox's death, with implacable animosity; nor was he ever completely reconciled to any of the authors of this advice. Some too, increased the anger of the king, by insinuating, that Hamilton, under a pretence of serving him, had in fact, followed him with the intention of frustrating his object. He therefore resolved that he would again attempt

the voyage, and, embarking with a great train of nobles, he reached Dieppe, a port in Normandy, in ten days. Thence, before the news of his arrival should be spread, he instantly set out in disguise to the town of Vendome, where the duke then was, but not being pleased with his daughter, after he had seen her, he proceeded straight to the French court, and although he arrived unexpectedly upon Francis I. and his whole court, he was received in the most affectionate manner by the king, who almost unwillingly gave him his daughter Magdalene in marriage, [November 26th,] for her father, as I mentioned before, thought his eldest daughter, on account of her sickness, incapable of bearing children, and offered him, as a wife, his youngest daughter, or whatever other princess he chose, among the daughters of the French nobility, but James and Magdalene, who had previously contracted an affection for each other through the medium of their messengers, which was increased by their mutual appearance, and confirmed by their conversation, would neither of them be diverted from their inclination. Their marriage was celebrated January 1st, 1537, with great rejoicings, and on the 28th of May, they landed in Scotland, having been attended on their passage by a French fleet. Magdalene did not, however, long survive her arrival; wasted by a hectic fever, she died on the 7th of July, to the inexpressible grief of all, except the priests, who feared that had she lived—as they knew she had been educated by her aunt, the queen of Navarre—she would have kept their luxury and licentiousness within bounds. Her death occasioned such a general sorrow to the whole country besides, that then first, I believe, mourning dresses were worn by the Scots, which even now, after forty years, are not very frequent, although public fashions have greatly increased for the worse.

LIII. Immediately upon the demise of the queen, cardinal David Beaton, and Robert Maxwell, were sent ambassadors to France, to bring over Mary, of the house of Guise, widow of the duke of Longueville, for the king fearing what happened—the death of his wife—had previously fixed upon her. This year, Bothwell, who had secretly withdrawn, without leave, into England, and who had held secret conferences

with the English in Scotland, was banished from Scotland, England, and France. About the same time, many being accused of high treason, John Forbes, a forward young man, the chief of a powerful family and clan, was executed, it was believed through the jealousy of the Gordons. There was one Strachan, fit for any atrocity, who for many years had been the chief companion of Forbes, and acquainted with all his flagitious actions, either as accomplice, or instigator, who, not thinking himself sufficiently rewarded, went to Huntly, his enemy, and either lodged, or, as was suspected, invented along with him a criminal information against Forbes, for conspiring the king's death some years before. Upon this charge, although it was neither sufficiently substantiated in itself, nor were the witnesses adduced unexceptionable, and although the design of his enemies in the trial was palpable, Forbes was on the 3d day of July, condemned by judges, chiefly bribed by Huntly, and suffered capitally; but his punishment was less generally regretted, because, although he was believed innocent of the crime for which he suffered, yet, on account of his former conduct, he was not thought unworthy of death. Strachan, the informer, because he had concealed the crime so long, was banished Scotland. He afterward lived for some years in Paris, so vilely and iniquitously, that nothing alledged against him was thought incredible. The king therefore, not long after, as if to compensate for this severity, took one brother of Forbes into his own family, and having procured him a noble marriage, restored him the forfeited estate.

LIV. A short time after, another trial followed, extremely deplorable on account of the rank of the accused, the novelty of the crime, and the enormity of the punishment. Joan Douglas, sister of the earl of Angus, wife of John Lyon, lord Glamis, likewise her son, and second husband, Gillespie Campbell, John Lyon, a relation of her first husband, and an old priest, were accused of attempting to poison the king. All these, although they lived constantly in the country, at a distance from court, and although nothing to their disadvantage, could be extorted from their relatives and servants, even when examined by torture, were yet condemned, and confined

in Edinburgh castle. Lady Glammis, on the fifth day after Forbes was executed, was burned alive, greatly pitied by the spectators ; for her rank, and that of her husband, her blooming youth, uncommon beauty, and the masculine courage with which she suffered, interested every one, and more especially, as it was generally believed that hatred toward her banished brother, rather than the crime she was accused of, was the cause of her punishment. Her husband, in endeavouring to escape from Edinburgh castle, fell, the rope being too short, and was dashed to pieces among the rocks. Her son, too young to be suspected of any crime, was confined in the castle till the king's death, when he was liberated, and received back his confiscated estates. The accuser, William Lyon, a relation, when he saw the ruin in which his calumnious falsehood had involved a noble family, repented, when too late, and confessed his offence to the king, but could neither obtain from him any alleviation of the punishment to the accused, nor the restoration of any of the estates.

LV. Next year, [June 12th,] Mary, of the house of Guise, landed at Balcomy, a seat belonging to James Learmont, thence, she proceeded by land to St. Andrews, where, in presence of a great number of the nobility, she was married to the king. In the beginning of the following year, A. D. 1539, many persons suspected of Lutheranism, were apprehended. At the end of February, five were burned ; nine recanted, and many were banished. Among these last, was George Buchanan, who escaped by the window of his bed-chamber, while his keepers were asleep. This year, the queen bore a son, at St. Andrews, and the next year, another at the same place.*

* On this Mr. Pinkerton observes, *Hist. of Scot.* vol. ii. p. 352. "He, [Buchanan] in his unchronological history, dates the event 1539, if not an error in the press, in the first vitiated edition." "In this part of his history at least," remarks Dr. Irving in reply, "Buchanan's chronology seems unexceptionable, and it would indeed have been singular, if he had forgotten a year, which to him was so eventful ; nor is there the smallest room for suspecting an error of the press." Dr. I. then proceeds to notice the statement in the text, and adds, "That this persecution occurred in 1539, is almost as certain as any event in Scottish history, and Buchanan may safely be supposed to have known what relation it bore to his own troubles."—*Life of Buchanan*, p. 25. Note.

LVI. During this year and the preceding, the country had been rather quiet, than contented, a leader, rather than reasons for insurrection, being wanting, and many desired, but no one dared to commence a disturbance. The king, being now supplied with heirs, and feeling himself more secure, began to despise the nobility; and thinking no one durst attempt rebellion against a family, so well established by progeny, he turned his attention to useless buildings. For this purpose, money was necessary, and as the king was both covetous and needy, the priests and the nobles were equally afraid, and each endeavoured to avert the tempest from themselves. In the meanwhile, as often as he complained among his friends of the lowness of his exchequer, the different factions pointed out the riches of their opponents, as a booty ready for him whenever he chose; and he, by agreeing alternately with either, kept both in a state of suspense between fear and hope. Wherefore, when ambassadors from the king of England, came at that time to court, desiring that he would meet his uncle at York, and promising him great advantages if he would comply, enlarging much upon their king's love, and regard for him, the party that opposed the clergy, used every endeavour to persuade the king, to attend at the time and place appointed for the conference. When the priests understood this, they imagined their order would be ruined, unless they could prevent the meeting of the sovereigns, disturb their harmony, and sow dissension between the king and his nobles; and upon examining all the various propositions, the readiest method of providing a remedy for the present evil which presented itself, was, to operate upon the king's fondness for money, by offering an immense subsidy. Having therefore represented the magnitude of the danger, and the changeable, and uncertain nature of the dependance he could place on the enemy's promises, and showed him how a greater sum could more easily be procured at home. They first promised they would themselves contribute yearly, thirty thousand gold crowns, and even their whole fortunes, if necessary, would always be ready. Besides, from the confiscation of their estates who rebelled against the authority of the pope, and the majesty of the king; who troubled

the church, by new and execrable errors, thereby subverting all piety, destroying the authority of magistrates, and overturning the institutions of so many ages, there might be raised upwards of one hundred thousand gold crowns more, annually, if the king would only allow them to name a lord chief justice, as they could not sit themselves in criminal cases; and in managing the process, and procuring judgment, there could be neither difficulty nor delay, since so many thousand men did not hesitate to peruse the books of the Old and New Testament, to discuss the power of the pope, to despise the ancient rites of the church, and to deny all obedience and reverence to the religious, who were set apart, and consecrated to God.

LVII. When the clergy vehemently urged these considerations upon the king, he gave them a judge, according to their desire, James Hamilton, bastard brother of the earl of Arran, attached to them before by large gifts, and who was desirous of being reconciled to the king, whom he had lately incensed, by any office however cruel.* There arrived in Scotland, about the same time, James Hamilton, sheriff of Linlithgow, cousin-german of the other James Hamilton, who, after a long exile, had commenced a lawsuit against James the bastard, and had obtained liberty to return home. Understanding upon his return, the hazardous situation in which he, along with the other favourers of the reformed religion, stood, he sent his son with a message to the king, who was about to pass over to Fife. Having found him as he was stepping into the boat, the youth filled his suspicious mind with apprehension by a hurried message, which he said re-

* Mr. Pinkerton considers the nomination of Hamilton to preside in this court, as of equal veracity with the vision mentioned by Lindsay and Buchanan. If he mean the dream, ch. lviii. the reader will observe, upon referring to the passage, that Buchanan gives it merely as what was commonly reported, and is not liable either for the truth or falsehood of the story. It is different with regard to the historical fact of Hamilton's appointment; for disbelieving which, Mr. P. gives us only reasons that amount to this—he does not think it probable; as if what he thought, was for a moment to be put in competition with the direct testimony of a cotemporary historian. Dr. Cook, in a note to his history of the reformation, very satisfactorily answers Mr. P.'s doubts. —Vol. i. p. 206—7.

garded an important subject, big with danger to the whole kingdom, unless his majesty could take precautions against the conspirator. The king, who was then hastening to Fife, sent back the young man to Edinburgh, to the court of exchequer, where he ordered James Learmont, James Kirkaldy, and Thomas Erskine, to assemble—the first was master of the household, the other, first lord of the treasury, both friendly to the reformed religion, the third, the king's secretary, entirely devoted to the Papistical faction—and commanded them to give equal credit to the messenger as to himself, sending his ring as a token. These having consulted together, apprehended James at his own house, just after he had dined, and committed him prisoner to the castle; but receiving intelligence, from their spies at court, that the king was pacified, and that he would be released, afraid of their own danger as well as that of the public, if so factious and powerful a man, provoked by such an insult, should escape; and, convinced that he would exercise a keen and cruel revenge, they hastened to court, and representing, in as suspicious a point of view as they could, the imminent danger, the perverse disposition and power of Hamilton, they persuaded the king, that he could not liberate, without a trial, one so bold and crafty, and irritated too by recent disgrace. Wherefore, the king proceeded to Edinburgh, and thence to Seton, where he ordered James to be brought to trial. Being condemned by a court constituted according to the custom of the country, he was beheaded and quartered, and the different parts of his body affixed on the most public places of the city. The crimes of which he was accused were, that he, on a certain day, had broken into the king's chamber, with an intention to kill the king, and that he carried on a secret correspondence with the Douglasses, who were public enemies. His death was little lamented, on account of the misconduct of his past life, except by his relations, and the clergy, who placed almost all their hopes upon his preservation.

LVIII. From that time forward, the king's suspicions against the nobility increased, and his mind, tortured with anxiety, was distracted by dreams, of which one, in particular, was much talked of. He thought he saw James Hamilton rushing

upon him with a drawn sword, who first cut off his right arm, and then his left, and, after threatening that he would soon return and take away his life, disappeared; on which, he awoke in great trepidation, and when he wondered what the dream could portend, he soon after received intelligence of the death of his two sons, the one at St. Andrews, and the other at Stirling, who both died almost at the same moment.

LIX. In the meantime, there was neither settled peace nor decided hostility with the king of England. But although there was no declaration of war, cattle were driven away from the Scottish borders, and the English, when applied to for restitution, would return no satisfactory answer, as it was well known that Henry was indignant at the conference at York being broken off. Yet the Scottish king, who considered a rupture as certain, although he had ordered a levy, appointed his brother, the earl of Moray, commander-in-chief, and made every preparation for hostilities, yet sent ambassadors to the enemy, to try if possible to effect an accommodation, without coming to extremities: and, in the interim, despatched George Gordon [Huntly] with a small force to the borders, to stop the pillaging incursions of the enemy. The English despising the petty troop of the Gordons, hastened to burn Jedburgh, but George Hume, with four hundred horse, interposed, and a sharp engagement ensued, during which the Gordons making their appearance at a distance, the enemy were panic struck, and fled. There were not many killed, but a considerable number were taken prisoners. James Learmont, who was treating about a peace at Newcastle, had scarcely received his answer, when, in order to cover the preparations for war, he was ordered to return with the English army; besides, John Erskine and——, ambassadors, proceeding from Scotland, who met the same army at York, were also detained by Howard, the commander; nor were they dismissed by him till he reached Berwick. The Scottish king, having received certain information of the approach of the English, before his own ambassadors returned, encamped with his army at the kirk of Fala, fourteen miles from the borders, and sent forward George Gordon with ten thousand soldiers, to check the

roving bands of the English foragers, but he did nothing remarkable, and had not even a slight skirmish with the enemy.

LX. The king was exceedingly desirous to give battle, and when he could not prevail upon his nobles to comply with his desire, in a violent passion, he poured out reproaches against them, abusing them as cowards, and unworthy of their ancestors; adding, since he was betrayed by them, he would attempt with his own domestics, what they refused. Nor could he be appeased, although frequently told, that he had done enough for his glory, when he had not only prevented a great army, which the English had been so long in collecting, and had so vauntingly led against the unprepared Scots, from pillaging the country, but during the eight days they continued in Scotland, had so hemmed in and restrained them, that they scarcely ever dared to depart above a mile from their own border; for the English had marched from Berwick, along the Bank of the river, to Kelso, and there, on being informed of the approach of the Scottish army, crossed by a ford, avoiding any engagement, with so much precipitation, that they rushed into the water without order, and deserting their colours, every one hastened home as fast as possible. Nor did Gordon, who beheld this from a distance, ever make the smallest movement; on which account, the king conceived the most implacable resentment against him. Maxwell, on purpose to soften the king's rage, promised, if he would only give him ten thousand men, he would enter England by Solway, and perform some notable exploit; which he would have executed, if James, incensed against his nobles, had not given Oliver Sinclair, brother of lord Roslin, secret letters, which he was to open at an appointed time. These contained an order for the whole army to acknowledge Oliver as their commander. He intended, by this, to deprive the nobility of all honour, if the expedition succeeded. When the army had arrived at a little distance from the enemy's territory, and about five hundred English horsemen appeared on the neighbouring hills, Oliver was raised upon high by his faction, and, supported by two spears, ordered the royal letters to be read;*

* Drummond, after narrating that Oliver Sinclair was proclaimed commander, mentions a report, that he was only raised to read the commission

at which, the whole army, and particularly Maxwell, was so much offended, that all command ceased, and the utmost confusion prevailed. The enemy's force, which had collected, not in expectation of ever attempting any thing great, when, from the neighbouring height, they observed the universal perturbation, rushed upon them, as their manner is, with a great shout, attacked them while in a state of trepidation, uncertain whether to fight or fly, and drove them, horse, foot, and baggage, in confusion, into the neighbouring moss, where numbers were taken by the English, but more by the Scottish robbers, and sold to the English.

LXI. When the king, who was not far distant, was informed of the loss of the army, he was incredibly affected by indignation, rage, and grief, now breathing vengeance against the perfidy, as he termed it, of his nobles, and now, concerting measures for renewing the war, and retrieving his affairs. But in his almost desperate situation, it appeared most advisable to make a truce with England, and to recal Archibald Douglas, the earl of Angus, on the best terms he could. Meanwhile, his bodily strength being worn out by want and watching, and his mind distracted by anxiety and care, he died on the 30th of December, leaving a daughter, only five days old, heiress of the throne. He was buried on the 14th of January, in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, near the remains of Magdalene, his former wife.

LXII. James had a handsome countenance, and well shaped limbs; he was of the ordinary size, but of more than ordinary strength; his understanding was acute, but, through the fault of the times, little cultivated; he was sparing in his diet, and very rarely used wine; patient of fatigue, cold, heat, and hunger. In the depth of winter, he continued day and night on horseback, that he might surprise the robbers in their homes,

but that lord Maxwell was really appointed the general. This report is noticed by Ruddiman in his notes, and adopted by Mr. Pinkerton in his text, in opposition to what Drummond himself appears to believe, the direct testimony of Buchanan, Pitcottie, &c. and the unlikelihood of the story; for it cannot be supposed that Maxwell would first hear of his appointment, and receive his instructions in the face of the army; yet he knew nothing more about his commission, and with his fellow-nobles refused to act.

and the rapidity of his motions struck them with such terror, that they abstained from their depredations, as if he had been always present. So great was the knowledge he possessed of the customs and institutions of his country, that even, upon a journey, he could decide the most important subjects with the greatest equity. He was always easy of access to the poor; but his great virtues were almost equalled by his vices, which yet seemed rather those of the times, than of his nature; for a universal licentiousness had so loosened the public discipline, that it could not be restrained without great severity of punishment. His keenness for money arose from having, while under tutorage, been educated with the utmost parsimony;* and when he came of age, he entered into empty palaces, stript of all their furniture, every room of which he had to refurnish at once; and his guardians had squandered the royal revenue, on objects of which he did not approve. They who had the direction of his earlier years, encouraged his inclination for the sex, thinking, by this means, to retain him longer under their own influence. A great part of the nobility rejoiced at his death, as he had banished some, imprisoned others, and numbers, from the dread of his severity, now that recent provocation was added to former contempt, chose rather to surrender themselves to the English king, though an enemy, than expose themselves to the vengeance of their own sovereign.

* Gawin Douglas, in a memorial presented to the English court, 1522, quoted Pink. Hist. vol. ii. p. 196, says: "They kept the royal child in such poverty, that he had hardly new doublets and hose, till his natural sister, the countess of Morton, provided them; and when the queen or Albany sent cloth of gold for the purpose, the covetous officers would not pay the tailor."

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XV.

I. JAMES thus cut off in the flower of his age, by grief rather than by disease, and the previous dissensions being, by this unexpected event, only hushed for the time, the considerate foresaw a tempest overhanging Scotland, dark and gloomy beyond conception; for the king had not made a will, and had left a girl scarcely eight days old as his heir. The chief nobility, who possessed any authority, were either dead, in exile, or captives; nor if they had been at home, was there any probability of their acting wisely, considering their private animosities, and their differences about religion, repressed by fear during the king's life, but ready to break out, now that that restraint had ceased. To this was added a foreign war, against a most powerful king, and how he would use the victory he had obtained, every one conjectured according to his hopes or his fears. The next heir to the crown, was generally believed to be but poorly qualified, by the humbler virtues, for conducting himself in private life, and as little fitted by courage or capacity for directing the government of a kingdom. The cardinal, thinking to aggrandize himself amidst the public calamities, and to exhibit his importance both to his own order and to the French faction, attempted an action at once audacious and impudent. Having bribed Henry Balfour, a mercenary priest, he, with his assistance, forged a false will for the king, in which he himself was nominated head of the government, and three of the most powerful of the nobility joined with him as assessors. He entertained the greatest hopes that his design would succeed, from the simple,

quiet disposition of his relation, the earl of Arran, his aunt's son, whom he assumed as one of the assessors, and, as it were, a partner of the regency. The opportunity for usurping the supreme power seemed to require expedition, that he might accomplish his object before the return of the exiles and captives from England, and leave nothing for their approval in the appointment, as he dreaded their power and popularity, and knew their aversion to him, on account of difference in religion; on which account, immediately after the death of the king, he published an edict for electing four governors of the kingdom, and increased his party among the nobility by presents and promises; in particular, he gained over the queen, who was disgusted with the opposite faction. Hamilton, the unambitious chief of the other party, appeared willing to remain quiet, if his relations, more anxious for their own aggrandizement than his honour, would have allowed him; but they incessantly stirred the hopes of the young man, and urged him not to suffer an advantage, which thus presented itself, to slip out of his hands, for they would rather have had the whole kingdom in flames, than have been compelled to lead an obscure life in a private station; besides, hatred towards the cardinal, and the disgrace of bondage under a priest, procured them many associates. To all which was added a prospect—uncertain indeed, but not ineffectual in procuring adherents—that as there was only a girl, a few days old, between Hamilton, the next heir, and the crown, she might be cut off during her minority, by some fortuitous accident, or through the treachery of her guardians; and, therefore, in present circumstances, the most promising method of procuring lasting advantage, was to calculate upon the increasing power of the Hamiltons; for if they should be deceived, it would not be difficult afterward to procure pardon from a young princess, desirous of popularity in the beginning of her reign.*

* Buchanan has been accused of an over fondness for elective, in preference to hereditary succession. As an abstract principle, there can be no dispute upon the subject. A man in the full vigour of life, the wisest and the best of his kindred, whose character is established, and his abilities known and tried, elected by the suffrages of the people, presents us with the rational

II. While such was the situation of Scotland, the king of England, greatly elated on account of the unexpected victory, ordered the principal prisoners to be sent to him to London, where, after being confined two days in the tower, they were brought, on St. Thomas's day, [December 21st] through the city by the longest road, and paraded as a public spectacle to the royal palace, where the chancellor of England, after sharply rebuking them as violators of the treaty, and praising the goodness and clemency of his king, who relaxed in their favour the rigours of justice, delivered them to several families, with whom they were lodged as prisoners at large. There were seven of the principal nobility, and twenty-four gentle-

idea of a first magistrate in a free state; while a babe in a cradle, who may turn out incapable, or vicious, or both, exalted to the chief power and dignity of a kingdom by the mere accident of birth, appears, at first sight, too ridiculous to admit of comparison. But the beautiful in theory, is not always the best in practice; and in settled, well regulated governments, the advantage of hereditary succession, which excludes rivalry, and prevents any interruption in the administration of public affairs, is undoubtedly superior. In Scotland, however, these advantages were unknown. Buchanan had witnessed three tempestuous minorities; and in a succession of infants, from the time the Stuarts ascended the throne, the land had been doomed to suffer the worst evils of anarchy, which hereditary succession is intended to avert, now, as he could draw no inference from a suppositious state of felicity, arising from a happy series of virtuous and experienced adults, which his country, within his recollection, had never known, he may be excused, if he doubted a principle which in practice he had seen so pernicious. He is now entering upon the history of a period which has given birth to much controversy. The parties that arose then, continued till almost the middle of last century, and their prejudices have not yet completely left us. Were I to enter the lists, it would require volumes instead of notes. My notes, therefore, in the books which follow, shall be chiefly elucidatory, as brief and as free as possible from disputation. Considering, as I do, Buchanan himself an authority for the times, of which the xv. Book to the end contains the history, it would be as superfluous as it would be improper, to load the page with proofs to confirm what I see no reason to doubt. An unnecessary show of evidence, sometimes has rendered suspicious, a veracity otherwise unimpeachable. There are some small discrepancies, but these do not detract from the general authenticity of the historian; for instance, ch. iv. he says, Sir Ralph Saddler was present at the parliament in March, whereas he arrived the day after it was prorogued; but the object of his embassy is correctly stated, and it is evident from what follows, that his negotiations with the nobles were with them individually.

men, among the captives ; but when, within three days, intelligence was received that the king of the Scots was dead, and had left an only daughter as his heir, the opportunity appeared, to the English king, exceedingly favourable for securing the amity of the Scots and English, by the marriage of their queen with his son. Wherefore, recalling the captives to court, he sounded their inclinations by proper persons, and having entertained them in the most friendly manner, after obtaining their promise, that, as far as in their power, without detriment to the public, or disgrace to themselves, they would promote the alliance, he sent them back to Scotland, January 1st, 1543 ; and when they came to Newcastle, and had given hostages to Howard, duke of Newcastle, the others were liberated, and permitted to return home. Along with them, the earl of Angus, and his brother were restored to their country, after an exile of fifteen years. All were received, by the majority of the nation, with the greatest congratulations.

III. The cardinal who saw the tempest threatening him, and never doubted, but that both the prisoners and the exiles would oppose him in parliament, caused himself be chosen regent before their arrival. But he did not possess this honour long ; for in a short time, his fraud in forging the king's will being discovered, he was deprived of his office, and James Hamilton, earl of Arran, declared regent. Some wishing to favour him, as next heir to the crown, others foreseeing even then the cruelty of the cardinal, with regard to matters of religion ; and the fears of the latter were confirmed by an instrument, found among the king's papers after his decease, containing the names of upwards of three hundred of the nobility, with his who was chosen regent, first on the list of the proscribed. Wherefore, his election was peculiarly grateful to a great number of the nobles, as it freed them from danger, and humbled the power of the priests ; and besides, Hamilton himself, freely read the books respecting the controversy about religion, and the obscurity of his former life, passed at a distance from court ambition, raised great expectations of his calmness and moderation, as the possession of office had not yet discovered his torpor, and inactivity of mind.

iv. In a parliament which was held in the month of March, Sir Ralph Sadder, who was present as ambassador from the king of England, negotiated a treaty for the marriage, and for a peace. He reminded some of the nobility of their promises, and others he gained, according to report, by money; but the queen and the cardinal, with the whole faction of the priests, not only opposed this peace, but by noise, and other rude interruptions, would not suffer any act to pass. On which, the cardinal, with the almost general consent, was shut up in a separate chamber, while the question was put to the vote. On his being removed, the marriage treaty, and all other business was readily agreed to, and hostages promised to be sent to England, for the fulfilment of all stipulations. The cardinal, on the intercession of the queen dowager, was committed, as a prisoner at large, to Seton, who, through the influence of a little money, in a short time set him at liberty.

v. Immediately after the threatened terrors of war, when, to the great advantage of both kingdoms, a lasting peace appeared to have been settled, the merchants, who had for some years been prevented from trading, sent a great number of vessels to sea, laden with the most valuable merchandise. Edinburgh fitted out twelve, and the other cities on that coast, which is the richest in Scotland, in proportion to their wealth. This fleet, trusting to the peace, sailed closer to the English shore than was necessary, and during a calm, some cast anchor, and others securely entered their harbours, affording the English every opportunity of doing them an injury, in the event of a war breaking out. Nearly at this time, John Hamilton,* abbot of Paisley, and David Panter,† returned from France, and throwing aside the mask they had worn for some years, appeared in their true colours, and, as if they had been educated, not in a school of piety, but of iniquity, they took the pre-eminence in all the flagitious debaucheries of the court.

vi. On being unexpectedly restored to liberty, the cardinal, whose haughty disposition was incensed at his repulse, and inflamed with the disgrace of detected fraud, strained every nerve to destroy concord. First, he communicated with the

* Bastard brother of Arran's. † Afterwards bishop of Ross.

queen dowager. They were both indignant that the Douglasses, who, on account of their many obligations, were dependant on the English king, should immediately, on their return from exile, have been admitted to parliament; and they equally feared all change in the established religion, which would of consequence involve a rupture of the treaty with France. He then in concert with her, convoked an assembly of priests, from whom he extorted a large sum of money, to avert the imminent ruin of the whole papal church. Part of this he presented to several of the nobles of the adverse faction, and by adding many magnificent promises, he persuaded them not to deliver the hostages they had promised to the English; and those who had returned from banishment, he, at the same time, entreated not to prefer their relations or children, whom they had left with the enemy, before the laws, the commonwealth, and the ancient religion, whose preservation hinged upon this one point, unless they wished to precipitate themselves voluntarily into everlasting slavery. Besides, he procured, by the influence of the priests, that the king of England's ambassador should be treated with supercilious haughtiness, his attendants insulted by the rabble, and a bad construction put upon all his proceedings. But the ambassador, in spite of every affront, determined to wait the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages, that his conduct might not afford any pretext for a quarrel. When that day arrived, he went to the regent, and complained strongly of the affronts offered, not to himself, but to his king, in contempt of the law of nations, and demanded, that according to the late treaty, the hostages should be delivered up, and the alliance lately entered into, preserved sacred and inviolate, for the advantage of both nations. The regent replied, that the affronts offered the ambassador, were without his knowledge, and that he would make strict inquiry into them, and by the speedy punishment of the offenders, evince his own respect and esteem for the English nation; but with regard to the hostages, I, said he, can neither obtain them from those who agreed, nor force them from those who are unwilling to give them, for such is the nature of the office which I exercise, that I receive the law, rather than administer it, and, you see, so great a

sedition has been excited by the cardinal, that all my plans are disturbed, and, assailed by public fury, I can scarcely retain my situation.

VII. The new hostages being denied, another, and not less important subject of discussion arose, respecting the nobility who had been taken prisoners a few months before, and who had given hostages, and solemnly engaged, that if the peace which the king of England asked, should not be concluded upon reasonable terms, they would return to captivity. With them the cardinal's faction, and the rest of the clergy expostulated, contending by argument and examples, that wealth, relations, children, and all that was dear to man, ought to be secondary to the love of country; and, besides threatening them with their French auxiliaries, and the confederacy of all Europe, leagued for supporting the religion of their ancestors, charged them with the crime of betraying their country, and bringing down destruction on all ancient families, and entreated them not to desert their native land, in so perilous a time, while the smallest hope remained, for if it were saved, they might procure other children and relations, but if it were lost, all was gone for ever. Much too, was said about the inextinguishable hatred of the two nations, and of the cruelty of the king into whose power they would be brought, mingling together a great deal of truth and falsehood. And besides, the decree of the council of Constance was adduced, which ordained all compacts, contracts, promises, and oaths made to heretics, to be broken. The majority of those who were interested, easily accepted of any excuse for their fault; but there was one, GILBERT KENNEDY, EARL OF CASSILLIS,* whom neither money could seduce, nor threats shake from a steady adherence to the faith he had pledged. He had left two brothers, hostages in England, and he openly declared that he himself would return into captivity, nor would any fear of danger induce him to purchase his own life, at the expense of the blood of his brothers; and, notwithstanding the opposition of many who advised him against it, he set out directly for London. The king praised the firmness of the young nobleman, and to evince

* Cassillis had been the pupil of Buchanan; he was also the friend of Cranmer, with whom he lodged when prisoner in England.

his admiration of his virtue, loaded him with gifts, and sent him home free, together with his brothers.

VIII. Henry, however, was not more pleased with Kennedy than he was exasperated at the rest of the Scots, and therefore, he laid an embargo on the Scottish vessels, of which, as I said, there were a great number in the English harbours, and roadsteads, and immediately declared war, loudly threatening the violators of the treaty, and of the rights of nations. Yet, although the kingdom of Scotland stood in this dangerous situation, there was so little regard for relationship, or love to their common country, or attention to the public safety, that the flames of dissension burned more fiercely than ever; for the faction of the cardinal and the queen regent, who were entirely devoted to France, sent ambassadors thither, to represent, that unless assistance was now sent them, their state was desperate, for Scotland and England would unite under one government, and the consequence of that to France, might be estimated from the experience of some of the past ages; but what above all they requested from France was, that Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, should be sent home, because he was not only a rival, but an enemy to the Hamiltons, on account of the death of his father, killed by them at Linlithgow. This young nobleman, besides being in the very flower of youth, remarkably handsome, and of a very dignified appearance, interested every one by the recollection of his father's popularity, his own bachelorship, and the danger of such a noble family, now reduced to a few, becoming extinct, his numerous vassals at home, and the many great families with whom he was connected, and above all, the declaration of the late king, that he intended him for his heir and successor, if he died without male descendant, which it was believed, if he had lived, he would have got confirmed by a decree of the estates, who possess the supreme authority in such cases. Nor were there wanting sycophants, who excited in his generous and aspiring, but unsuspecting mind, still greater expectations. Besides the regency for nearly the next twenty years, and the dominion over his enemies, they even promised him the queen dowager in marriage, and if any thing fatal should occur to the girl, who only had the name of queen, he would without

doubt be made king, and not king only, but legitimate heir to the late James Hamilton, deceased, as the regent was a bastard, and so far from succeeding to the throne, could not legally hope to succeed to his own family inheritance.* To all this they added the solicitations of Francis, king of the French, the hopes he held out, and the assistance he promised to him; by all which considerations, the guileless, unsuspecting youth, was easily induced to prepare for returning to Scotland.

ix. Hamilton, who was not ignorant of these proceedings, in order to strengthen his own party, resolved, by the advice of his confidential friends, to remove the queen from Linlithgow, where she had been hitherto in her mother's power, for by obtaining possession of her person, he would not only have the shadow of the royal name, which is of great weight with the multitude, on his side, but he would also have the direction of the princess' marriage, and the transference of the kingdom, which once accomplished, he would easily gain the English king by promises, and if necessary, procure his assistance. This design was highly approved of, but as in civil commotions, nothing can be kept secret, the cardinal quickly got information, and having collected those of the nobility whom he had bribed, he came to Linlithgow, and remained with great expense to the citizens, several days there, as a guard to the queen.

x. In the meantime, Lennox arrived from France, and being kindly received by the regent, each of them dissembling their hatred, he proceeded to Linlithgow. There, having met with the cardinal, he went to his own house, and in a long discourse, to a number of his friends whom he had called together, he explained by whom he had been sent for, what were his expectations, and the conditions upon which he had come; that not only the chief magistracy, but the marriage of the queen dowager had been offered him by the lady herself,

* The earls of Lennox and Arran, were both grandsons of the princess Mary, daughter of James II., who was married to James, earl of Hamilton—Lennox by the female side, Arran by the male—but Arran's father having divorced his first wife, and married Janet Beaton, his second, Arran's mother, the cardinal's cousin-german, while the other was still alive, Lennox contended that Arran was illegitimate, and he the proper heir of his grandfather.

and the chiefs of the party ; for accomplishing which, he had been assured by the king of France of his favour, and whatever assistance might be necessary. All who were present having assented, and exhorted him to improve the fortune which presented itself, he proceeded to the queen, attended by about four thousand men. Hamilton, who had assembled all his friends around Edinburgh, had determined to break through to the queen, but perceiving himself inferior in strength, by the advice of his friends, and being himself more inclined to conciliatory measures, he began to treat about conditions of peace. Men of the most esteemed prudence, were therefore sent by both parties to Kirkliston, a village midway between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, who agreed that the queen should be carried to Stirling, upon these conditions ; that four of the principal nobility, belonging to neither faction, should be chosen to superintend her education, and the following noblemen, and chiefs of their families were nominated, William Graham, John Erskine, John Lindsay, and William Livingstone.* These being confirmed by both parties, and having received the queen, took the road to Stirling, Lennox remaining under arms with his men, until they had got beyond any danger from the adverse party. Not long after, having received the insignia of power, with the usual ceremonies, Mary entered upon her reign at Stirling, August 21st.

xi. When the regent perceived that he had lost the favour of the fickle multitude, and that he was not equal in strength to the adverse faction, he began to treat secretly with the cardinal, and the cardinal, who was related to the regent on the maternal side, wished rather to bring him over to his party by terror, than to crush him altogether. Having weakened him at home, by the seduction of a number of the nobles, whom he had bribed, and lowered him in the estimation of the English, and forced him to agree to a shameful treaty, the

* Earl of Montrose, lords Erskine, Lindsay, and Livingstone.

Leslie says the queen was delivered to the lords Livingstone, Erskine, Fleeming, and Ruthven. Saddler's letters, and Knox hint, that the royal infant was carried to Stirling without the regent's consent. Saddler dates the coronation of Mary, 9th September, 1543.

cardinal, by means of the regent's confidential friends, who preferred money to honour, brought him to Stirling, where he recanted all his opinions on the controverted points of religion, not openly, but in order to lessen the disgrace, in the Franciscan church, before the queen dowager, and the chief nobility, and afraid for his estates, from the threatened lawsuit, he became so obsequious to the cardinal, that he retained only the shadow of authority.

XII. In this manner the cardinal obtained, by the cowardice of the regent, and the avarice of his friends, what he intended by the forged will—he enjoyed all the advantages of ruling, without the odium—and there appeared to remain only one thing wanting to establish his power—the removal of Lennox, who was now an obstacle in the way of his and the queen's designs. At length the queen regent, with the advice of the cardinal, adopted this method of managing the business:—She, by encouraging the advances of Lennox, kept the young man inactive, till the return of an answer from France, for they had written honourably at first respecting Lennox to the French king, as they could not deny that, next to God, they owed their liberty to him; now, however, they wrote to him, entreating, that as Scotland had been restored to tranquillity by his liberality and assistance, he would secure his own good work, and preserve the peace which he had procured, by recalling Lennox, for otherwise it would not be lasting, without the ruin of one of the parties. While they were thus secretly endeavouring to supplant Lennox, the queen dowager and the cardinal, in public, were amusing him by a variety of entertainments. The court presented one scene of gayety and pleasure, by a constant succession of games and festivals; the day was employed in tournaments, and the night spent at masquerades. In these festivities, of which Lennox was naturally fond, and to which he had been accustomed in the French court, he found a rival, who might have stimulated him, even had he been disinclined—James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell. He had been banished by James V., but returned home immediately upon his decease, and endeavoured to obtain the queen dowager in marriage by the same arts. They were both remarkable for natural endowments, and in the

gifts of fortune were rather like than equal. Wherefore, when Bothwell, who was upon an equality with him in every other respect, found himself inferior at tilts, and in the sportive strife of arms, he left the court and returned home.

XIII. Lennox, on the removal of his rival, imagining every thing else plain and easy, when he vehemently urged the performance of their promise upon the queen and the cardinal, at last perceived that he had been fooled and circumvented by their deceit, and that his enemy, Hamilton, had been promoted to the supreme authority. The young nobleman, unaccustomed to artifice, and who judged of the dispositions of others from the openness of his own, was so exasperated, that he could not refrain from keenly expressing his sentiments, and solemnly swore, that he would endure want, exile, death, or any extremity, rather than leave such an affront unrequited. Wholly bent upon revenge, but uncertain as to his plan, he withdrew to Dunbarton. While there, thirty thousand crowns were brought him, sent by the king of France—who had not yet received any certain information respecting the situation of Scotland—to be employed in increasing the strength of his party. This circumstance tended to raise his spirits, for he considered himself not forsaken by the French king. Being ordered to consult the queen dowager and the cardinal in the distribution of the money, he divided part among his friends, and sent part to the queen. The cardinal, who had already, in expectation, devoured the whole spoil, disappointed of the cash, and vexed at the discredit, persuaded the regent immediately to raise an army, and march to Glasgow, not doubting but that he would surprise both Lennox and the money together. Their intention, however, being discovered to Lennox, he collected above ten thousand of his friends and vassals; and what greatly assisted him in raising such a number, was the indignation of those nobles, who, at first, on account of their regard for religion, and hatred to the cardinal, had promoted the regent to that high honour, but whose original affection was changed into hatred, when, without consulting with his best friends, he betrayed both himself and them into the hands of their implacable enemy. This revolution of opinion produced a new and

almost incredible change in Scottish affairs, although the strength of the parties remained nearly entire, and only the leaders changed. Hamilton, with his relations, joined the cardinal and the queen dowager, but his former friends all attached themselves to Lennox. With the forces thus suddenly collected, Lennox came to Leith, and sent a message to the cardinal at Edinburgh, informing him that there was no necessity for his going to Glasgow to fight him, for he would give him that opportunity any day in the fields between Edinburgh and Leith.

xiv. The cardinal, who thought, when he had gained the regent to his party, that he had broken the strength and spirit of the opposite faction, and never imagined they would dare to meet him in the field, finding himself unexpectedly inferior, pretended to accept the challenge, but deferred coming to action from day to day under various pretexts, knowing that Lennox could not keep his army, which consisted chiefly of volunteers, long together without pay and without magazines; and, in the meantime, assiduously, by entreaties and promises, endeavoured to seduce the soldiers to desert to his own party. Lennox, when he saw that the enemy protracted the war, and could not be induced to come to an engagement; and he himself was totally destitute of every thing necessary for undertaking a siege, and, besides, some of his own partisans held secret nocturnal meetings with the enemy; in order to deliver himself from these difficulties as speedily as possible, at the urgent entreaties of his allies, who had secretly provided for themselves, he was forced to make a peace with the regent, and then he proceeded to Edinburgh, where they two visited each other, as if all ancient animosity had been forgotten. When Lennox, however, came to Linlithgow, being advised by his friends to prepare against treachery, he withdrew secretly in the night to Glasgow, when, having fortified the Bishop's castle, which he provisioned and garrisoned, he proceeded to Dunbarton. There he was more explicitly informed, that the Douglasses had agreed with the Hamiltons, and as, on account of their ancient feud, some suspicions still remained among the parties, George Douglas and Alexander Cunningham had been given as hostages, the one for the father,

the other for the brother. This, although done apparently under a pretext of being a more firm bond of union, and under promise of their being released in a few days, yet they were detained in custody till the approach of the English army, the Hamiltons never thinking themselves secure until all the nobles, who possessed any spirit or power, were removed, that by their punishment the rest might be intimidated and kept quiet. At the same time, in addition, Lennox ascertained that the French king was, by the calumnies of his enemies, alienated from him. Meanwhile, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, and Robert Maxwell, the chief of that noble family, came to Glasgow, to settle, if possible, the controversy between the regent and Lennox; but the regent's counsellors advised him to arrest the mediators themselves, who were carried off by a by-path, lest it should occasion any tumult in the town, and sent to Hamilton castle.

xv. In this state of affairs, when both the king of England, and the principal nobility among the Scots, were exasperated at the regent, it seemed to Henry a convenient opportunity for punishing not only the breach of the treaty, but also the violation of the law of nations. Yet before he had recourse to arms, he sent threatening letters to Edinburgh, stating his just complaints, and demanding satisfaction, because they had so arrogantly rejected his proffered friendship, which they so much needed, and not only rejected it, but repaid his kindness by scattering the seeds of war, and had forced him unwillingly to take arms. His letters proving of no avail, he ordered the large naval armament, which he had prepared, and had in readiness to send against the French coast, to proceed immediately to Scotland, and visit Edinburgh, Leith, and the adjacent country, with all the miseries of war, as these places had principally insulted his ambassadors. The fleet, on their arrival, [May 4th] disembarked ten thousand foot soldiers a little above Leith, without molestation, and took the city without opposition, for the inhabitants were all chiefly absent, prosecuting their business abroad. The regent and cardinal, who were then at Edinburgh, when they looked around, and saw themselves entirely unprepared, were so suddenly panic struck, that they released those four illustrious

noblemen, formerly mentioned, from their imprisonment, not from any regard for the public welfare, but fearing lest their relatives and vassals should refuse to fight, or join with the enemy, and, at the same time, to regain the favour of the people, dissatisfied with them on so many accounts; but they themselves, equally afraid of the hatred of the citizens and of the enemy, fled to Linlithgow. The English, having been detained three days at Leith, landing their baggage and artillery, marched in order of battle to Edinburgh, but meeting no enemy, they spoiled the city, and burned it; then, dispersing themselves over the surrounding country, ravaging every where, destroying a number of villages, and some castles and gentlemen's seats, after which they returned to Edinburgh, and then to Leith, when a favourable wind springing up, after setting fire to the houses, they embarked and set sail.

XVI. Lennox now ascertained that the French king was completely set against him, for the adverse faction, by their frequent letters and ambassadors, had persuaded him, that it was Lennox alone who, by keeping alive the ancient feuds with his father's enemies, prevented public concord in Scotland; that he was the head of the faction opposing the regent, and friendly to the English; and that he indulged his private animosities, rather than promoted the common cause; and that if he would recall him, peace would easily be concluded between the rest. When Lennox was informed by his friends what his enemies had accused him of to the king of France, he wrote to that monarch, informing him of the situation in which he had found Scotland; by what great exertions, both of himself and his friends, he had procured the liberty of the two queens, and established their government, having broken the power of the party who opposed them, and from the most violent tempest, restored the realm to a state of the greatest tranquillity. Nor would any thing, he added, be more agreeable to him than to return to France, in which he had lived much longer than in Scotland, to enjoy the delightful society of those he loved most dearly; that he had not come into this country of his own accord, but been sent thither by the king; nor had he done any action which he or the king ought to regret; that if his majesty would not withdraw his

pristine favour, he would soon make it appear that he would not only fulfil, but exceed the expectations which he had excited; but if he should now be recalled, in the middle of his designs, he must not only leave his fair prospects unrealized, but must deliver up his friends, relations, and vassals, whom he had induced to undertake the cause of the public, and almost exhausted by toil and expense, to slavery and torture, under a cruel and impious tyrant, who, as far as he could, had sold the queen and the kingdom to the enemy; who observed his agreements and promises with men no more sacredly, than his religious obligations towards God, which he had changed three times within a few years. Nor was that to be wondered at in him, who did not think promises and oaths bonds for securing good faith, but coverts for protecting secret perfidy. But he greatly desired that his royal majesty, and his advisers, would reflect who was most worthy of trust in such an important matter. Him whose ancestors had devoted their lives, fortunes, and honours, to increase his grandeur, and who had been loaded and honoured with his kindness, not so much in reward of their exertions, as in testimony of their high deserts; or a man who, on the slightest breath, changed his friends and his enemies, and who hung quivering upon the chance of every accident.

XVII. Although numbers knew the truth of these assertions, yet the French king was so much influenced by the Guises, the queen dowager's father and uncle, who were anxious to increase her power and authority in every manner, that he refused to listen to the request of Lennox, and would not suffer John Campbell, a nobleman of approved fidelity, to have an audience, or even allow him to come into his presence, but kept him almost a prisoner, and ordered him to be watched, lest he should communicate any of the designs in agitation at the French court. Others, however, were found, who discovered every thing. When Lennox was informed of all these circumstances, his mind was distracted with the various emotions of shame and anger. He was ashamed to desist from his begun unfinished undertaking, and the more so, as he imagined he could not satisfy his friends and relations, whose fortunes he had brought into danger along with him.

self, unless by death alone. On the other hand, he was enraged with the queen dowager and the cardinal, by whose perfidious guile he was brought into these difficulties; but above all, he complained of the French king, who, having led him into the contest, deserted him at the very moment of success, and joined with his enemies.

XVIII. While his thoughts fluctuated in this state of uncertainty, intelligence was brought him that all the inhabitants beyond the Grampian mountains, who were able to bear arms, were ordered, by proclamation, to attend at Stirling on a certain day, with ten days' provisions, ready to march wherever the regent should lead them. Nor was the event long in following the report; for the army having assembled on the day appointed, was carried by the regent to Glasgow. There, after besieging the castle for ten days, and having in vain battered it with his brass cannon, at last a truce was concluded for a day, during which the garrison were tampered with in a conference, and, upon a promise of safety, surrendered the castle, but all except one or two were put to death.

XIX. In the meantime, Lennox, deserted by the French king, and all hopes of assistance from any other quarter being cut off, he, through the medium of friends, sounded the inclinations of the king of England. Every thing succeeding according to his desires in England, when he had resolved to go thither, he wished before his departure, to inflict some signal disaster upon the Hamiltons. Having communicated his design to William Cunninghame, earl of Glencairn, a day was appointed, on which they should assemble with their friends and vassals at Glasgow, and thence make an eruption into Clydesdale, which all belonged to the Hamiltons alone. The regent being informed of their design, determined to seize Glasgow, and pre-occupy the enemy's place of rendezvous, but Glencairn, with a great part of his force, was already within the town, and waited the arrival of Lennox, when hearing of the approach of the Hamiltons, and of their intention; he marched with his forces, into the adjoining plain, and drew them up in battle array. They amounted to about eight hundred, partly consisting of his own vassals, and partly

of the citizens, who favouring their cause, went along with them. Immediately on approaching the enemy, he attacked them fiercely, with greater courage than strength, and having taken their brass cannon from the first line, he drove it back upon the second. In this state of the engagement, while they fought around the regent, and the day hung in suspense, Robert Boyd, an active nobleman, galloped, with a small band of horsemen, into the thickest of the battle, and spread a greater confusion and trepidation, than his numbers justified, for both parties believed a great re-enforcement had arrived to the Hamiltons. This error immediately changed the fortune of the field, as the one party perceived their own force, and the other, their enemy's increased. There were slain of both about three hundred—the greater part of the Cunninghames, and among them two of the bravest, the earl's sons. Nor was it a bloodless victory to the Hamiltons, among them too, several chiefs were killed, but the inhabitants of Glasgow suffered most severely, for the enemy, not satiated with the blood of the citizens who were slain, nor with the miseries of those who survived, and the destruction of their household furniture, carried away their doors and window shutters, and omitted no kind of calamity, except, that after plundering and destroying their houses, they did not set fire to them.

xx. The issue of this battle produced a great change in the public mind, so much so, that Lennox' relations and friends, refused to risk another engagement, not because the strength of the enemy was increased, and their own diminished, nor on account of the difficulties in procuring re-enforcements, but because they were unwilling, by too great obstinacy, to offend Hamilton—under whose government they perceived they must shortly come—more bitterly, or afford him any new occasion for exercising his cruelty. Lennox, deserted by the French king, and the greater part of the Scots, gave the command of Dunbarton castle to George Stirling, and set sail himself for England, in opposition to the advice of his most confidential friends, who thought he should remain some months in that impregnable fortress, and wait a change, for they did not doubt but a revolution would take place in a short time. He,

however, was not to be diverted from his intention, and went to England, where he was honourably received by the king, who, besides treating him munificently in other respects, gave him Margaret Douglas, to wife. She was the sister of James, late king of the Scots, and son of the earl of Angus, by the sister of Henry, king of England; a princess in the flower of her age, celebrated for exquisite loveliness of shape, and elegance of form.

XXI. In the meantime, the queen dowager, dreading lest the faction, now left without a leader, by the departure of Lennox, and who refused to acknowledge Hamilton, whose levity they knew, and whose cruelty they feared, might, in such a disturbed state of affairs, create some new disturbance, if rendered desperate, received them under her protection. Hamilton, delighted at the departure of so powerful an enemy, and not yet satiated with his punishment, used his advantages too intemperately. In the next parliament, held at Linlithgow, which condemned Lennox and his friends, confiscated their property, and forced them to go into exile, a large sum of money was raised from these confiscations, and the compositions for the forfeitures, but it gave great offence, and occasioned much enmity.

XXII. During these domestic seditions, the English, entering Scotland, burned Jedburgh and Kelso, and desolated the circumjacent country. Thence they went to Coldingham, where they fortified, by temporary works, the church, and the tower of the church, and having left a garrison, departed. The garrison, from a desire of plunder, and in order to leave no provisions to a besieging enemy, laid waste the neighbouring district to a wide extent. On which, the Scottish government, at the head of which was the queen dowager, the cardinal, and the regent, having called a council, issued a proclamation, ordering the nobles, and the most respectable of the commons, to assemble armed, and with eight days' provisions, to attend the regent. In a short time, upwards of eight thousand men appeared, and in the depth of winter, proceeded against the church tower, which they battered with their cannon, and, to the great fatigue of men and horse, remained under arms a whole day, and the succeeding night.

Next day, the regent, either from incapacity of enduring military fatigue, or fearing an incursion of the enemy—for he was positively informed of the advance of the English, from the neighbouring city of Berwick—without informing the nobles, and attended only by a few, took horse, and set off at the gallop, nor stopped till he reached Dunbar. They who endeavour to excuse this cowardly flight, say that he was afraid, lest on account of the hatred he had excited by many offences, he would have been betrayed by his army to the English. His departure threw the troops into great perturbation, and that the more, because the greater the obscurity in which the reasons of his flight were involved, the greater did many imagine the causes for terror to be. Wherefore, a number were firmly of opinion, that it was the best method to leave the cannon, and return home. Others, who wished to appear more provident, and less terrified, proposed, that the artillery, in order to be rendered useless to the enemy, should be overcharged, and burst. Archibald, earl of Angus, alone opposed both propositions, that they might not basely add criminal disgrace to shameful flight, and when he could neither by his authority, nor his entreaties, induce any of the nobles to stay, he exclaimed, so loud as to be heard by a great number of the army:—For my own part, I rather prefer a soldier's death, to a life however wealthy or secure, if stained with such dishonour. You, my friends and fellow-soldiers, may do as seems proper to yourselves, I will either bring away these cannon, or never return home alive, my life and my glory shall end together. When he had thus spoken, a few only, to whom reputation was dearer than existence, were moved by his address, the rest, dispirited by the ignominious flight of the regent, dispersed in disorder. Douglas having sent the artillery before, followed with his own men in a compact body, and though pressed by the enemy's horse, who, attracted by the tumult, hung upon his rear, brought them in safety to Dunbar.

XXIII. This expedition, rashly undertaken, and contemptibly concluded, disheartened the Scots, while it raised the spirits of the enemy to an intolerable pitch, as they ascribed to their own conduct, what they owed to the cowardice of the regent. Wherefore, Ralph Ivers, and Brian Latton, two

renowned English knights, over-ran, without opposition, almost all March, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, forced the inhabitants of these countries, either to submit, or if they resisted, laid their fields waste, and this unobstructed tide of success, so swelled the pride of the enemy, that they assigned the Frith of Forth as the limit of their victories. Full of these hopes, they proceeded to London, and demanded a reward for what they had so bravely performed. When this subject was agitated in the council, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who had made many expeditions against the Scots, and knew well, from the troubled state of Scotland, that it was no very difficult business to over-run, in a predatory manner, an open country, protected by no garrisons, and to force the common people, when they perceived they had no other method of escaping present misfortunes, to swear allegiance, and who, at the same time, was not ignorant of the firmness of the Scots in preserving their territory, or their perseverance in recovering what they had lost—is said to have advised the king to give them all the conquests they could achieve, as their reward, and allow them a moderate force to preserve them, till they became accustomed to the English government. This gift they cheerfully accepted, and the king as willingly bestowed, recompensing their vain boasting with a grant as vain, and they returned joyfully to the limits, with three thousand regular soldiers, in addition to the borderers, who serve without pay.

xxiv. Their return alarmed all the neighbouring countries, for they had no hopes of assistance from the regent, whose counsels were directed by priests, especially the cardinal, on which, the earl of Angus, indignant at the public disgrace, and his own private losses—for he had extensive estates, both in March and Teviotdale—represented strongly to the regent, the magnitude of the danger, and urged him to prevent it. To whom, when the regent lamented his solitude, and complained that he was deserted by the nobility, Douglas replied, that that was his own blame, and not the fault of the nobility, who were ready, with their lives and fortunes, to protect the commonwealth, but he despised their advice, and was directed by the nod of priests, who, unwarlike abroad, were seditious at home,

and, exempt from danger themselves, wasted the fruits of other men's labours upon their own voluptuousness. From this fountain, said he, proceeds the suspicions between you and your nobles, which preventing mutual confidence, are the chief hinderance to the public service; but if you will frankly consult in important designs, those who would willingly risk their lives in carrying them into effect, I do not despair of as illustrious deeds being performed by us as by our ancestors, in times equally if not more turbulent than these. But if through indolence, we allow the enemy to conquer us in detail, we shall in a short time, be either forced to surrender, or go into exile, and which of the two is more wretched, or more infamous, I cannot say. With regard to you and I, I know my enemies accuse me of treachery, and you of cowardice, but if you will do immediately, that which it is impossible eventually to avoid, you will wipe away the accusation from both, not by fine words, but in the field, and in the battle.

xxv. The regent, in reply promised Angus, that he would be directed by him, and the rest of the nobility, on which, a council was called, to concert measures for an expedition, and a proclamation was issued through all the neighbouring countries, commanding the nobles to attend the regent, wherever he should be, with the greatest possible despatch. They themselves, the day after, with the forces which were ready—not amounting to more than three hundred horse—marched towards England—only a few men from Lothian and March, joining them. When they came to Melrose upon Tweed, they determined to wait there for the arrival of their reinforcements. The English, who had already arrived at Jedburgh, having ascertained, from their spies, the small force of the enemy, left Jedburgh, with about five thousand men, and proceeded straight for Melrose, never doubting but they would overwhelm unawares, the few and fatigued troops who were with the regent. But the Scots, on being informed by their scouts, of the enemy's approach, withdrew to the neighbouring hills, whence they might watch in safety their motions. The English, finding themselves disappointed, wandered about the town and the abbey which had been spoiled not long before, till daybreak, endeavouring to procure a little plun-

der, and with the dawn, set out on their return to Jedburgh. The Scots, in the interim, having received an addition of nearly three hundred young men from Fife, under Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes—at that time, indisputably the foremost of Scottish youth, for every excellence—became more inspirited, and withdrew, by a slow march, to the hills that rise above the village of Ancrum, at which place, Walter Scott—frequently mentioned before—an active, and experienced chief, joined them with a few attendants; excusing their number, on account of the shortness of the notice, but assured them, that all his vassals would be with them soon. In the meanwhile, Scott advised the horses to be sent to the next hill, and the men dismounted—that all might run an equal risk—and stationed in the hollow, to receive the enemy, for he had no doubt but the servants going to the heights with the horses, would present an appearance of flight to the English, and induce them instantly to pursue. Accordingly, the enemy afraid lest the Scots should escape during the night, without fighting, and again occasion a great deal of fatigue in tracing them out, formed their army in three lines, and marched against them, anxious to put an end to the war, by one slight skirmish as they hoped, and their hopes were so strong, that although they had marched under heavy armour during the night and day preceding, they animated each other to quicken their pace, and by a short exertion, procure long repose, riches, and glory. These exhortations raising their spirits, enabled them to support the fatigue of the march, and their first line rushing forward, fell into the snare. They were received by the Scots in firm array. Trusting, however, to their numbers, they stood to their arms, and fought bravely, but two circumstances, wisely foreseen, assisted the Scots, the rays of the declining sun struck right in the eyes of the enemy; and a pretty strong breeze drove the sulphureous smoke back upon their last lines, so that they could not see before them, while the suffocating smell, grievously annoyed those who were breathless with their march. The first line of the English, impeded by their own perturbation, and charged by the Scots, were driven back upon the second, and the second upon the third, and, impelled the one upon the other, their

ranks were broken, and such rout and terror spread everywhere, that it was impossible to distinguish either banner or leader, and, every one consulting his individual safety, no one ever thought of the public danger or disgrace. The Scots, following close upon this rabble, there was no longer a battle, but a slaughter. At night, when the Scots were recalled by signal, and the number of the killed ascertained, their loss only amounted to two. Of the English, besides their generals, two hundred were found dead, and comprising many distinguished noblemen. The prisoners amounted to one thousand, among whom were eighty persons of rank. This victory, the more joyful, as it was unexpected, was highly advantageous to the regent, but the Douglasses reaped almost all the glory.

xxvi. About this time, a battle was fought, through the deceitful art of George Gordon, earl of Huntly, it was believed, in which almost the whole family of the Frasers were cut off. There was an ancient feud between them and the clan Ronalds, which had often occasioned the loss of many of the principal men of both parties, and Huntly indulged a secret hatred against them, because of all the adjacent tribes, they alone refused to acknowledge his superiority. Now, when the neighbouring Islanders assembled with their whole forces against the earl of Argyle, all the clans in that tract of country, ranged on one side or other, but the dispute being arranged without coming to an engagement, as the parties were returning home, the Frasers separated from the rest, and went by a different road; of which the Ronalds being informed, they collected the whole of their forces, and attacked them in a most furious manner. The Frasers being fewer in number, were almost cut off to a man. Thus would have perished one of the most numerous, and deserving of the Scottish clans, unless by divine providence, as we may believe, eighty of the principal men of the clan had left their wives pregnant, who, in due time, brought forth males, all of whom arrived safely at man's estate.

xxvii. About the same time that the king of England was informed of the defeat of his army, the regent sent an ambassador to France, to carry tidings of the victory, and request

the aid of some fresh re-enforcements; also to calumniate Lennox, and render his departure from Scotland infamous. With difficulty he procured a little assistance, because it was now fully ascertained, that Henry was about to invade France with a powerful force. Five hundred horse, and three thousand foot, however, were sent not so much to protect the Scots from the incursions of the English, as to distract the latter, and prevent their whole strength from being exerted against France. The king of England did not think it necessary that summer, to send more troops to the Scottish border, because he thought the garrisons in the castles, sufficient to repress the inroads of the enemy, and from the disturbed state of Scotland, he knew they could not raise an army fit to attack any fortified place. The accusations brought by the Scottish ambassador in France, against Lennox in his absence, were not worth answering; such as, that he kept back the money which was sent to him; that on account of his dissensions with the cardinal, the public cause was betrayed; but his departure into England, was what was most invidiously enlarged upon.

XXVIII. The king of France, who had conceived so strong an aversion to Lennox, from the falsehoods which had been propagated, that he refused to hear any defence, and had imprisoned his brother, a captain of his guards, without allowing him to speak, on the truth beginning to break out, in order to extenuate his conduct, or find some pretext for his rashness, ordered an inquiry to be made into the accusations brought against him. This inquiry was committed to James Montgomery of Lorge, commander of the French auxiliaries, a man acute enough and honest, but a keen enemy of Lennox; and he was intrusted with it chiefly through the influence of the Guises, who could not separate the cause of their sister from the perfidy of the cardinal. Montgomery arrived with the troops in Scotland, on the 3d of July, 1545. Having exhibited his commission, and explained the desire of the French king before the council, he induced them to consent that an army should be levied of the better class, who were able to bear the expense of a campaign, and ordered to muster on an early day. At the time appointed, there assembled at Had-

dington fifteen thousand Scots, who marched directly to the English border, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Werk castle. From this station they made almost daily incursions, with colours flying, and drove away great booty. The enemy in vain endeavoured to prevent their fields from being plundered, and had some skirmishes, but the Scots were generally successful, and wasted the country for about six miles round. These incursions continued for about ten days, nor had they ever penetrated farther into the enemy's territory, than that they could return again at night to their camp. Meanwhile, Montgomery and George Hume sedulously, but in vain, urged the regent to move his camp beyond the river Tweed, that they might have a freer range in the neighbouring countries, and spread the terror farther. But the regent and his council opposed the measure, as they were destitute of artillery for besieging places, and disbanding the army, they returned home. The other nobles withdrew to wherever they found it most convenient for the winter. Montgomery went to the court. On learning the calumnies of Lennox's enemies, although himself inimical to him, yet he severely reproved the cardinal, for having, unprovokedly, loaded an innocent nobleman with false imputations, and forced him unwillingly to join himself with the enemy.

XXIX. Almost about the same time, inroads were everywhere made on the different borders of the kingdom, with various success. Robert Maxwell, a young man of uncommon bravery, was taken by the English, but no other memorable transaction took place. In the beginning of the next winter, Montgomery returned to France, and the cardinal carried about the regent through the neighbouring countries, under the pretext of healing the seditions into which they were rent by the different parties. First they came to Perth. There, four men were put to death for eating flesh on a forbidden day, and a woman, because she refused to implore the aid of the Virgin Mary during the time of her delivery, suffered along with them. They then directed their attention to crush the friends of reformation every where, and proceeded to Dundee, as they themselves declared, in order to bring to punishment all those who read the NEW TESTAMENT, for, in

these days, that was numbered among the most heinous crimes, and such was the general ignorance, that many of the priests, offended at the term *New*, contended that it was a book lately written by Martin Luther, and demanded the *Old Testament*. While in this town, they were informed that [lord] Patrick Gray, the chief of a noble family in that country, was advancing with a great train accompanied by the earl of Rothes; but the tumult being appeased by the intervention of friends, the regent desired them both to attend him next day. The cardinal, however, not thinking it safe to receive two factious noblemen, well attended, into a town the most zealous in Scotland for the reformation, persuaded the regent to return to Perth. The noblemen in the morning, when they were ready to set out, learning that the regent had gone to Perth, followed him thither; but when they came in sight, the cardinal was so much afraid, that the regent ordered them to enter separately and unattended into the city. Next day, both were committed to prison. Rothes was almost immediately dismissed, but Gray, whom they more keenly hated and feared, was longer in being liberated.

xxx. Before their departure, the cardinal thought it expedient to lessen the power of Ruthven, the provost of the city. Wherefore, the regent took that office from him, and gave it to the laird of Kinfauns, in the neighbourhood, a relation of Gray. Ruthven was obnoxious to the cardinal, because he favoured the reformed religion. Gray also was not altogether averse to the cause of religion, and not very friendly to Beaton. By this arrangement, therefore, if he could possibly produce a quarrel, the cardinal anticipated, from the rank of the families, that many of the neighbouring gentlemen would be involved on the one side or the other, and, from among them, whoever fell, he reckoned that so many of his enemies would be destroyed. Thus the provostship of Perth, which for many years had remained, as it were, hereditary in the Ruthven family, was transferred to that of Kinfauns, to the great indignation of the citizens, who were by this means deprived of their right of voting. The new provost was, however, sent with directions to reduce them by force, if they did not willingly submit to him. The city was to be attacked on two sides;

Gray, who undertook the direction of the whole, was to march to the attack by the bridge over the Tay; another band, with cannon, were to advance against the stream, and approach it on the open quarter; but as the tide did not answer, this division did not arrive in time. Gray accordingly advanced by the bridge—which Ruthven, having removed his garrison into the neighbouring houses, wished to appear unprotected—and perceiving no armed force to oppose him, penetrated carelessly into the heart of the town; where, being briskly attacked by Ruthven, who suddenly rushed from the adjoining houses, his party was put to flight, but the crowd hurrying into narrow closes, hindered each other, and the flight of the first was prevented by the rush which the attempts of the last occasioned. In this confusion, numbers were trodden to death, and sixty fell by the sword. The cardinal, although he regretted that Ruthven was victorious, was yet glad that so many of his enemies were destroyed, for he counted that gain, when the strength of those, whom he could not expect to secure as friends, was wasted in mutual slaughter.

xxxI. The cardinal, having gone over as much of Angus as he thought expedient at the time, brought the regent, after the winter solstice, to St. Andrews, that he might, if possible, attach him more closely to himself; for although he had his son, the earl of Arran, as an hostage, yet, as often as he recollected the boldness of the Scottish nobility, the strength of the adverse faction, and the inconstancy of the regent, he was afraid lest, through the persuasions of his enemies, he might, with the same levity with which he had come to him, desert to them. He therefore, during the Christmas holidays, amused him for twenty days with sports and entertainments, made him many presents, and promised him more afterwards; and having conversed much with him on the state of the kingdom, he set out, with his mind a little more secure, to Edinburgh.

xxxII. There, an assembly of the clergy was held, January 13th. In this meeting, when there was much discussion about retaining the ancient liberty of the church, and punishing certain open crimes of the priests, before they came to any decision, information was brought to them, that George

Wishart,* an extremely popular preacher of the gospel, was lodging with John Cockburn, a nobleman, about seven miles distant from the city, and a troop of horse were sent to seize the pestilent fellow; but while Cockburn endeavoured to amuse them with various excuses, to create delay, and, if possible, to get Wishart sent secretly away, the cardinal, being informed of this by his myrmidons, set out in the dead of night, together with the regent, and blocked up every avenue to the place; yet could he not, either by flattery, promises, or threats, accomplish his purpose, until the earl of Bothwell, being sent for from his villa in the neighbourhood, arrived. As he was the chief nobleman of the Lothians, he, at length, obtained that George should be surrendered to him, upon his solemnly pledging his faith, that he would defend him from all harm. The priests, having found their principal prey, carried him from Edinburgh to St. Andrews, and there, in about a month after, assembled a great multitude of all descriptions of clergy, to decide respecting his doctrine, rather to make a show of a trial, than that any doubt was entertained as to their determination. The cardinal, by general consent—as by the pontifical law, he could neither sit in judgment, nor pass sentence in capital cases—petitioned the regent, that he would appoint a criminal judge to pronounce judgment upon the accused, who had already been condemned for heresy, by the convention of priests.

XXXIII. To these proceedings, it did not appear that there would be any obstacle on the part of the regent, nor would there have been any, had not his relation, David Hamilton of Preston, restrained him, by admonishing, warning, entreating, and sometimes even upbraiding him. He is said to have spoken nearly to the following purport:—That he was amazingly astonished at what could be the design of the regent in permitting such an arbitrary proceeding against the servants of God, accused of no crime except preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, and in delivering up innocent persons to be tortured by men of the most flagitious turpitude of conduct, and

* Buchanan translates Wishart's name Sophocardiuss, Wiseheart; but the original was Guiscard, a name common in France, from which country the family came, and was written in Scotland, Wischard, Witschart, or Wishart.

more than brutal ferocity of manners; persons, whose integrity of life even their enemies unwillingly confessed; whose doctrine he himself was not ignorant of, for he had lately been strongly devoted to it; it was it that recommended him to the supreme power; it was it to which he had publicly professed his attachment by edicts, and which he had openly undertaken to defend; to the reading, acknowledging, and exemplifying of which, in their lives and conduct, he had exhorted all the people in general and as individuals. Reflect therefore, said he, what men will think and say of you in future, reflect upon the mercies bestowed upon you by providence. The king, an active man and your enemy, was cut off in the midst of the same career which you are now pursuing. They who precipitated him by their councils, are endeavouring to drive you on to your ruin. They opposed you at first, by the whole weight of their power, and now they would beguile you into a snare by their deceitful advice. Recall to your remembrance the victory obtained over your countrymen, without murder or bloodshed, and over your enemies, trusting to their great superiority of force, a deed redounding so much to your glory, and their disgrace. Remember for whose favour you desert your God, and oppose your friends; awake at last, and dissipate the shades thrown by wicked men around you; place before your eyes Saul, the king of Israel, raised from the lowest situation to the supreme power; mark how the favour of God followed him while obedient to his law, and in how much misery he was involved when he neglected his precepts; compare your successes with his prosperity; and unless you change your counsels, expect no better, but rather a much worse end, for he only intended what you now are doing, and that to conciliate the favour of wretches, who can neither hide their vices, nor will they even attempt to conceal them.

xxxiv. The regent, influenced by his friend's admonition, wrote back to the cardinal:—Not to hurry on the trial, but allow the matter to lie over till his arrival; for he could not consent to the destruction of that man, before he should diligently inquire into the cause; but if the cardinal did otherwise, his blood be upon his head, he would be free, as these letters would testify. The cardinal, not a little surprised at

this unexpected answer, as he believed, if any delay took place, that the accused, who was so popular, would be released; besides, being unwilling to risk a disputation, because he had no hope of prevailing in fair debate, and also averse to allow opinions, already condemned by the authority of ecclesiastical councils, to be rejudged; enraged to madness, persevered in the resolution he had formed, and replied:—That he had not written to the regent thus, as if his authority were of any consequence in the business, but, only for form's sake, he wished his name added to the sentence. Upon which, George being brought out of prison, John Winram, a learned man, who was sincerely, but secretly, attached to the cause of the reformation, was ordered to ascend a pulpit, and deliver a sermon. He preached from the xiii. chapter of Matthew, “The good seed is the word of God, but the evil seed is heresy.” Heresy he explained to be a false opinion, evidently opposed to the sacred Scriptures, and obstinately defended, which was begotten and nourished by the ignorance of the pastors of the church, who neither understood how to overcome heretics with the sword of the Spirit, that is the word of God, nor to bring back the wanderers into the right way; then having explained the office of a bishop, from the Epistle to Timothy, he showed there was only one way of detecting heresy, and that was by bringing it to the word of God, as to a touchstone. At length, when he had finished his discourse, although what he had spoken bore chiefly against the priests, who were assembled, not to refute heresies, but to punish those who opposed their licentiousness and pride, yet they, as if every thing had succeeded to their wish, dragged George to a pulpit, which had been erected in the church, in order to observe their usual form in judgment; and John Lauder, a Romish priest, mounted another pulpit placed opposite; the rest sat around as if for judging; but there was not even the shadow of justice or free disputation; for the accuser thundered out, with the greatest bitterness, a number of abominable falsehoods, and a series of the most odious charges, commonly invented against the teachers of the reformed religion; and after this farce had been continued for some hours, George was carried back to the castle, and spent the night in

the governor's apartment, the greater part of which he passed in prayer.

xxxv. Next morning the priest sent two Franciscans to him, to acquaint him that the time of his execution drew near, and to ask if he wished to confess his sins to them, as was customary. He replied that he had nothing to do with friars, nor would willingly converse with them, but if they would gratify him so far, he wished to converse with the learned man who had preached the day before. Winram, when he had obtained permission of the bishops, came to the castle, and held a long conversation with George, intermingled with many tears. At length, after he had ceased weeping, from which he could not at first refrain, he kindly asked him:—Whether he would not wish to partake of the sacrament of the supper? Most willingly, answered Wishart, if, according to Christ's appointment, it be shown forth in both kinds, namely, in both bread and wine. Winram, on this, returned to the bishops, and having informed them that the prisoner solemnly affirmed his innocence of the crimes with which he was charged, and that he did not say so to deprecate his impending death, but only to leave a testimony to men, of that innocence which was known to God, the cardinal, inflamed with rage, replied;—As for you, we know very well already what you are. Winram then asked whether he should be allowed the communion of the holy body and blood of the Saviour? When the other priests, after having consulted a little together, gave it as their opinion, that it did not appear proper that an obstinate heretic, condemned by the church, should enjoy any church privilege.

xxxvi. This answer being returned to him, at nine o'clock, when the friends and servants of the governor assembled to breakfast, George was asked whether he would partake with them. He answered: "Willingly, and with more pleasure than I have done for some time past, for now I perceive that you are good men, and fellow-members of the same body of Christ with me, and because I know this will be the last meal I shall partake of upon earth. And I beseech you," addressing the governor, "in the name of God, and by that love which you bear towards our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

to sit down at this table a little, and attend to me, while I address an exhortation to you, and pray over the bread which we are about to eat, as brethren in Christ, and then I shall bid you farewell." In the meantime, the table being covered, as is the custom, with a linen cloth, and bread placed upon it, George began a short and clear discourse upon the last supper, and the sufferings and death of Christ, and spoke about half an hour. He especially exhorted them to lay aside wrath, envy, and malice, that their minds might be filled with love one to another, and so become perfect members of Christ, who daily intercedes with the Father, that we through him, our sacrifice, may obtain eternal life. Having thus spoken, when he had given God thanks, he brake the bread, and gave a little to each, and in like manner he gave the wine, after he himself had tasted, entreating them now to remember in this sacrament, for the last time along with him, the memorial of Christ's death, as for himself a more bitter portion was prepared, for no other reason except preaching the gospel. After which, having again returned thanks, he retired into his chamber, and finished his devotions.

xxxvii. Not long after, two of the executioners were sent by the cardinal, one of whom clothed him with a coarse black linen shirt, and the other affixed many bags of gunpowder, to different parts of his body. In this dress they brought him to the governor's chamber, and ordered him to remain there. In the meanwhile, a scaffold was erected in the court before the castle, and a pile of wood raised. Opposite the place of execution, the windows, and battlements of the castle were covered with tapestry and silk hangings, on which pillows were placed, whence the cardinal, with his associates, might enjoy the spectacle of an innocent man's sufferings, and receive the congratulations of the mob, as the authors of some illustrious exploit.* Besides, a numerous guard of soldiers was

* The historians who object to Buchanan's passing over the account of the cardinal's assassination without remark, never themselves think it worth while to notice, with the least disapprobation, this savage exultation of the cardinal; and while Knox is held up to execration, for writing "merrily," the account of the death of this persecutor,—as any French historian might innocently have recorded with pleasure, the murder of Marat—the wretch who could

stationed, as if against any external violence, but in truth, rather as an exhibition of power, and brass cannon were planted over the whole castle, in the most convenient situations. In the midst of these, George, being brought forth at the sound of trumpets, mounted the scaffold, and was bound by ropes to the stake, and scarcely could he obtain liberty to pray for the church, when, the executioners setting fire to the pile, the powder which was bound about him blew up, and he was envolved in flame and smoke. The governor of the castle, who stood so near, that he was scorched by the flames, briefly exhorted him to be of good courage, and ask pardon of his offences of God; to whom he said:—These flames indeed bring pain to my body, yet do not disturb my mind; but he who now so proudly looks down upon me, from his high place, will, within a few days, be as ignominiously thrown over, as he now arrogantly reclines.* When he had said this, the cords were drawn more straitly round his throat, and his speech stopped. In a few hours his body was reduced to ashes, and the bishops, still filled with rage and hatred, forbade, under the severest penalties, any prayers to be said for the deceased. The cardinal, on account of this deed, was highly extolled by his own band, as one who, when all else were stupified, in despite of the regent's authority, had accomplished so great an action, who had checked popular insolence, and had so bravely undertaken, and so happily conducted the defence of the clergy; and if, said they, the church had had such defenders of her dignity in former years, she would not now have been dependant upon others, but by the strength and weight of her own majesty, would have held all others in subjection.

loll upon cushions and tapestry, and enjoy the protracted torture of an innocent man, the friend of knowledge, and of his country, He must only be mentioned with pity!

* That Wishart uttered this prediction, from any knowledge of an existing conspiracy against the cardinal, is a calumny not worth refuting, but that he ever uttered it at all, appears questionable; and as Knox omits it, I am inclined to believe, with Dr. Cook, that a false respect for the memory of this martyr, had led his followers to represent some general declaration of God's vengeance against sinners, as an express denunciation against the cardinal.—Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 295, and note.

xxxviii. The unbounded exultation of the priests, on account of their victory, inflamed, not only the common people, but many noblemen of rank and influence, who, rather irritated than terrified, felt indignant at themselves, for suffering, by their own indolence, the country to have been reduced to such a state, that some remedy instantly, and at whatever risk, must be attempted, or the worst, and most ignominious tyranny must be endured. Complaints at length became general and open, and some of those who suffered most severely, began to conspire against the cardinal, and to encourage each other, either to regain their liberty, or sacrifice their lives. For what honourable prospect can remain, said they, under an arrogant priest, and cruel tyrant, who, waging war against God and man, not only regards as his enemies, the pious and the wealthy, but destroys every one who in the least offends him, however mean or wretched; who in public, promotes foreign and domestic hostilities, in private, unblushingly unites meretricious loves in wedlock, and breaks legitimate marriages at his pleasure; at home, revelling with prostitutes, and abroad, rioting in innocent blood.

xxxix. The cardinal, although he did not suspect the stability of his power, yet he was not ignorant of the disposition which was abroad, nor of the language which was commonly held respecting him, and thought it advisable to strengthen his influence by new ties. For this purpose he proceeded to Angus, where he gave his eldest daughter, in marriage to the earl of Crawford's son, and celebrated the nuptials with great splendour, and almost royal magnificence. During these rejoicings, being informed by his spies, that the king of England had collected a great naval force, for annoying Scotland, and chiefly threatened the coast of Fife, he returned to St. Andrews, and appointed a day for the nobility, particularly those whose estates were situated near the sea, to meet him, and concert measures for repelling this danger. That he might the more effectually provide against it, he determined, together with the proprietors, to make a tour along the whole coast, and fortify the most advantageous positions, and place garrisons in them.

xl. Among other young noblemen, Norman Leslie, son of

the earl of Rothes, who has been frequently mentioned, came to the cardinal. He had formerly, bravely, and faithfully served him, but a dispute about some private business, had for some time estranged them from each other. Norman, however, induced by great promises, had yielded the subject of contention, but after some months, when he came to demand the fulfilment of these promises, their conversation turned disputatious, at first not altogether decorous, and at last completely abusive, on which they separated, highly incensed against each other. The cardinal, enraged, because he had not been treated so respectfully as he wished, the other, because he considered himself circumvented by fraud. Norman, in consequence, returned to his friends, threatening vengeance, and having depicted to them Beaton's intolerable pride, they all readily conspired to put him to death. In order to avoid suspicion, Norman proceeded to St. Andrews, with only five companions, that their number might occasion no surmise, and lodged as usual, at the inn. There were in the town, ten other conspirators, who, in different quarters, waited the signal for commencing the enterprise, and with such a small band, did he dare to attempt this deed, in a town filled with the cardinal's relations and vassals. The days at that season were very long, as they are in these countries in the end of Spring, about May 7th, and the cardinal was fortifying his castle in such haste, that he urged the work almost night and day. Norman therefore placed two of his domestics in ambush, in a neighbouring house, who, at daybreak, when the gate was opened to admit the workmen, were to seize the porter, and after they had possession of the entrance, give a signal, which had been agreed on, to the rest. By this means, all the conspirators having entered without noise, they sent four of their number to guard the cardinal's chamber door, that no person might carry him intelligence, others, acquainted with the house and the men, were sent to the bedrooms of the rest, to raise the servants by name. These being awakened one by one, and threatened with instant death, if they made the least noise, were led away safely, and without any disturbance, were turned, half asleep, out of the castle. When the conspirators had dismissed every other

person, and remained sole masters of the place, those who guarded the cardinal's chamber, knocked at the door. On being asked who they were, when they told their names, the door was opened—having, according to some authors, promised that they would do no harm—and being admitted, they put him to death, with various wounds.

XLI. In the meantime, the report of the capture of the castle, spread through the whole city, and the friends of the cardinal, sleepy, headached, and languid, rose tardily from their beds, and in a tumultuous manner, calling to arms, ran to the castle. On their arrival, some demanded scaling ladders, with violent threatenings and execrations, and others brought the requisites for attempting a storm. Those who were within, and beheld their proceedings, in order to allay a little this sudden burst of passion, and recall the infuriated mob to some consideration, cried out to them:—That all their bustle was of no avail, they were too late to assist the dead. And in confirmation of what they said, exhibited the carcass to the multitude from that very place whence he had but a short while before, so joyfully beheld the punishment of George Wishart. This unexpected event, not only awoke reflections on the inconstancy of all human affairs, but many were also struck with the recollection of Wishart's prediction, respecting his persecutor's death, and several other warnings besides, which that holy man had uttered, not without the influence of the divine spirit, as we have reason to believe, and as the events justified. The cardinal's friends and relations, astonished at this unexpected spectacle, quickly dispersed.

XLII. When the accounts of this murder were published throughout the kingdom, every one pronounced, as he had loved or hated the deceased, either that it was an admirable, or an impious action. Numbers who, on account of their difference in religion, were in dread of their lives from his cruelty, and numbers who were disgusted at his intolerable arrogance, not only approved the act, but congratulated the authors, as the restorers of public liberty, and some even hazarded their lives and fortunes along with them. The court was violently agitated at the intelligence, and, as if deprived of common prudence by his loss, they who remained issued a proclama-

tion, denouncing the perpetrators of the deed, and ordering them, within six days, to appear and give surety, that on a day to be appointed, they would stand trial. But they held a well fortified castle, with all the cardinal's property and money, and the regent's eldest son, given as an hostage to the cardinal, as formerly mentioned; and as they had no confidence in the promises of the enemy, whose perfidy and levity they had before experienced, they would hearken to no conditions, or mention of peace. They were in consequence outlawed. In this manner, negotiations were protracted by threats, and empty promises, on the one side, and distrust on the other, from the month of May till November.

XLIII. In that month, induced by the importunity of the queen dowager, and the imprecations and reproaches of the priests, the regent took arms, laid siege to the castle, and battered it for three months with his cannon. In the fourth month, however, at the end of winter, he disbanded his army, without reducing it, and returned to Edinburgh, to hold the parliament, summoned for February. They who kept the castle, now freed from the dread of the enemy, not only wasted the neighbouring places by frequent excursions, but, as if their arms gave them a right, indulged in every species of licentiousness, which idleness and abundance produce. Nor could the exhortations of John Knox, who then had come to them, restrain their iniquity, although he often admonished them:—That God would not be mocked, but would soon inflict severe punishment upon them, by those whom they least feared, on account of the profanation of his laws.

XLIV. Besides this domestic evil, raging in the very bowels of the land, a foreign war was added; for the English having collected an army, passed the Solway, and spread terror far and wide, as, besides plundering and burning the open country, they stormed some of the strongholds, and put garrisons in them. Nor were the other borders more tranquil. Robert Maxwell, on whom the severest rage of the storm had fallen, came to Edinburgh to ask assistance, almost in a state of desperation, for the fields, he said, were as so many vast solitudes, the fortresses in the hands of the enemy, the cultivators of the land expelled their paternal roofs, and reduced to beggary,

lived on the compassion of their friends, all which they endured, because they would not change their allegiance; but if no steps were taken for their relief, they would soon be forced, by their miseries, and their neighbours, by the fear of similar misfortunes, to swear fealty to the king of England. The regent having promised Maxwell assistance to recover his possessions, marched with an army, and encamped at Meggat river. There he was strongly importuned by the friends and relations of the cardinal, to bring to trial George Leslie, the father of Norman, who was with him, nor carry as his companion to the war, so powerful a nobleman, of doubtful fidelity, or rather an open enemy. The earl, although both the time and the place was unfavourable, consented, and the judges being chosen in the manner formerly described, and none of the names objected to by the accused, he was acquitted by an unanimous verdict.

XLV. Having marched thence to Langholm, whence the English were expelled, the regent was preparing to attempt some of the other garrisons, when the troops were suddenly recalled by a messenger, who brought intelligence that the French fleet was descried off St. Abb's head, consisting of twenty-one sail of vessels of war. The regent, who expected they were come to besiege the castle of St. Andrews—as was the case—hastened joyfully home. After a conference with Leon Strozzi, the admiral of the French navy, he joined him with his forces, and commenced the siege of the castle with so much celerity, that a number of the garrison were shut out, and a number who had not engaged in the conspiracy, but were in the castle on business, were shut in. Immediately cannon were planted on the steeples of the two churches in the neighbourhood, which rendered the whole court of the castle so unsafe for the besieged, that no one without evident risk of his life, durst venture to appear out of doors. In a short time, the wall between the two towers, where the new building had not sufficiently cemented with the old, shaken by the large cannon, fell with a great crash, and now, those who, trusting to the fortifications, had formerly shown themselves forward in every attack, began to be alarmed; and having called a council of war, in this extremity, fearing the regent's

cruelty—a vice usually strongest in cowards—in avenging his relation's death, they surrendered to Leon Strozzi, stipulating only for their safety. Strozzi then sent his men to spoil the castle, in which, besides the greatest abundance of provisions, and supplies of every kind, they found the cardinal's money and furniture, the property of the garrison, and the effects of many others, who had carried their valuables to the castle, as to a place of safety; together with the regent's son, given as an hostage to the cardinal, and after his death, detained in the castle. The fortress was destroyed by order of the council, and Strozzi in a few days, set sail with his prisoners for France. The castle was surrendered, August, 1547.

XLVI. The French fleet had scarcely departed, when information was brought, that the English had assembled a great naval and military force, and were about to invade Scotland, and demand the fulfilment of the treaty, which had been concluded four years before with the regent, for the marriage of the queen of Scotland with the son of the English king. This sudden rumour greatly alarmed the regent, otherwise sufficiently imbecile, as he had no foreign auxiliaries, nor could he much confide in his domestic forces, for he had disgusted the popish faction by his levity, and the friends of the exiled Lennox retained still the seeds of that hatred which his cruelty and avarice had planted. Yet, upon his proclamation, a considerable army assembled at Edinburgh, whence marching to the mouth of the river Esk, which flows through Lothian, he there awaited the approach of the English. In the meantime, the Scottish horsemen riding up to the advancing army, on all sides annoyed their march, and by their taunts endeavoured to provoke them to battle. But the English commander, who knew that the Scots far excelled his own troops in skirmishing, forbade any one to leave the main body to attack them. At last, at the entreaty of Gray, the commander of the horse, he permitted some troops of heavy armed cavalry and cuirassiers, to rush upon them unexpectedly, and when unprepared, by which sudden onset, the Scots, who were unapprehensive of any enemy, were put to a confused flight, and about eight hundred were either killed, or made

prisoners. Many of the English, from their over eagerness in the pursuit, were taken captive, and among them some distinguished cavalry officers. From that day, the Scottish horse were engaged in no memorable action. The English were encamped at the village of Preston, little more than a mile distant from them. Thence, from the high grounds, viewing the Scottish forces, when they saw a much greater number assembled than they had expected, they called a council, and sent a message to the Scots, desiring, if equitable terms could be obtained, rather to finish the war by treaty, than by arms. The sum of these despatches was,

XLVII. They earnestly entreated the Scots first to remember that both the armies were Christians, to whom, unless they disregarded their professions, nothing ought to be more desirable than peace and tranquillity, and nothing more detestable than war and unjust violence; and next, that the present war had not arisen from ambition, hatred, or envy, but from a desire of establishing perpetual peace, which could in no way be more firmly cemented than by a matrimonial alliance, which had already received the sanction and promise of parliament, and had been openly confirmed by a treaty, whose stipulations were more favourable to the Scots than to the English, who invited them not to slavery, but to a friendly association and community of fortune. By so much would these nuptials be advantageous to the Scots, rather than to the English, in as far as the hope of advantage, and the fear or injury, was greater to the weaker than to the more powerful. In this case, in weighing the argument, it ought to be considered, first, the expedience to the Scots of having their queen married; the necessity is inevitable, the management difficult, the power of choosing a husband being left to parliament alone. Now, if a husband is to be chosen on account of his dignity and the public advantage, whom would they prefer to a neighbouring king, born in the same island, nearly related, educated in the same laws, institutions, manners and language, and superior not in power only, but in external dignity and wealth, and who brings, in addition, perpetual amity, and an oblivion of all ancient animosity; but if they proposed to bring a stranger, unacquainted with their

language, manners and institutions, into the kingdom, they ought to reflect upon the many evils involved in such a resolution, and how many inconveniences he would bring with him, which they might perceive from the example of other nations, a mode of instruction preferable to learning by their own experience. On their part, if the Scots discovered a spirit of conciliation, they would abate something of their extreme right, and would consent that the young queen should be educated by themselves, till she was marriageable, and till she herself was capable, with the advice of her nobles, of choosing a husband; that, till that period, both nations should abstain from violence and arms; that the queen should not be transported to any foreign country; and that no matrimonial engagement should be made with France, or any other foreign nation. If the Scots would solemnly promise to consent to these conditions, they would withdraw in a peaceable manner, and for whatever damage Scotland had suffered by their invasion, they would make compensation according to the decision of upright men.

XLVIII. These letters were brought to the regent, who showed them to his brother John, archbishop of St. Andrews, whom he had assumed in the government in place of the cardinal, and to some few others. They, confident of victory, advised him to suppress them, for they were afraid, if they were made public, and the fairness of the propositions understood, many would be inclined to peaceable counsels; but they caused a report to be spread through the whole army, that the English had come with the design of taking away the queen by violence, and reducing the kingdom to their subjection by force of arms. The regent, naturally indolent, chose four, none of whom understood military affairs any better than himself, by whose directions he was completely guided. Three of these were his relations, his brother John, archbishop of St. Andrews, George Durie, abbot of Dunfermline, and Archibald Beaton; the fourth was Hugh Riggs, a lawyer, more remarkable for his huge body and personal strength, than for any knowledge of military affairs. These men had so elated the regent, with the vain hope of victory, that, although naturally inconstant, and changeable in his purpose at

every rumour, he turned a deaf ear to the advice of every other person.

XLIX. The regent's friends having circulated, through the Scottish army, the reports they had themselves invented, the soldiers immediately ran tumultuously to arms. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, was appointed to lead the first line, and George Gordon, earl of Huntly, the second; to both were given each ten thousand brave soldiers, and the regent had nearly the same number in the centre. A sudden rumour now arose, that the English were flying; nor was it altogether without foundation, for their provisions being exhausted, and they durst neither forage at a distance, nor could obtain supplies near, on account of the scarcity, the only method of preserving themselves was, as they thought, to leave part of their baggage, and by long marches, effect their retreat; but as with their number of armed men, they durst not venture to engage in the plain, and could not, by going round, deceive the enemy, they resolved to await their approach on the heights. On the other hand, the regent, impatient of delay, by one of his aides-de-camp, advised Douglas to advance with his division. Douglas, as he knew that the English could not long remain where they were, on account of their want of provisions, and waited to attack them in their retreat, marched slowly, until ordered by the regent to quicken his motion. Then, at last, he crossed the river, the centre and rear divisions following at considerable distances.

L. The English, who were on the eve of departing, when they saw Douglas approach, sent Gray, the commander of the cavalry, with all the horse to oppose him, and delay his progress, till their infantry took possession of the next hill, or to break the Scottish ranks if an opportunity offered, for the greater part of their troops being armed after the French manner, they did not think it possible the Scots could sustain their charge; but the Scottish phalanx, formed in close order, their long spears projecting as a rampart, awaited their advance. The first rank of the English being received upon their points, the next, as if taken in a snare, retreated back to their main army, and affirmed, that it was as impossible to break the Scottish ranks, as to break through a stone wall; on

which, the English horse, having left the foot, were preparing for flight, when, partly by their mutual exhortations, partly restrained by their commanders, and hoping for a more advantageous position, order was restored. The Scots were chiefly prevented from marching forward against those on the opposite hill, by seeing Iamboa, a Spaniard, descending with some troops of Spanish heavy dragoons, as if to take them in flank. Wherefore, lest the phalanx should be forced, by any sudden attack, to divide, or lest they should be surrounded on the flanks, they gradually obliques from the direct ascent. The centre division, when they saw the first leave their route, believing that they were put to flight, broke their ranks and fled. The English, perceiving this from the high ground, sent out their horse, and cut down great numbers of the fugitives. During the whole of the march, from the Esk to the English camp, the English fleet played upon the left flank of the Scots, and did them much mischief. All the road was strewed with arms and dead bodies, and numbers were drowned in the river in their retreat. The English were most inveterate against the priests and monks, for all of them, who were fit to bear arms, came into the field; and many attributed the disasters of that day to them, who had so arrogantly rejected an honourable peace, and who would have used a victory, if they had obtained it, more cruelly against their own countrymen than the English. There fell of the English horsemen, in the first charge, about two hundred; but of the Scots, almost all the young men of noble family fell, along with their friends and vassals, who thought they could not without infamy desert them, and many were taken in flight. The Gael* formed into a circle in good order, and retreated without loss, first through rugged roads impervious to cavalry, nor when they were obliged to descend into the plain, durst the English horse, who pursued the dispersed fugitives, dare to attack them. This battle, among the few engagements most fatal to the Scots, was fought on the 10th of September, A. D. 1547.

LI. The English having obtained a victory, the more wel-

* Scoti prisci, the Highlanders.

come because unexpected, advanced above five miles with all their forces, and remained eight days, ravaging the whole country for six miles round by their foraging parties. They attempted, however, nothing besides worthy of notice, except that they fortified the barren islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, in the Frith of Forth, and took Broughty castle, in the Frith of Tay. On their return, the army reduced the fortresses of Fastcastle and Hume, and established garrisons, one at Lauder, and another on the ruins of Roxburgh castle. Their sudden departure somewhat relieved the Scots, and afforded them an opportunity of assembling to consult about the state of the country. Immediately after the battle, the regent, attended by those who had survived the carnage, proceeded to Stirling, where the two queens were residing, with several of the other nobility. He and his brother appeared sincerely sad and dejected, on account of the calamity their misconduct had brought upon the country. The queen dowager too, in their presence, lamented the misfortune both by her looks and her language, but when alone with her confidential friends, she rejoiced at the pride of the Hamiltons being humbled. This disposition, however, to rejoice in the midst of public calamity, parasites, who usually disguise the vices of kings under honourable names, style, greatness of soul! The queen dowager, besides, ever since the death of the cardinal, had been anxious, on all occasions, to displace the regent, and obtain possession of the whole power herself; nor could she ever hope to effect this, while his party retained their ascendance, and kept all the fortified places in their hands. In almost all her discourses, she aggravated the apprehensions entertained on account of the English, displayed the weakness of the domestic troops, and exhibited the dangers threatened by civil discord, and she communicated her designs to those she knew to be inimical to the Hamiltons.

LII. In a general meeting of the nobles, it was determined to place the queen in Dunbarton, until the whole state of the kingdom should be settled by parliament, and she was committed to the care of John Erskine, an open partisan of the queen dowager's, to whom was added William Levingston, an adherent of the Hamiltons. Ambassadors were likewise

sent to Henry, the French king, to demand assistance, according to treaty, against the common enemy. Hopes were even held out, that the queen would be sent to France, and given in marriage to the dauphin. But while the French were engaged in their own domestic troubles, and their auxiliaries were more tardy than the pressing danger required, the English entered Scotland on both the borders. The earl of Lennox, as if invited by his friends, came to Dumfries about the winter solstice, for his father-in-law, Angus, and his old friend, Glencairn, had promised him two thousand horse, besides the foot of the neighbouring countries, if he would desert the English, but when he arrived at the place, on the day appointed, scarcely three hundred assembled, and they chiefly freebooters. These, and some other very suspicious circumstances of a similar nature, but chiefly the versatile disposition of John Maxwell, who had given hostages to the English, persuaded Lennox that he was betrayed. He, therefore, determined to deceive his enemies by a similar stratagem. Taking with him Glencairn, Maxwell, and others of the Scottish nobles, who had negotiated his return to his own country, in the middle of the night, he ordered six hundred horse, partly English, and partly Scots, who had joined him to march to Drumlanrick. When he arrived at a station he had previously fixed on, he sent about five hundred of his followers to waste the country tumultuously, on purpose to draw James Douglas into an ambush. But Douglas, suspecting some design, waited with his people till day; then, freed from the fear of snares, he issued forth against the straggling plunderers, and passing the river Nith with his followers, attacked them in rear as they were returning. They, on reaching a situation where they had room, and opportunity to rally, turned on their pursuers, charged them with impetuosity, and having thrown them into confusion, at a narrow ford, slew a few as they were crowded together, and took a great number of gentlemen prisoners. This trifling expedition struck such terror over a great part of Galloway, that they strove who should first surrender to the English, partly wishing to gratify Lennox, and partly afraid, lest, being deserted by their neighbours, they might be left to sustain the whole

weight of the enemy. The regent fearing, if he attempted nothing, when such tumults were raging around him, that the spirits of his party, already cast down, would be altogether broken, besieged Broughty castle. After sitting before it three months, during which he did nothing, he decamped with his followers, leaving James Haliburton, an active young man, to keep the neighbourhood on the alert, and prevent any provisions being carried by land to Broughty, or any communication with a garrison which the English had placed on an adjacent hill. These transactions took place about the end of the year.

LIII. Next year, A. D. 1548, the English fortified Haddington, a town on the river Tyne, in Lothian, and burning the villages, and destroying the farms, rendered the most fertile districts in Scotland almost an entire wilderness; they also formed another garrison at Lauder. Lennox, about the end of February, having passed the western border, narrowly escaped an ambush laid for him by some of those who had surrendered, and, on returning to Carlisle, he put to death several of the hostages, particularly John Maxwell, who he understood, by letters from the king of England, was the principal instigator of the plot.

LIV. During these transactions, Henry, king of France, who succeeded his father Francis, sent six thousand troops by sea to Scotland, among whom were three thousand German infantry, under the Rhinegrave, nearly two thousand French, and about one thousand of different nations, all horse. M. D'Essy, a Frenchman, who had served with reputation some years in his own country, was their commander-in-chief. This armament landed at Leith, and were ordered to be quartered at Edinburgh, till they recovered from the sea-sickness. The regent, in the meantime, marched with what forces he had ready to Haddington, and taking possession of all the avenues, blockaded the city. He was here joined in a few days by about eight thousand Scottish soldiers, who assembled in consequence of his proclamation. The debate being resumed, among the nobility who were present, about sending the queen to France, and marrying her to the Dauphin, a parliament was held in the abbey, which is without Hadding-

ton, that is, in the camp itself. In this meeting there was a violent dispute. Some contended, that a perpetual war with England, and slavery to France, were to be dreaded from removing the queen; others thought, from the agreement in religion, and the present aspect of the times, the offered friendship of England ought to be embraced, especially as a ten years' peace presented itself, without any new chains, or more burdensome stipulations to the Scots; for if either the king of England, or the queen of the Scots, should die within ten years, every thing would remain as it was in both nations; but although no fortuitous event might occur, yet the kingdom, freed from the present miseries by which its strength was broken and almost overwhelmed, the youth, whom the last dreadful disaster had nearly annihilated, would increase during a long peace, and, intestine dissensions being hushed, the high concerns of the commonwealth could be more gravely deliberated upon, than amid the sound of horns and trumpets; that, in such consultations, delay was often salutary, while hasty precipitation was frequently followed by speedy repentance.

LV. All the papists favoured the French interest, besides numbers who had been previously won over by French gifts, or who entertained great expectations of emolument, among whom was the regent, who had an yearly revenue of twelve thousand French livres allowed him, and the command of one hundred cuirassiers; and thus the majority acceded to the proposal for sending the queen to France; on which, the fleet that had come to carry her away, and had in the meantime remained at Leith, pretending to take their departure, sailed round the whole of Scotland, and arrived at Dunbarton, where the queen, who had waited there several months for their arrival, went on board, attended by her brother James, John Erskine, and William Levingston. After experiencing some very severe weather, she landed at last in Brittany, a peninsula in France, whence, by easy journies, she was brought to court.

LVI. While the war in Scotland paused at Haddington, the common people improved the opportunities afforded for exerting themselves in other places. The excursions of the enemy

from the castles of Fastcastle and Hume, had produced much mischief in the neighbouring countries. At last, the Scots perceiving that the watches in Hume castle were more careless in going their rounds, they one night clambered up the rock, on that side where, from its precipitous situation, they knew it would be least carefully guarded, and killing the sentinel, took possession of the castle. Not long after, when the governor of Fastcastle had ordered the neighbouring countrymen to bring a great quantity of provisions, on an appointed day, the youth in the vicinity seizing this opportunity, came in great numbers at the set time, and having unloaded their waggons, carried the burthens on their shoulders along the bridge, which stretched between two rocks. As soon as they entered the place, they threw down their loads in the gateway, and on a given signal, slew the guards, and before the rest of the English could assemble, having seized their arms, and taken possession of the approaches, they let in their associates at the gates, and obtained the castle.

LVII. Nor was the English maritime force idle, during these proceedings. The whole weight of the war by land, being directed towards Haddington, the leaders of the enemy, thinking that the neighbouring countries must be defenceless, determined to make a descent on the coast of Fife. Wherefore, having sailed past several well inhabited maritime villages, they landed at the populous village of St. Minians, whence they might march by land to larger, but less fortified places, of which the spoil would better reward their exertions. James Stuart, the queen's brother, on the first alarm hastened thither with the people of St. Andrews, and a number of the countrymen who had been left at home, and was joined in his progress by many in the vicinity. The English, who were already landed, about twelve hundred strong, stood drawn up in order of battle, and by the terror of their cannon, which they brought from the vessels, easily dispersed a crowd of rustics. James, however, having rallied the fugitives, rushed upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that although the greater part of his followers were a hastily collected crowd, he instantly attacked, routed, and chased them to the sea, with great slaughter. Many fell in the fight, and not a few were drowned in the

hurry of re-embarking. One boat, with all on board, sunk, in the confusion of putting off to the vessels. On that day, six hundred were said to be killed, and one hundred taken prisoners.

LVIII. Thence the fleet sailed to the Mearns, a less populous district, with the intention of surprising Montrose, a town situate not far from the mouth of the river Esk. They resolved to make their descent during the night, and remained at anchor without sight of land, till the light departed, but when they approached the shore in the dark, they betrayed their secret design to the enemy, by their own imprudence in hoisting lights in all their boats. John Erskine, of Dun, the provost of the town, ordered all the inhabitants to take arms without noise, and divided them into three bands. Some he placed at the back of a sand bank, raised to prevent the landing of the enemy. He himself led the dart-men, and other light armed troops, against the invader. The third band, consisting of servants, and a promiscuous crowd of the common people, with a few military men to direct them, he ordered to wait behind the nearest sand hill. Having thus arranged his preparations, he proceeded with his party, and briskly attacked the enemy as they were landing, and in an irregular skirmish, drew them towards the sand hill. There, forming a junction with the other party who were drawn up in order of battle, they all attacked the enemy, who notwithstanding, did not give way, till the others on the neighbouring hill, showed themselves with their banners; then, at last, they ran with such haste to the sea, and to their ships, that of about eight hundred who landed, scarcely a third part escaped.

LIX. Meanwhile, several brisk sallies took place at Haddington, with considerable loss to both parties, but chiefly upon the side of the English. The garrison, however, being straitened for provisions, and as the promised assistance would apparently arrive too late, Sir Robert Bowes, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were ordered to proceed thither hastily from Berwick, with one thousand foot, and two hundred horse, but, having fallen into an ambush, they were entirely defeated. On which, the English endeavoured to send another expedition, when their intention being discovered, the French commander took

possession of the narrow road through which they were to come, but being deceived by one of their scouts whom he had taken, who informed him that the English were yet at a distance, and intended to penetrate to their friends by another route, D'Essy left the pass, and marched to that quarter, and the English, without any opposition, reached the town with the supplies, consisting of three hundred soldiers, with ammunition and provisions, of which the besieged were greatly in want.

LX. Whilst these transactions were going forward at Haddington, with various success, and without promoting the object of the war, certain intelligence was brought, that the English had levied an army to raise the siege. D'Essy, who knew himself inferior to the approaching force, removed to some distance from the town, and sent all his brass cannon, except six small fieldpieces, to Edinburgh. At last, the arrival of the English army raised the siege; and, as the commanders of the Scots were not inclined to risk the fate of the kingdom upon a single battle, those who were nearest their habitations, returned home. The French, though hardly pressed by the English, retired without damage. In their retreat, they slew the provost of Edinburgh, and his son, together with some citizens, who opposed their entrance into the town with all their forces, as they knew they could not be restrained from licentious plundering.

LXI. D'Essy, to prevent the sedition from increasing, and thinking the enemy would have become negligent by their success, determined to attempt, if it were possible, to take Haddington by surprise. Having marched during almost the whole night, he arrived at daybreak before the walls, killed the sentinels, and then stormed an outwork that covered the entrance; after which, he with one party, attempted to force the gates, while another attacked the nearest English granaries. The noise of the attempt upon the gates, and the hurry of the French soldiers in calling out victory, at last, with difficulty, aroused the English from sleep. In the midst of this trepidation, a soldier discharged one of the largest cannon, which accidentally stood opposite the gate, that in the present emergency, he might try even a doubtful remedy,

and the ball shivering the gate, did such execution among the crowded ranks of the French, that the cries of the soldiers exclaiming victory, and the crash of the broken gates, carried a discordant noise to the rear, who, ignorant of the cause, took to flight, and carried the rest along with them. The French being thus repulsed with loss, marched into Teviotdale, where the English had been committing great ravages, and under the command of D'Essy, drove them from Jedburgh, and made many successful incursions into the enemy's territories. At length, having wasted all the borders, besides being fatigued with their daily labour, they began to be in want of provisions, but their situation excited little pity, on account of the sedition at Edinburgh, which was looked upon as an attempt to introduce tyranny. After this, the French did nothing of importance.

LXII. The king of France, informed by despatches from the regent and queen dowager, that D'Essy incurred great expense by trifling, and almost useless expeditions, more oppressive to his friends than to his enemies, and that the insolence of the French soldiers, particularly since the sedition at Edinburgh, had so much increased, that immediate ruin was threatened by intestine discord, recalled him, and sent Paul Termes, an experienced soldier, and able politician, into Scotland, with some additional forces. D'Essy, who thought it would be honourable, before he was superseded, to retake the island of Inchkeith, which the English had seized a few days before, and were beginning to fortify, collected a fleet at Leith, and embarked with a chosen band of Scottish and French forces, the queen dowager, who was a spectator, encouraging them now individually, and now in a body. At his landing, he drove the English to the highest nooks of the island, and when almost their whole officers were killed, forced them to surrender, but not without suffering considerably himself. After performing this last brave exploit in Britain, he delivered up the army to Termes.

LXIII. The new commander having led his army out of winter quarters, ordered them to march to the north, and after the departure of D'Essy, immediately followed himself. Proceeding against Broughty castle, he took it, and soon after,

the adjoining fort, from the English, the garrisons of both being almost entirely destroyed. When he returned to Lotherian, and had distributed his whole force, so as to prevent provisions from being carried to Haddington, a large army of English and Germans, suddenly presented itself in battle array, on which he drew off his army with great celerity, and in good order, to a more secure station. Meanwhile, the Scottish horse, who skirmished with the enemy in every direction to protect the retreat, having perceived that the baggage of the Germans was left unguarded, seized, and carried it off in a moment. Provisions in the interim, were carried into Haddington without opposition. During these movements, Julianio Romero, who lay at Coldingham with a Spanish regiment, as carelessly as if it had been peace, was attacked, himself taken, and nearly the whole of the party put to the sword.

LXIV. Termes, on the departure of the English forces, resolved to return to the siege of Haddington. The defenders were brave, but all the country round about was laid waste, and provisions could only be brought with difficulty and danger from a great distance, in small quantities, seldom, and never without loss; besides, the English were distracted with a serious insurrection at home, and distressed with the French war abroad. The garrison, therefore, despairing of any assistance, after setting fire to the town, departed for England, 1st of October, 1549. The garrison at Lauder too, was reduced so much by the want of every thing, that it was upon the point of surrendering, when intelligence was unexpectedly received, of peace having been concluded between the English and French, which was proclaimed in Scotland on the 1st of April, 1550, and in the following month of May, the French soldiers, together with the fleet, were sent home. External peace lasted for about three years, but it was not less tormenting and pernicious than the severest war, on account of the rapacity and cruelty of those at the head of the government—the regent, and his brother the archbishop of St. Andrews, particularly the archbishop, who indulged in every species of licentiousness.

LXV. The first presage of future tyranny, was in allowing the murder of William Crichton, a person of eminence, to go

unpunished. He was killed in the very palace of the regent, and almost in his presence, by Robert Semple, yet Semple was screened from punishment, at the entreaty of his daughter, who was the archbishop's concubine.* The archbishop, who, during the life of the king, was one of his confidential advisers, and professed a love for the reformed religion, upon his death, plunged headlong into all manner of debauchery. Among his numerous mistresses, he kept, almost as his proper wife, this Semple—whom he had carried off from her husband, his own neighbour and relation—a woman, remarkable neither for beauty, character, nor any thing but lasciviousness. Next followed the death of John Melville, a nobleman of Fife, who was one of the most familiar friends of the late king. On him were found some letters to a certain Englishman, to whom he recommended a friend, who was a prisoner, and although there was not the most distant appearance of treason in them, the writer was brought to trial, and lost his head; and what made his punishment the more shameful, his inheritance was bestowed on David, the regent's youngest son.† The suffering in these cases, touched indeed only a few, but the hatred they excited, extended to many, and the examples they afforded, reached all. The regent, who, on account of his unskilful government, and his absolute indolence, had already disgusted the common people, now for other reasons became daily more vile,‡ especially after the execution of George Wishart, as numbers attributed the calamities which followed, to the death of that holy man, those particularly, who not only knew the purity of his actions, but the unblamable tenor of his whole life, and who were persuaded from his many, and most ver-

* William Crichton, lord Sanquhar, he was killed by Robert, lord Semple. Semple's daughter, better known as lady Gilton, bore a son to the archbishop, John Hamilton, of Blair, near Culross.

† Knox styles him Laird of Raith, and mentions that the letter was addressed to his son, then in England.—Hist. Book i. p. 82.

‡ In the end of this year, Adam Wallace, a plain simple man, was burned upon the castle hill, Edinburgh, but so fast were the principles of the reformation extending, that the earl of Glencairn, who was one of the judges, protested openly in court, when he was condemned, that he did not consent to the death.

acious predictions, that he had received the gift of prophecy by divine communication.

LXVI. While the authority of the regent was on these accounts declining, another and more extensive evil followed, which occasioned loud and universal complaints. Courts being appointed throughout the whole kingdom, ostensibly to check robberies, but, in fact, for no other purpose than plundering the public under plausible pretexts. Money was extorted from all who were cited, and as much exacted from honest men as from thieves, in both cases the fine being measured not by the nature of the accusation, but the wealth of the accused. Nor were the professors of the reformed religion exempted from his cruelty and avarice, although he himself had formerly been attached to that party, and had not now the cardinal to use as a cover for his vices. But what completed the exasperation of the people was, that the money, thus basely extorted in the name of the regent, was more flagitiously spent by the lust of his brother.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XVI.

I. **H**AVING arranged matters at home, the queen dowager determined to go to France, partly to visit her country, her relations, and her daughter, and partly to embrace the opportunity which appeared to offer itself for securing the chief power of the state, and to take with her, in her train, those noblemen who favoured her design;* for this ambitious and intriguing woman, hoped easily to drive from his situation the regent, who was becoming daily more despicable by his misconduct, and substitute herself in his room. She remained in France above a year, and made the court acquainted with the state of Scotland, who heard her with the utmost attention, and was easily persuaded by her brothers to accede to her wishes. The French king, in order to accomplish his designs upon Scotland without disturbance, advanced the nobility, who accompanied the queen dowager from Scotland, to various honourable employments, according to their rank and situation, and heaped honour upon all who were connected with the regent. He promoted his son James† to the command of all the Scottish soldiers in the pay of France, and promised him besides, an annuity of twelve thousand French livres. He created Huntly, whose son was married

* These were the earls Huntly, Glencairn, Cassillis, Marischal, lord Maxwell, Fleeming, and a long train of inferior barons.

† The earl of Arran, of whom afterward much mention is made. He became deranged, as was generally supposed, from being disappointed in obtaining queen Mary in marriage

to the regent's daughter, earl of Moray. * He made the youngest of Rothes' sons, by different mothers, who were disputing about their succession, earl, because he was allied to Hamilton.† By the advice of the queen dowager, he sent for Robert Carnegie,‡ a friend of the regent, lately arrived in France, to thank him for his assistance against the English, also David Painter, for several years ambassador in France, and Gavin, abbot of Kilwinning, all staunch adherents of the Hamilton faction, to whom he mentioned what he had discussed with the Guises some days before, and of which the scope was:—That they would represent to the regent how gratifying it would be to the king, if he would yield up, to the queen dowager, the short time that remained to him for exercising the magistracy; which request, as it was fair and equitable, and agreeable to the laws, so he would take care that his compliance should not be prejudicial to his interest, as it would secure the steady friendship of a munificent king. They were likewise desired to inform him of the favours he had spontaneously bestowed upon them and their friends, whence the regent could judge what he might expect. The French king sent Carnegie home, loaded with magnificent promises, and, a short time after, ordered Painter, the Scottish ambassador, bishop of Ross, to follow him, who, being eloquent and possessed of great influence, was instructed to manage the negotiation with the regent and his friends, for transferring the government into the hands of the queen dowager, which he at length with considerable difficulty effected. For his fidelity and diligence in transacting this business,

* The earldom of Moray had fallen to the crown, by the demise of earl James, the illegitimate son of James IV. It did not, however, long remain in the Gordon family, and was afterward given by queen Mary to James, her illegitimate brother, regent Moray.

† Norman Leslie, the earl of Rothes' eldest son, having been forfeited for cardinal Beaton's murder, his brothers-german could not succeed as heirs to him. Therefore, his half brother, by the father's side, who was married to the daughter of Sir James Hamilton of Avendale, cousin to the regent, was, by the French king's interest, created earl of Rothes.

‡ Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, afterward knighted and made a lord of session, grandfather to David, earl of Southesk.

he was rewarded by the French king with an abbacy in Poitou. The queen, now certain of success in Scotland, where every thing seemed ready for depriving the Scots of their ancient liberty, and reducing them under the yoke of the French, accompanied by M. D'Osel, an able politician, as plenipotentiary, to aid her with his advice, returned home through England. *

II. The year after she arrived, she followed the regent, on a judicial circuit, through almost every part of the country, and, by degrees, conciliated the affections of the nobility to herself. In this whole journey, few of the notoriously guilty suffered capitally, the generality being punished by fines. The queen could not approve of this conduct, yet was she not sorry at it, for in as much as the regent lost the favour of the public, so far did she calculate upon the whole concentrating in herself. In the mean time, having won over the nobility to her party, she endeavoured, through the medium of his friends, to induce the regent voluntarily to abdicate the helm. His relations, when they surveyed his resources, and saw his want of money, and his few adherents, and what a heavy balance there was against him in the accounts of his tutorage—king James V. having left, at his death, a great quantity of money, arms, ships, horses, and cannon, and an extensive and precious wardrobe, which he [the regent] had squandered among his friends in a few years—and perceived that the day of settlement could not long be deferred, as the queen would soon be of age, they thought, if he could free himself from these embarrassments, by abdicating the government, it would not be a great loss; he would only apparently give up to the

* She made application to Edward VI. for a safe conduct, which was readily granted; it is dated, Westminster, 12th May, 1551. She landed at Portsmouth, and having intimated a wish to see the young king, to whom her daughter had been betrothed, he ordered her to be treated, on her arrival, with the greatest respect, and conducted by some of the chief nobility to London, where he entertained her with magnificent hospitality. On her departure, she was escorted by persons of rank in all the English counties through which she passed, till she arrived in Scotland. This interview with the young monarch left a very favourable impression upon her, and often afterward she spoke of him in terms of high admiration.

French, what had long been managed by their direction, and, laying aside the invidious title of a regent, which he could not long retain, would purchase the safety and security of himself and friends. Satisfied with this representation, an agreement was entered into, upon condition, that the king of France should be accountable for all the effects of the late king which Hamilton had seized upon, and free him from all responsibility, with regard to the intromissions during his guardianship, upon his restoring, upon oath, whatever remained unappropriated. But the oath was of little avail, for, twelve years after, when Hamilton castle was taken, after the battle of Langside, many articles were found there which discovered his perjury.

III. Large presents were made to the regent, and he received the title of duke of Chatellerault, a town of Poictou, situate on the river Vienne, with an annuity of twelve thousand French livres, of which the half was paid for some years, to which was added, by universal consent, that if the queen died without children, Hamilton should be deemed the next heir. These conditions, being agreed upon, were sent over to France to be confirmed by the queen and her guardians. Her guardians, chosen by the advice of her mother, were Henry II., king of France, Francis, duke of Guise, and Charles the cardinal, his brother. The regent, however, although, by the advice of Painter, he had promised to retire from the public administration, yet, upon the time approaching, that was to terminate his government, when he thought how great the descent would be from the chief magistracy to a private station, and how much he would be exposed to those whom he had so greatly offended, his usual inconstancy of disposition began to render every thing uncertain. He then openly endeavoured, by framing excuses, to recede from his engagements, alleging, that the queen was not quite twelve years of age. Although this excuse might have been easily answered, yet the queen dowager chose rather to withdraw to Stirling, and wait the time when the guardianship would expire by law, than to quarrel about so small a matter, however certain. In this retreat, when the greater part of the nobility resorted to her—fortune seeming to incline that way—she never ceased, by

every method, to allure the wavering to her party, or to confirm those who were attached to her, by buoying up the hopes of all with great expectations and many promises, both in general and to individuals, of what she would perform when she succeeded to the government, which they all knew must be soon. By these arts she was so successful, that only two of the chief nobility adhered to the regent; the rest came over to the side of the queen. Those who remained with him, were John, his bastard brother, * and Levingston, his near relation. This solitude in the regent's court, and, as it were, public notice of the displeasure of all ranks, and the numerous attendance of the nobles upon the queen, forced him to revert to the agreement which he had rejected, on condition, that the queen dowager should procure a ratification of the deed by the estates at their first meeting, and by the guardians in France.

iv. About this time, England was thrown into confusion by the death of Edward VI., a young prince of the greatest expectations, whose excellent natural dispositions had been admirably cultivated by education. In the beginning of next spring, the nobles assembled at Stirling, and in a full meeting, expressed their approbation of all that had been transacted with the regent, and which the queen, together with her guardians, had subscribed. This condition was added, that the regent should be the governor of Dunbarton, and, on purpose to complete the arrangement, a parliament was summoned to be held at Edinburgh, on the 10th of April next, where all the agreements, formerly mentioned, approved of by the guardians, were produced; which being read, the regent rising up, publicly vacated his office, and delivered over the insignia of government to M. D'Osel, who received them in the name of the absent queen, and, according to her mandate, delivered them to the queen dowager, who received them with the general approbation of the estates, and being substituted in the room of the regent, was conducted with great pomp through the city, to the palace in the suburbs; while the regent, who had gone to parliament, attended by a

* Archbishop of St. Andrews, and lord Levingston his cousin.

great number of nobility, having the crown, sword, and sceptre, carried in state before him according to custom, reduced to a private station, mingled in the crowd, A. D. 1555.* This was a new and hitherto unheard of spectacle in Scotland, for then first, by act of parliament, was a woman promoted to the government of the kingdom. Notwithstanding this inclination towards the French, the Scots never could be induced to commit the castle of Edinburgh to a foreign garrison, fearing, lest if the queen should die without children, it might become the seat of French tyranny. It was therefore intrusted to John † Erskine, as a mediator between the parties, to be surrendered to no one except by order of the estates.

† v. After this, when the government appeared settled, the queen regent—so they were pleased to style her—sent George Gordon, earl of Huntly, to apprehend John Murderac, ‡ the chief of the clan Ronald, a notorious robber, and infamous for the most atrocious crimes. Gordon was believed to have conducted this expedition treacherously, and, therefore, on his returning without having accomplished his object, he was committed to prison to stand trial. In the meantime, his relations, to excuse his want of success, and shift the odium from him, spread abroad false reports respecting the clan Chattan, attributing the blame of the miscarriage to them, who, they falsely said, had ruined the undertaking, on account of their inveterate hatred to the Gordons. The quarrel originated thus:—When the queen prepared to go to France, Gordon, who had kept William, the chief of the clan Chattan, a young man, liberally educated by the earl of Moray, confined in his own house, threw him into the common jail, although he could allege no crime against him, except that he had refused to acknowledge his superiority; his relationship to Moray, whose nephew he was, also militated against him. Having incensed him by this affront, Gordon did not think it would be safe to leave him at liberty in his absence, yet could find no valid reason for putting him to

* Should be 1554, as is evident from the preceding paragraph. Edward VI. died in 1553, and next spring the regent resigned, of course the year was 1554.

† Lord Erskine.

‡ Laird of Moidart.

death. Wherefore, by the medium of friends, he persuaded the unsuspecting young man to throw himself entirely upon his mercy, as the only method by which his honour, and the other's safety would be secured. Gordon, thus become sole arbiter of his enemy's life, dissembled himself, and required his wife to put this innocent youth to death in his absence, thinking to transfer the odium of the crime to her. But this scheme had an opposite effect.

VI. The crafty disposition of Gordon was well known, as was the exemplary character of his wife, and her uniform submission to his orders; it was therefore easily and generally believed, that he was the instigator of all her plans. Gordon being detained in prison, the sentiments of the queen regent's council were divided with regard to his punishment. Some proposed banishing him to France for a number of years, and others advised that he should be put to death; both of which opinions were rejected by Gilbert, earl of Cassillis, his principal enemy. He opposed his banishment to France, because he foresaw, from the present aspect of affairs, that there would not be long peace between the Scots and their ally; and he did not wish that a man of his cunning, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, should, in the war which he certainly expected would soon arise from Gallic insolence, be sent as a firebrand and a leader to the enemy, much less did he think he ought to be put to death; for he did not conceive that any domestic crime whatever ought to be punished in such a manner, as to accustom the French to shed the blood of Scottish nobles. It was at last settled, that the affair should be compounded for money, and Gordon detained a prisoner, until he gave up the jurisdiction which he claimed over Moray, and that he should be deprived of the governorship of the Orkney and Shetland islands; of the county of Marr, and all the royal patrimony whatever, situate in these quarters; that he should likewise surrender the sheriffdoms of some counties, from which he derived great advantage, and permit all the revenues of these places to be freely collected by such officers as the queen regent should appoint. Upon these conditions he was dismissed; but having conciliated the queen regent, and some of those who had influence with her, he

was, not long after, admitted to her confidence. In the mean time, all the offices about court, which were profitable, or which were objects of ambition, were given to foreigners, by the advice of Gordon, on purpose to commit the queen regent with the Scottish nobility, from whose mutual dissensions he would enjoy a desirable, if not an honourable, pleasure. The earl of Cassillis, however, who had predicted the tempest, began to be esteemed almost as a prophet. From this time the country remained in a state of tranquillity, until the month of July, A. D. 1555.

VII. The regent having thus found a respite from war, bent her attention to correct the disorders of the state. She proceeded to Inverness, and assembled public courts, in all places where they were usually held, and punished with great severity, many of the disturbers of the public peace. She sent John, earl of Athol, against Moidart, to repair the failure of Gordon in the former expedition. He, not more by bravery and perseverance, virtues natural to him, than by policy, and good fortune, reduced the rebel to submission, along with his children, and brought them to the queen regent. Moidart, however, whether impatient of inactivity, or stimulated, by a mind distressed with a consciousness of guilt, escaped from his keepers, and again filled the country with murder and bloodshed, on hearing of which, the regent was forced to proceed against him and other malefactors, more rapidly than she had intended, to bring them to justice. On her return from that excursion, she restored, in a meeting of the estates, the most popular of those who had been driven into exile, on account of the murder of cardinal Beaton, yet she did not acquire so much approbation for this act, as she gave offence by the proposal for a new tax. This method of raising money was generally believed to have been devised by D'Osely, Rubay, and the few Frenchmen who were around the regent. It was—that a survey should be made, and schedules framed, in which the estates of all were to be written down, and each, according to an annual assessment, ordered to pay a small percentage into the public treasury, for defraying the expense of war. From this peculiar fund, mercenary soldiers were to be hired to guard the borders, while the nobility should re-

main at home quietly, except in case of an invasion by a greater force than the ordinary guards could resist.

VIII. Gentlemen of moderate fortune were highly dissatisfied with this new tax, and openly and bitterly attacked it, but the greater part of the nobility grumbled in secret, every one fearing, lest if he first opposed the cupidity of the queen regent, he should incur the chief odium of the refusal. The others, who were not less incensed at the nobles, for betraying, by their silence, the public liberty, than at the queen regent— assembled, to the number of about three hundred, at Edinburgh, and deputed two of their body, James Sandilands, * of Calder, and John Weemyss, to wait upon the queen regent, to avert the ignominy of paying tribute, and deprecate the confession of public and private poverty, which making a survey implied; for their ancestors, they said, had not only defended themselves and their country against the English, when far more powerful than now, but had often invaded their territories; nor had they so far degenerated, as to be afraid of hazarding their lives and fortunes, if necessity required them. As to hiring mercenaries, it was a project big with danger, to commit the safety of Scotland to men, who had neither property nor stake in the land, and who would do any thing for money, whose insatiable avarice, if opportunity offered, would be ripe for mutiny, and whose fidelity depended upon fortune. But supposing them true in other respects, that love to this country outweighed their regard for their own circumstances, is it credible that mercenaries would fight more bravely for the estates of others, than the proprietors themselves would do for their own, and that a small hire, which would cease during peace, would prove a greater stimulus to ignoble minds, than family and fortune, religion and liberty, would to the nobility. But, besides, this proposal respected the vital interest of Scotland, and was by far too important to be agitated at that time, and during the tender age of the princess; for although it could be accomplished without any sedition, yet this new mode of carrying on a war, suspected and feared as it was by the majority in the country,

* Predecessors of the lord Torphichen, and the earl of Weemyss.

would be useless, especially, as from the tribute of the Scots, not the richest of nations, it would be difficult to procure money, sufficient to protect the borders by mercenary soldiers, and it was much to be dreaded, if this design were carried into effect, whether it might not rather lay the frontiers open to the enemy, than shut them against him; for if the English, possessing a more opulent kingdom, should set apart a fund for a similar purpose, who could doubt, but that with much less burden to their people, they could maintain double the number of forces, and these not simply for observing the frontiers, but with which they might break into the very bowels of the kingdom.

IX. The remainder of the oration, I do not know whether it be better to publish, or suppress. I hear many murmuring, who shall collect this tax? How much of it will it be necessary to give in salaries, as wages to the surveyors and collectors? Who will be answerable that it will not be wasted in luxury, but applied to the use of the state? The probity and moderation of the illustrious princess, now at the head of the government, inspire us with the confidence, that no such dangers will arise to us, but when we recollect what has happened to others, and what even has occurred among ourselves, we cannot help fearing, lest what we have often seen done, may perhaps in future be attempted, But passing over, what perhaps, are vain fears, let us come to that in which our ancestors placed their greatest confidence, for defending their liberty against the arms of their most powerful enemies. Robert, I. of that name, king of the Scots, than whom perhaps there never was a wiser, certainly never a braver, he, as he had often when alive, so even when dead, that he might be of some advantage to his countrymen dying, have them this advice:—That the Scots should never conclude a perpetual peace, nor even make long truces with the English; for that sagacious, and experienced prince knew in the spirits are broken, and the body debilitated, by indulging in voluptuous enjoyments, and severe discipline, and parsimony become extinct, luxury and avarice increase, as in an uncultivated soil, and impatience of labour, and sloth, and dislike to military service, arise from peace, by which evils, the strength,

both of body and mind being weakened, virtue gives up the contest, and a shortlived pleasure, produced by indolence, is destroyed by some signal calamity.

x. When this speech was finished, the queen, fearing a tumult if she persevered, gave up the tax, and acknowledging her error, is reported to have often said, that the design did not originate with herself, but that one of the chief Scottish noblemen was the author of the measure. These words were by many understood to mean Huntly, naturally acute, and lately released from custody, but more affected, as it appeared, by the injury of his detention, than by the kindness of his liberation; who, when he saw the queen intent upon this one object, to accustom the Scots to pay tribute, afraid, if her authority too much increased, she would weaken the strength, and diminish the authority of the nobles, and the whole efficient power of government being subjected to the will of a foreign female, she would reduce this country to a province of her own. He therefore, it is thought, gave her this advice with regard to raising the tax, which she was then so much engaged about, in a manner agreeably to her inclination, but with no friendly intention, for he knew the Scots would not pay tribute, nor would they ever afterward obey so cheerfully as they had done before. There are some who believe this plan for raising money, was suggested by David Painter, bishop of Ross, for he was the most able and learned person of the Hamilton party, from whom he had received many favours, and to whose family and pretensions he was entirely devoted.

xi. Next year, A. D. 1557, while the Scottish ambassadors were treating about peace at Carlisle, the king of France required the queen regent, according to the treaty, to declare war against the English. The cause assigned was, that the queen of England had sent auxiliaries to Philip, king of Spain, who was then keenly engaged in war against the French in the Netherlands. The ambassadors having returned from England, without either concluding a peace, or declaring war, the regent assembled the nobility at Newbottle abbey, recounted the various incursions the English had made into Scotland, the plunder they had driven away, and the restitu-

tions required, but not received, and demanded that the Scots should proclaim war against the English, at once to wipe away their own ignominy, and assist the French king. The nobility could not, however, be persuaded to begin the war, but she effected the object in another way, chiefly by the advice, as was believed, of D'Osel. She ordered a fortress to be built at Eyemouth, as a protection against the sudden attacks of the English, and a magazine, in which cannon, and military stores might be kept, whence they could be procured when occasion required, without the delay, and labour, and expense of bringing them from distant parts of the kingdom, advantages sufficiently obvious, but she had another end in view in this undertaking. She did not doubt but the English would hinder the work, and endeavour, by every means in their power, to prevent a garrison being erected so near Berwick. Hence would arise the seeds of war which she desired, and the blame of taking arms could be thrown upon the enemy. Nor was she disappointed in her expectation. *

XII. For the Scots, provoked by the attacks of the enemy, while they were forced to defend themselves, easily consented to a declaration of war. The ambassadors, who had been sent to England to conclude a peace, were recalled, a proclamation issued, appointing a day for assembling, and in consequence, a large army collected in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. When they had advanced to Maxwell-heugh, and no plan for carrying on the campaign had been determined upon in the council, they who wished to gratify the regent, and show their zeal for the interest of France, made plundering excursions about Werk castle, situated within the English borders. Thither D'Osel brought some soldiers, and as many cannon as he thought would be necessary to besiege the castle, and without waiting for the determination of the council, he sent these across the Tweed. At this proceeding, the Scottish nobles were incredibly offended, for by it, D'Osel seemed to aim at assuming to himself, with the king of France,

* By the last treaty it had been agreed, that the castle of Eyemouth should be demolished, and no fort constructed there for the future. This then as an infringement of the treaty, warranted the English to prevent the operations of the Scots.

whatever glory might arise from the expedition, and also by degrees, to accustom the Scots to obedience, in order to render them more subservient to his command. But the Scots were indignant at seeing themselves used so contemptuously, and driven about, without any public deliberation as was the custom of their ancestors, by a private individual, and he too a stranger, one, who, without consulting the nobility, had arrogated more to himself, than any king had ever attempted. On the subject being debated, they unanimously resolved, that they would not march the force of the kingdom against an enemy, at the nod of any single individual, especially as they had never been accustomed to obey their lawful sovereigns in that manner, nor to commence any undertaking, until it had been explained and deliberated on in council, and as they considered this licentiousness of command, only a trial of how far they would patiently endure tyranny. They, therefore, ordered D'Osel to bring back the cannon, under pain of suffering the punishment due to a traitor in case of disobedience. At this, both the queen regent, and D'Osel were highly displeased, the one considering her own majesty, and the other that of the king's, whose ambassador he was, despised, but as they were inferior in strength, they were forced to submit. Nor did any remedy present itself, except that the queen of the Scots, who was now marriageable, should be united as speedily as possible, to the Dauphin, and then, when the wife was in the power of her husband, the authority of the council would be diminished.

XIII. During the winter, various excursions were undertaken with various success. One in particular, deserves notice on account of a battle fought at the foot of the Teviot mountains, between the duke of Norfolk, and Andrew Kerr, which was long and keenly contested, but victory at last declared for the English. Kerr was taken prisoner, and a great many brave men wounded. In the month of December, a parliament was held at Edinburgh, to take into consideration some despatches from the king of France. In these, after a long preamble, respecting the ancient leagues, and the interchange of good services between the nations, he desired the Scottish parliament to choose from the three estates, proper persons,

whom, as his son would about the end of December, be of legal age to enter into the state of matrimony, they might send as ambassadors, with full powers to conclude the proposed nuptials, for which the queen of Scots had been sent to France, and thus the nations, already confederated together, would be united as one body, and the ancient friendship between both people, connected by this chain, would become indissoluble; with which request, if they would comply, he liberally promised, on the part of himself and his subjects, to do any thing, and every thing they could hope or desire.

xiv. Although the Scots knew whither all this haste of the French king tended, and perceived that a struggle would immediately arise with him about their liberty, yet they all obediently attended the parliament, in which eight ambassadors were chosen to proceed to France, to complete the marriage.—Three of the nobles, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassillis, George Leslie, earl of Rothes, and James, lord Cumbernauld, the chief of the Fleemings—three of the clergy, James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the queen's brother—and two of the lower estate, George Seton, provost of Edinburgh, and John Erskine, provost of Montrose, of the rank of a gentleman, but, in respectability, equal to any of the nobility. The embassy had scarcely sailed, when they encountered a severe gale on the Scottish coast; which increasing as they proceeded, the vessels were so shattered with the storm, that two foundered not far from Boulogne, and the earl of Rothes and the bishop of Orkney, who were picked up and carried on shore by a fishing boat, alone escaped of all the passengers. The rest of the fleet, after being driven about by the tempest, reached other inferior sea-ports on the French coast. *

* The voyage was reckoned ominous; the whole bridal furniture for the queen was on board the vessel that perished. But the most portentous circumstances for Scotland were kept secret. While the court of France was, to appearance, ratifying every measure, which the wisdom of the Scottish parliament could devise, for the security and independence of the crown and country, the Guises, taking advantage of the youth and inexperience of Mary, persuaded her to sign some previous deeds, by which, in default of heirs of

xv. The ambassadors, after they were again assembled, immediately hastened to court, and proceeded to arrange the treaty respecting the marriage, to which they all gave their assent, and which the Guises were particularly anxious to have concluded, because they thought the alliance would bring them a great accession of power, and, likewise, because the opportunity was favourable to their designs, as Annas, duke of Montmorency, who was esteemed the wisest of the French nobles, and the most likely to oppose the match, was then a prisoner. Besides many other apparently convincing reasons, that nobleman was unwilling the treaty should be precipitated at that time, lest the power of the Guises, already intolerable, as was foreseen, should increase beyond what was consistent with the safety of the royal prerogative; for of the five brothers of that family, the eldest was commander-in-chief of all the forces in France; the next was appointed to succeed Charles Cosseus, in Lombardy; the third was sent over to Scotland, with some supplies, to command the army there: the fourth had the charge of the galleys at Marseilles; and Charles, the cardinal, had the management of the revenue; so that neither a soldier, nor a sous, could stir in all the kingdom of France, except as they chose. Those of the nobility who lamented the situation of the king, recalled to their remembrance the times when the kings of France were shut up in monasteries, as a milder species of banishment.

xvi. The court, having spent several days in nuptial festivities, when the revels ceased, called the Scottish ambassadors

her own body, she conveyed her kingdom and right of succession to the king of France, and declared that all promises, which the necessity of her situation, or the solicitations of her subjects might extort, were null and void. Thus early was this princess made a party to the most solemn mockery of every right principle, and her ready compliance with such a palpable violation of truth, honour, and sincerity, at the age of fifteen, exhibits, in one view, the character of the court where she was educated, the nature of the tuition she received, and the proficiency she had already acquired in the art of dissimulation.—Robertson, book ii. Keith, p. 70. The deliberate villany of this transaction, on the part of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal his brother, gives verisimilitude to the general suspicions and current report of the times, that the intractable commissioners received an “Italian posset” at their parting.

before the council, where the chancellor of France desired them to procure the crown and the other insignia of royalty, that the husband of the queen might be created king, after the manner of the Scots. To this requisition, the ambassadors briefly answered, that they had no instructions upon that subject; and the chancellor replied, we do not demand from you, at present, any thing which is not in your power, we only ask, that when this subject is discussed in the Scottish parliament, you will support, by your votes, the honour which we now so justly require, and that you would sign, with your own hands, an obligation to this effect. This demand appearing to them exceedingly shameless, they deemed it necessary to reject it with more firmness and spirit. They therefore rejoined, that their embassy was bounded by certain limits prescribed to them, which they neither could nor would exceed; but had they been even intrusted with unlimited powers, yet sincere friends ought not to require what they could not grant without incurring the certain infamy of traitors, although they might run no hazard of their lives; that they would gratify the French, with whom they were united by so many ties, in every thing which could be honourably conceded by friends, and they besought them to confine their requests within the same modest bounds.

XVII. The ambassadors, upon this, were dismissed from court; and although they hastened to return home, yet before they could embark, four of the principal members, Gilbert Kennedy, George Leslie, Robert Reid, and James Fleeming, distinguished for their integrity and love to their country, together with many of their attendants, died, not without strong suspicions of having been poisoned. James, the brother of the queen, too, was believed to have partaken of the same potion; for although, by the strength of his constitution and his youth, he escaped death, yet he laboured under a constant and dangerous weakness of stomach as long as he lived.

XVIII. During that summer, the state of Britain was a state rather not of peace, than one of absolute war. On both sides booty was driven away and villages burned, and occasionally bloody incursions took place. Two noblemen were taken prisoners by the English, William Keith, son of earl Mare-

schal, and Patrick Gray, the chief of that family among the Scots. The other calamities of war fell chiefly on the lower orders. Nearly about the same time, an English fleet, under Sir John Clare, was despatched to harass the coasts of Scotland. He sailed to the Orkneys, to burn Kirkwall, an episcopal see, and the only town in that country; but, when he had landed a considerable part of his force, a violent tempest suddenly arose, and drove the fleet to sea, where, after contending for a long while with the storm, he returned to England. All the men he disembarked on the island were slain by the natives.

XIX. The cause of religion, during this and the former year, appeared rather to stand still; for the one party, somewhat checked by the death of George Wishart, was satisfied with being allowed quietly to worship God in their native tongue, and reason soberly about divinity; the other being deprived of a leader, by the death of the cardinal, showed that they wanted the power, rather than the inclination, to persecute; for his successor thirsted more after the money than the blood of his adversaries, nor almost ever behaved with cruelty, unless when the plunder afforded him the means of enjoying his licentious pleasures.* In the month of April, Walter Mill, a priest of no great learning, yet being suspected by the clergy, because he had desisted from saying mass, was dragged before their synod. Although a weak old man, oppressed by years and poverty, yet when brought from his loathsome dungeon, and taunted with the most bitter reproaches, he answered not only with firmness, but so acutely, that such strength of mind, and such heroic confidence, in so emaciated a body, seemed, even to his keenest enemies, to be the effect of divine power. The inhabitants of St. Andrews were so much displeased at his apprehension, that there could not be found one among them who would sit as judge upon him; and having shut their

* During these years, the progress of the reformation, though silent, was progressive. Knox, Harlaw, Willox, Paul Methven, and other preachers, were disseminating with success the doctrines which were to overturn the established superstition, and the leading men among the nobles were listening to them with avidity. In 1557, the first bond of agreement, or *covenant*, for defence of religion, was entered into.

shops, not one of them would sell any article which could be employed in the execution. By this means his life was prolonged one day. Next day, however, the priests procured one of the archbishop's acquaintances, a profligate wretch, Alexander Sommerville, who undertook to sit as judge. The people were so deeply affected at Mill's death, that, lest the memory of his sufferings should pass away along with his life, they raised, on the place where he was burned, a large heap of stones, which the priests for some days caused to be removed; but still, as on one day they were thrown down, the people always re-collected them on the next, until at last the papists got the whole carried away to erect buildings throughout the town.

xx. July 20th was the day appointed for the trial of Paul Methven, a preacher of the gospel; on which day, when a great number of the nobility assembled to assist upon the occasion, a tumult being dreaded, his trial was deferred, but a number who were absent were condemned; and that the severity of the punishment might not terrify them, they were ordered to attend on the 1st of September, and promised pardon on recanting their errors. On the same 1st of September happened the holyday of St. Giles, whom the inhabitants of Edinburgh venerate as their tutelary saint, and which they were accustomed to celebrate by copious libations and luxurious entertainments. The queen regent fearing, lest in such a disorderly crowd, some tumult might arise, expressed her wish to be present at the ceremony. The papists, who were extremely glad at her arrival, entreated her to walk in the procession, in which St. Giles had usually been carried with much pomp through the city. The saint, however, did not appear, having secretly been stolen from his church. But that the procession might not want a saint, nor the good town a procession, on so celebrated a day, there was another, a little St. Gilie, substituted in place of the fugitive. When the queen regent had accompanied him through the greatest part of the town, and there being no appearance of any riot, she withdrew fatigued to dinner. Immediately on her departure, the youth belonging to the city pulled the young St. Giles from the shoulders of those who carried him, rolled him in

the dirt, and destroyed the whole glory of the pageant. The priests and friars, flying with great trepidation in every direction, produced the appearance of a serious disturbance; but when it was understood that there was more fear than danger in the commotion, and that the whole had been transacted without murder or bloodshed, they came forth from their lurking places, and assembled to consult about the grand object. In this situation, although the hope of regaining their ancient dignity was almost wholly prostrate, yet, as if an assumed confidence could have healed their wretched cause, they endeavoured by an appearance of their former strength, to strike terror into their enemies, and appointed a convocation to be held at Edinburgh, November 8th. When the day arrived, the clergy assembled in the church of the Dominicans, and cited Paul Methven by name, whom they had in the former meeting ordered to attend. He not appearing, they condemned him in his absence to banishment, and forbade any person to shelter or aid him, under most severe penalties. This threatening did not, however, in the least deter the inhabitants of Dundee from supplying him with the necessaries of life, and receiving him into their different dwellings; they likewise, through the medium of some court favourites, endeavoured to procure a remission of his sentence of banishment from the queen regent, but as the priests opposed it, and, besides, offered a large sum of money, nothing could be effected.

XXI. In the midst of these proceedings, several noblemen, especially from Fife and Angus, and some of the chief burghers of the towns, travelled through all the counties of Scotland, exhorting the people to love the sincere preaching of the divine word, and not to allow themselves, their friends, and their brethren professing the same religion, to be destroyed by a small and weak faction, asserting, that if their enemies were inclined to act according to law, the reformed had justice on their side, and by far the advantage; or, if they had recourse to force, they were not inferior in strength. To those who agreed with them in sentiment, they presented bonds for their subscription. These first assumed the name of "THE CONGREGATION," which those who followed after-

ward, rendered more celebrated. The professors of the reformed religion, when they now perceived that their cause must soon come to the last resort, determined in common, to present certain demands to the queen regent, which unless obtained, they would neither preserve the appearance of a church, nor could the people be prevented from insurrection. For carrying their request to the queen regent, they chose Sir James Sandilands, of Calder, an accomplished knight, venerable for his age, and for his purity of conduct through life, who, after explaining at length, in the name of all who desired the restoration of the church of Christ, the necessity of the errand upon which he was sent, summed up the whole in these demands:—That in the public prayers, and in the administration of the sacraments, the ministers should use the language of the people, which could be understood by all. That the election of ministers should, according to the ancient custom of the church, be with the people. That inquiry should be diligently made into the lives and doctrine of those who were already elected, and if, by the negligence of former times, any unlearned, or flagitious characters had obtruded themselves into ecclesiastical dignities, that such should be removed from the ministry, and fit persons appointed in their room.

XXII. The priests indignantly raged at these propositions, and at whoever should dare openly to own himself, the author of so impudent a paper, but cooling a little, they afterward answered they would, without hesitation, commit the whole to a public disputation; and whence could any danger arise, when they themselves would be the judges in their own cause! On the other hand, the reformers contended, that the dispute ought to be decided, not according to the opinion of men, but the clear dictates of the Holy Scriptures. The priests proposed other terms of agreement, but so ridiculous, that they are unworthy of any reply, viz. If the reformers would retain mass in its pristine honour; if they would acknowledge purgatory after this life; if they would allow supplications to the saints, and prayers for the dead, they would in return, permit the vulgar tongue to be used in prayer to God, in baptism, and in the Lord's supper. The reformers persisted, as before, in requesting the queen regent to regulate her answer in

so just a cause, agreeably to equity and reason. The regent, however, secretly favoured the cause of the priests, and privately promised that she would assist them as far as lay in her power. She ordered the opposite party to use the vulgar tongue in prayer to God, in the sacraments, and in the other parts of worship, but without tumult, and so that their preachers should not preach openly to the people in Edinburgh and Leith.

XXIII. Yet, although they carefully observed these conditions, many indications betrayed that they did not possess the favour of the queen regent. The papistical synod at Edinburgh, returned nearly the same answer to similar demands, presented to them by the nobility, with this addition to that part which regarded the election of ministers:—That in questions of such a nature, the canon law, or the decrees of the council of Trent, must be the rule, but they determined upon nothing in this assembly respecting their own business, except, that they ordered the bishops to send secret spies through every parish of their diocese, who should give them information of all those who disobeyed the papistical laws, and although they now saw their threatenings openly disregarded, yet, trusting to the public authority which was on their side, and relying on the arms of the French, they lorded it as imperiously over their inferiors, as before. On purpose to sooth their minds in some measure, and deprecate the severity of their sentence against the preachers of the gospel, John Erskine, laird of Dun, a learned, pious, and amiable gentleman, was sent to them, who entreated them, for the sake of that piety, which we ought all to cultivate toward God, and that love, which we ought to exercise toward man, that at least they would not refuse to allow the people, when assembled for prayer, to worship God in their native tongue, according to the divine law. They were, however, so far from granting his request, that they replied in more keen and haughty language, than they had ever used before, adding even severer threatenings, and greater abuse than usual, and lest it should be thought that they had done nothing in this assembly, they ordered some despicable popish legends to be printed, and affixed to all the church doors, which, as they were sold to

the public for twopence, were vulgarly called the twopenny, and sometimes, the three farthing faith.

XXIV. During these transactions, a parliament was held, at which the ambassadors who had gone to France last year, attended, and easily procured an approval of their proceedings. After which, the French ambassador being introduced, he, in a long oration, expatiated on the ancient, and continued kindness of the French kings to the Scottish people, and vehemently contended, that the crown, which he, by a new and monstrous name, called matrimonial, should adorn the husband of their queen, although, said he, he can neither gain power, nor emolument, nor any thing by the name, except the use of an empty title. Many flattering expressions were added, unnecessary to repeat here, but their excessive anxiety about a trifle, excited strong suspicion that some secret fraud lurked underneath. The ambassador, however, partly by extravagant promises, partly by importunate entreaty, and also by the interest of those who already courted the future monarch, succeeded in obtaining that the crown should be decreed to the dauphin; and Gillespie Campbell,* earl of Argyle, and James, the queen's brother, were chosen to carry it over to him. These noblemen, when they perceived that they were sent upon this errand to their ruin—for they saw the impending storm, which the ambition of France threatened—determined to prepare but slowly for their journey, and to delay it till they could calculate, with some degree of certainty, on the future, especially as a greater, and more splendid title now presented itself; for Mary, the queen of England, being dead, the queen of the Scots, immediately declared herself her heir, and caused the insignia and arms of England, to be engraven on all her furniture and plate, and although France was at that time wretchedly harassed, in asserting her dominion over Milan, Naples, and Flanders, yet she added to her perplexities, this ridiculous assumption of the title of England. Nor were the more intelligent French politicians insensible to its absurdity, but they were forced to

* Gillespie, or Killespick, the proper name was Archibald. He is in some of the preceding pages, by mistake printed Gillespie.

comply with the follies of the Guises, who then exercised the supreme power, and wished to appear, chiefly by this kind of vanity, as adding to the splendour of the French name. The regent too, having procured the decree, respecting the crown matrimonial, seemed to have obtained likewise a new disposition. By degrees she exchanged her former affability, for imperious arrogance, and instead of the mild answers with which she used to excuse herself to both factions, that she could not do as she wished, that the state of the times would not allow her to promise so largely as she desired, not having yet received that act; now, when she thought every thing settled, adopted another tone, and assumed a very different demeanour.

xxv. A parliament was summoned to be held at Stirling, May 10th, and as the queen had been often heard to say, that now, being free from other cares, she would not suffer the majesty of the government to be degraded, but would restore it by some noble example, many warned by these indications of the future tempest, attempted to avert it. Among others, in order that the dignity of the petitioners might render their application more successful, Alexander Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell,* sheriff of Ayr, an illustrious knight, were sent by the congregation to wait upon her in public, to whom she was unable to contain her indignation, but broke forth into this impious exclamation:—In spite of you and your ministers both, although they preached as sincerely as Paul, yet they shall be banished. When they in an humble manner, requested her to remember what she had so often promised, she replied, that promises exacted from princes, were only to be kept by them as far as they found it convenient for themselves. On which they rejoined:—They then renounced all subjection and obedience to her, and advised her to consider what inconvenience must arise from this proceeding. Struck with so unexpected an answer, she said, she would think of it.

xxvi. When this burst of passion had somewhat subsided, a new spark kindled it much more violently—she received in-

* Of Loudon.

telligence that Perth had publicly embraced the reformed religion, on which she turned to Patrick Ruthven, * the provost of the town, who happened to be accidentally with her at the time, and ordered him to suppress all these innovations in religion. To this he answered, that he held the command over the bodies and estates of the inhabitants, these, as within his power, he would carefully attend to, but he had no control over their mind; in a rage she replied, no one need be astonished, if in a short time he were made to repent his stubborn audacity. She also commanded James Halyburton, the provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Methven, and send him to her, but he being warned by the provost, that he should yield a little to the times, retired from the town. Besides, she wrote to all the neighbouring countries, to celebrate the following Easter in the Romish manner, which when no person obeyed, she summoned all the ministers of the whole churches of the kingdom, to appear at Stirling, to stand trial on the 10th day of May next.

xxvii. The news of this circumstance spreading abroad, the professors of the reformed religion exhorted each other mutually to attend, along with their ministers, to confess their faith, and such was the multitude of those who were crowding thither, that although they came unarmed, the regent began to be terrified that her plan would not succeed, and sent for John Erskine, † who happened by chance to be in the town, to come to her, and required him to send the unnecessary multitude home again, which she said would not be very difficult for him to do, as he had so much influence with his party, and she in the meantime, would not proceed against any of that persuasion. Numbers, on being informed of the promise of the queen regent, gave up the design of proceeding, and returned back. She, however, on the day appointed for the trial, ordered the summonses to be called, and

* Patrick, lord Ruthven, father to the first earl of Gowrie.

† Knox, Hist. p. 127, says, that the laird of Dun was sent by the congregation, to prevent the regent's being alarmed at the approach of such a multitude, which is the more probable statement, and coincides with their respectful, and generally conciliatory behaviour towards her.

all who did not answer were outlawed as contumacious. The laird of Dun, when he saw what little reliance could be placed upon her promises, and fearing that violence might now be used even to himself, withdrew, and found the lords Strathearn, Angus, and Mearns, still remaining together, and somewhat dubious respecting the faith of the regent, who, when they understood from him, what they had before suspected, that her hatred was implacable, and that it was not possible longer to disguise it, prepared themselves openly to oppose force by force.

XXVIII. In this critical state of affairs, Knox having found a multitude collected at Perth, addressed them in an animated discourse, and completely inflamed their already irritated minds. After sermon, the greater part of the people dispersed, and went to dinner; a few, and these of the lowest order, boiling with rage and indignation, remained in the church. In their presence, a priest, wishing to try their temper, prepared to say mass, and uncovered a rich altarpiece, or rather case of idols, in which the history of many of the saints was magnificently carved. A young man who was standing by, exclaimed that such a proceeding was intolerable, on which, the priest struck him a blow on the ear; he, in return, lifted a stone, intending to hit the priest, but struck the case, and broke one of the statues. The rest of the multitude, then, in a rage fell, part of them upon the priest and the picture case, and part of them upon the other altars, and in an instant, destroyed every monument of superstitious worship. These were the operations of the very lowest of the populace, while the more respectable were gone to dine. With the same impetuous fury, several ran to the monastery of the friars, the rest of the common people continually flocking to them, and although the friars had prepared a guard, to provide against any such accident, no force could resist the headstrong fury of the multitude. The first attack was made upon the idols and the holy apparel, and next, the poorer sort ran upon the plunder. There was found in the Franciscan convent, not only plenty, but a superabundance of splendid household furniture, sufficient to have supplied ten times their number. The Dominicans, although not quite so opulent, were yet sufficient-

ly so to expose the falsehood of their mendicant professions to derision, which occasioned a wit aptly to remark, that they were not begging, but bagging brethren. * All this property was left as booty to the poor, while the rich, to avoid even the suspicion of avarice, suffered some of the monks, particularly the prior of the Carthusians, to depart, loaded with gold and silver plate. Nor was the abstinence of the soldiers from plundering, more remarkable than their celerity in demolishing so many buildings; for the extensive monastery of the Carthusians was so quickly laid in ruins, not only demolished, but even the stones taken away so completely, that within two days, scarcely a vestige of their foundations remained.

| XXIX. An account of these proceedings being related, perhaps with a few exaggerations, to the queen regent, inflamed her haughty spirit to such a degree, that she swore solemnly she would expiate the sacrilege in the blood of the citizens, and the flames of the town. The inhabitants of Cupar in Fife, on hearing of the transactions at Perth, with the greatest unanimity, either broke the images, or threw them away, and thus purified their church; at which, the parish priest was so much grieved, that the night following he killed himself. The queen regent, amazed at the intelligence of these overturns, sent for the earls of Hamilton, Argyle, and Athole, with their friends and vassals, to come to her; but although she endeavoured, with the greatest celerity, to anticipate the attempts of the enemy, yet the transport of the ordnance caused it to be nearly the 18th of May before they could arrive in the vicinity of the place. When the nobles, who were at Perth, learned the preparations of the regent, they also quickly sent messengers every where to their friends, and the professors of the same religion, entreating them not to desert them in this last extremity of life and fortune. Almost all the population of the neighbouring counties, with the greatest zeal and despatch, assembled around them, and some even hastened from Lothian, that they might not appear lukewarm in a time of common danger; but Alexander, earl of Glencairn, exceeded the whole in his exertions and speed. On hearing of the state of

* Non fratres mendicantes, sed manducantes eos appeleret; the pun is not easily translatable.

affairs, he collected two thousand five hundred, horse and foot, and marching night and day through rough and uncultivated districts, avoiding the queen regent's camp, arrived at Perth.

xxx. James Stuart, natural son of the late king, and Gillespic Campbell, earl of Argyle, were still in the queen regent's army. These, although they were the principal leaders of the reformation, yet, because all prospect of amicable adjustment was not entirely destroyed, remained with the enemy, that, if it were possible to restore peace upon honourable terms, they might be at hand to act for their friends; but with the intention, if the papists proved entirely averse to an accommodation, to join the lords at Perth, and run all hazards along with them. The queen regent having ascertained by her spies, that the congregation was above seven thousand men strong, in high spirits, and ready for action, although she had with her nearly an equal number of Scots in arms, besides the French auxiliaries, yet, afraid of committing all to the chance of a battle, she sent the two noblemen we have mentioned, James Stuart and Gillespic Campbell, to the leading lords, who, on the other side, chose Alexander Cunningham, and John Erskine of Dun, to treat respecting an agreement. The queen regent becoming more inclined to peace, when she knew that the forces of Glencairn had joined the rest of the opposers of idolatry, the four commissioners concluded an agreement:—That the Scottish soldiers being dismissed by both parties, the town should be left open to the queen, where she might stay with her attendants a few days, to rest and refresh themselves after the fatigue of the journey. In the meantime, none of the townsfolk should suffer either loss or damage; that no Frenchman should enter the town, nor come within three miles of it; all the other subjects of difference to be referred to the next parliament.

xxx. Thus the present commotion being settled without blood, the professors of the reformed religion, as they did not desire to have recourse to arms, but only to defend themselves, departed joyfully, praising God who had given this bloodless termination to the war. The earl of Argyle, and James Stuart, having left the queen regent at Perth, departed thence for

St. Andrews, to relax themselves after their fatigue. The queen regent, when the voluntary soldiers on both sides were disbanded, entered the town with a few attendants, and was honourably received by the citizens. In passing through the streets, when opposite the house of Patrick Murray, a respectable citizen, six of the French mercenaries levelled their pieces, and shot into a wooden balcony, whence his family were viewing the procession, by which Patrick's only son, a youth of about thirteen years of age, was killed. The body being brought to the queen regent, on learning to what family he belonged, she said it was indeed an unhappy occurrence, and the rather to be regretted, because the son, and not the father, had been struck, but she was not accountable for accidents. From this speech, it was easy to perceive that the stipulations of the treaty would only be preserved until the queen regent acquired such strength as would enable her to break them, and her conduct was in consonance with that speech; for in less than three days, she began to throw every thing into confusion, she fined some of the citizens, banished others, and without any form of law, changed the magistrates; then departing for Stirling, left the Scottish troops, who were in the pay of France, as a garrison in the town; which she did, in order that she might appear not to depart from her agreement, by which she promised to leave the city free, and no Frenchmen in it. When it was objected to her, that, in the treaty, all were considered as Frenchmen who owed obedience to the king of France, she recurred to the common papal subterfuge, that promises made to heretics are not binding. But she might with equal honesty have urged the excuse, that she thought it no crime to take away the property or the lives of these wretches! or, that the performance of their promises ought not too rigidly to be exacted from princes.

xxxii. While this conduct sufficiently indicated that the peace would be of no long duration, what immediately followed, more strongly confirmed the opinion formed of the queen regent's deceit. She sent menacing letters and mandates to James Stuart and Gillespie Campbell, threatening them with the extreme rigour of the law, unless they returned to her. As for the army of the opposite faction, she despised it, for

she knew it was composed of volunteers, who served without pay, and when disbanded, could neither be easily nor quickly re-assembled. Mass having been restored, and other matters arranged as well as she could, after fortifying the town with a garrison, she departed, as I have mentioned, for Stirling. She was for many reasons desirous to retain possession of Perth. That town was situate almost in the heart of the kingdom, and was the only one surrounded with walls, had warlike citizens, and almost all the nobility in the vicinity were alienated from popery, to curb whom, she wished to keep this citadel. It possessed, besides, many advantages, particularly as a rendezvous for land and sea forces; for by means of the river Tay, the tide washes its walls, and affords an easy intercourse with foreign nations, and it is almost the only town in the kingdom which has a communication by land with every extremity of the country. To other towns, the roads are interrupted by great arms of the sea, intersecting them in various quarters, which renders the journey more tedious, because nowhere are there a sufficient number of small craft to ferry over a great company at one time; and even by contrary winds, or violent storms, travellers are detained many days. For these reasons Perth is esteemed the most convenient place for holding parliaments, and collecting forces from all quarters of the kingdom. But at that time the queen regent did not receive so much advantage from the convenient situation of the place, as she incurred odium from the violated faith of the treaty. It was the last day of her prosperity, and the first of her being publicly treated with contempt; for the circumstance being divulged, gave rise to great commotions in all parts of the kingdom.

xxxiii. The earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, now, conceiving their obligations dissolved by the violation of the treaty, of which they were the authors, assembled the nobility of the neighbourhood at St. Andrews, and joined the reformers. They also wrote to the adherents of that profession, informing them, that the queen regent lay at Falkland with the French forces, and threatened destruction to Cupar and St. Andrews, and unless supported by immediate assistance, all the churches in Fife would be placed in a state of the utmost

hazard, on which, a great multitude from the places adjacent suddenly joined them, exceedingly incensed against the queen regent and her forces, for they were, as they said, about to go to war with a fickle and a fierce race, among whom justice, a sense of right and wrong, the obligation of a promise, or the sanctity of an oath, were deemed of such little moment, that, at every whisper of hope, and any uncertain breath of prosperity, all their declarations were recalled, and all their treaties broken. In future, therefore, no terms of accommodation could be listened to, and no prospect of peace remained, unless one of the parties were exterminated, or, at least, the strangers expelled the kingdom; thenceforward they must prepare to conquer or die. By these and such like speeches, the minds of the people were so much inflamed, that they attacked first Crail, a town situate at the extremity of Fife, overturned the altars, broke the images, and destroyed all the apparatus of superstition; and what was almost incredible, the abhorrence of the common people overcame their avarice.* Thence they proceeded to St. Andrews, where they spoiled several churches, and levelled the monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican friars with the ground. These things were done before the very eyes of the archbishop, although he had a strong body of horse with him, such as a little before he thought sufficient to have protected the town, but when he saw the zeal of the people, and the crowd of volunteers, he withdrew with his troops from the fury of the multitude, and went to his clans and relatives at Falkland.

xxxiv. The queen regent, on hearing of these proceedings, was so much enraged, that, without farther deliberation, she issued orders to march next day, and immediately sent forward officers to prepare quarters for the French in Cupar; she also dispersed proclamations everywhere, commanding

* The best answer to all the invective which has been thrown out against the promoters of the reformation in Scotland, as uncultivated barbarians, for their conduct on this and similar occasions, is the strong indisputable fact, that in the height of their power, during the whole struggle for liberty, few were banished on account of religion, fewer still imprisoned, and none put to death; and this is the testimony not of their friends, but of their enemies.—Vide Leslie, *De Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, lib. x.

all who were capable of bearing arms to follow her thither, and, at the same time, directed the Frenchmen and the Hamiltonians who were with her, to hold themselves in readiness, to take arms at the first sound of the trumpet. When the reformers learned by their spies the plans of the queen regent, those who were at hand instantly collected their relations and friends, and marched immediately to Cupar, to anticipate her design, and almost at the same moment, as if by signal, the citizens of Dundee, and the neighbouring nobility, joined them with a thousand men. Having halted there during the night, they next morning marched out of the town, and stood drawn up in order of battle in the neighbouring fields, waiting for the army of the papists, and collecting their own auxiliaries as they came gradually forward. There were in the queen regent's army two thousand French, commanded by M. D'Osel, and one thousand Scots, under James Hamilton, now created duke of Chatellerault. These, having sent their artillery before, followed at the second watch, and about daybreak came within sight of the enemy, and were perceived by them. A small river flowed between the armies, * on the bank of which their cannon were planted at convenient stations. Five hundred horsemen, who were sent forward to try the spirit of the enemy in slight skirmishes, and, at the same time, prevent their passing across the river if they should attempt it, opposed, by their activity, a barrier to the advance of the French, which was strengthened by the arrival of Patrick Lermoth, † provost of St. Andrews, with five hundred armed citizens, whose line—as the custom is upon a march—being widely extended, gave them the appearance of a greater number than in reality they were. These circumstances prevented the others from perceiving—what they greatly wished to learn—the order and number of their opponents, and the chief men in the neighbourhood who were their leaders, that they might report them, as they were commanded, to their own officers. Wherefore, some Frenchmen, that they might obtain as complete a view of the hostile line as possible, ascended a pretty high hill; thence, when they saw numerous bodies of

* The water of Eden.

† Laird of Dairsie.

horse and foot, with small spaces between them and behind them, a great number of servants and baggage drivers, who made a long appearance on the edge of a valley, thinking this multitude were placed there in reserve, they reported the whole with many exaggerations to their friends.

xxxv. The commanders, by the advice of the council, sent to the queen regent, who had remained at Falkland, to inform her of the state of the parties. The Scots opposed to them, they reported, were much more numerous than they had expected, and more eager for engaging. On the other hand, they who fought with them murmured, and some of them even openly expressed their indignation at being led against their friends, relatives, and countrymen, to gratify a few foreigners. In consequence of these representations, the queen regent agreed to three commissioners being sent by Hamilton, from among those of the nobility who had relations or sons in the army of the adverse party. This deputation, however, could not effect a peace, because the congregation having been deceived so often with vain promises, had no confidence in her engagements, and the queen regent then could give no securer pledge, nor would she have thought it consistent with her dignity, if she had had any, to have given it; besides, there was another difficulty, the congregation particularly insisted that the foreign troops should leave the kingdom, and this she could not order without acquainting the French king. The delays interposed by truces did not produce any desire for peace, but were employed, as they had often been before, merely to afford time to send for foreign assistance. This only was agreed upon, that the French soldiers should be sent to Lothian, and a truce concluded for eight days, during which the queen regent should send negotiators to St. Andrews, to conclude a peace, upon conditions equitable to both.

xxxvi. The reformers saw clearly, that the queen regent, because she could not settle the dispute on terms advantageous to herself, only sought to prolong the discussions till she could pass over the adjacent Frith with her troops; the earl of Argyle, and James Stuart, therefore, despatched letters to her, requiring her to withdraw the garrison, and leave Perth free, to be governed by its own laws, agreeably to her pro-

mise upon receiving the town, as the violation of that agreement produced discontent towards them who were the agents in conducting it. When they received no answer from the queen regent, they directed their march towards Perth, whence petitions and complaints were daily brought to them; for the neighbouring laird of Kinfauns, * whom the regent, when she left the town, had made provost, that he might show his obsequiousness by harassing the inhabitants, indulged his private resentments, and revenged his old quarrels with the citizens, most cruelly banishing some, and pillaging others, on account of their religion, and permitting the soldiers to exercise a similar license. When those who were at Cupar understood the injuries their friends and fellow professors endured, an order was issued for marching thither without delay. The city, after being besieged for a few days, surrendered, and Kinfauns, the provost, being driven from the place, Patrick Ruthven, the legal magistrate, was restored. They afterwards burned Scoon, an old and uninhabited town, because one of their men had been treacherously killed there, after he had received quarter.

xxxvii. Information being obtained that the queen regent was about to send a French garrison to Stirling, to cut off the communication of those who were beyond the river Forth with the other parts of the country, the earl of Argyle, and lord James Stuart, in order to prevent this design, set out in the middle of the night, with the greatest silence, from Perth; and having taken possession of Stirling, immediately destroyed the monasteries of the friars, and cleansed the other churches about the city from the detested worship of idols. On the third day they set out for Edinburgh, and on their march freed Linlithgow, situate midway, from all superstitious bondage; and although their numbers were few, for, thinking the war finished, the common soldiers had withdrawn to attend their domestic affairs, yet, besides having humbled the haughtiness of the papists in so many towns, they struck the Scottish and French mercenaries with such terror, that they fled to Dunbar with all the baggage they could carry away.

* Chartres, a family long since gone to decay.

The lords of the congregation remained in Edinburgh several days to organize their plans; and, besides purifying the churches from all the trappings of popery, they appointed preachers for declaring the sincere word of God.

xxxviii. In the meantime, accounts were received from France, of the death of king Henry II. This intelligence, as it increased the joy, so it diminished the industry of the Scots, for the greater part, as if all their danger had died with him, returned to their private occupations. The queen regent, on the other hand, fearing lest she herself, together with the whole French, should be expelled Scotland, watched every opportunity with the utmost vigilance. In particular, she sent spies to Edinburgh, to get information of the designs of the enemy, and being informed by them of the departure of the common soldiers, and that the few who remained were so secure, that they attended to no military duty, she instantly set out for the city, with what force she had. On her march she was met by James Hamilton, [duke of Chatellerault,] and James, [earl of] Morton, who respectfully, but in vain, attempted to effect a reconciliation. They prevailed, however, in preventing a battle on that day, and at length a truce was entered into, on the 24th of July, 1559, to last till the 10th of January succeeding, on conditions, of which the following were the principal:—That no person should be constrained in matters of religion; that no military garrison should be placed in Edinburgh; that no impediment should be thrown in the way of the priests collecting freely their tithes, stipends, or any other revenue; that the reformed should not destroy any church, monastery, or other place, built for the use of the priests, or change them to any other use; likewise, that next day, the mint, and the palace royal, with the whole of its furniture, should be restored to the queen regent, in the same manner as they had received it.

xxxix. The regent was the more anxious that this truce should not be violated, either by herself or her people, because her former levity in observing her engagements, was universally reprobated, but she caused the satellites of her own faction to irritate the Scots, who are by nature rather irascible, that they might afford her an opportunity for exercising her

cruelty upon the wretched common people, but when she could obtain no pretext, by which, under colour of law, she might disguise her persecution, she disseminated false reports, that beneath the mask of religion, rebellion was concealed, but that the true cause of taking arms, was to destroy the legitimate line, in order that James, the late king's bastard, might transfer the crown to himself. By these, and similar falsehoods, when she perceived that public opinion began to waver, she caused repeated letters to be sent to James, which she wished to appear as coming from the French king and queen, Francis and Mary. These contained unfounded reproaches for fictitious favours, and severe threatenings, unless he desisted from his rebellious designs, and returned to his duty. To which James replied, that he was unconscious of having done any thing against either his sovereigns, or the laws; but with regard to the nobility's having supported those who wished to restore a corrupted religion to its original purity, or rather having themselves undertaken the same cause, if any blame attached to his acting along with them, he could easily endure it, for they sought nothing but the extension of the glory of God—a design of which it was not lawful to repent—a design which had Christ for its author, supporter, and defender, whom unless they willingly denied, they dared not desist from their undertaking; but excepting this cause alone, their majesties would find him, and those to whom the insidious name of rebels had been applied, in every thing else, the most obedient of subjects. This answer being given to the queen regent, to transmit to France, it appeared to her contumacious and haughty; to others, however, it appeared not only modest, but even too moderate, especially in reply to the taunts for favours of which he had received none, except in common with other strangers.

XL. During these proceedings, a thousand French soldiers landed at Leith, and the earl of Arran, son of James Hamilton, [duke of Chatellerault,] late governor, who came to attend the meeting of the nobles, then held at Stirling. The regent, upon the arrival of the French, as if all her hopes had been realized, began openly to attempt the subjugation of the Scots. The reason of the earl of Arran's return was—having defend-

ed the cause of the reformers more vehemently than was safe in these times, the Guises, who, during the minority of Francis, tyrannized over France, to the great terror of the lower orders, had destined him for death, and the cardinal of Lorraine, when inveighing against the cause of the reformation in the parliament of Paris, had not hesitated to tell them, that they would at an early period, be spectators of the punishment of a man, equal in dignity to a prince. The earl, on learning this, and remembering too, that the duke of Guise had of late become cold in his behaviour towards him, by the advice of his friends, consulted his safety by a secret flight, and suddenly, and unexpectedly arrived in the midst of the domestic commotions, and joined himself to the party of the reformed. He also induced his father to join them, and reconciled many to him, who had been his enemies on account of ancient offences.

XLI. The lords of the congregation who were present, when they received certain information that the auxiliaries were partly landed, and the rest would be sent as fast as they could be levied; that Leith was to be strongly fortified, as a depot for provisions and warlike stores, to afford a retreat to the French in adverse circumstances, and a harbour to receive their friends, if they proved prosperous, collected their whole forces to besiege Leith, and attempt to shut them up, but in vain, for almost all the cannon in Scotland, was either in the regent's possession, or in the castle of Edinburgh, the governor of which had not yet declared for the reformers, neither had they sufficient strength to blockade a town, one side of which was defended by the sea, and through the middle of which a river flowed. The king of France, in the meantime, being informed of the situation of Scotland, sent thither La Brosse, knight of the order of the cockle,* with two thousand foot soldiers, to assist the queen regent in supporting the popish superstition. Along with them was sent [Pelleve] bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, to manage disputations if necessary. Their arrival so raised the droop-

* Of St. Michael, the archangel, the chief order of knighthood in France.

ing spirits of the regent, that she vowed she would inflict speedy punishment on the enemies of saints and kings.

XLII. There were then twelve of the principal nobility present in Edinburgh, to whom La Brosse and the bishop announced themselves as ambassadors, and desired them to appoint a day on which they would state their demands. The nobles in reply, stated, that they did not seek peace as they pretended, but threatened war, for otherwise, why bring armed bands to a disputation? As for themselves, they were not so inexperienced, as to risk themselves in a disputation, where they might be forced to accept terms at the discretion of their enemies, and if an armed conference was preferred, they also would take care that it should not appear as if they were more compelled by force, than convinced by reason, but they, if they really desired what they pretended, should, as a preliminary, send back the foreign soldiers, and meet, as they had often done before, unarmed, as men intending to adjust their differences equitably, and not decide them by the sword. After these observations as to the quality of the ambassadors, they remarked upon the fortification of Leith, that they were wonderfully astonished at the regent's so quickly, and without any provocation, receding from her agreement, as that, expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, she should place there a colony of strangers, and build a citadel for them, to the destruction of all law and liberty. They earnestly entreated her to desist from so pernicious a design, rashly undertaken in opposition to the faith of her promises, the advantage of the public, and the laws and liberties of the realm, and not to force them to appeal to the fidelity of the whole people. In about a month after, they again wrote to the regent, to the same purport, adding this to their former petitions:—That the new fortifications should be demolished, and that she would order the foreign, and other hired troops, to depart from the town, and leave it free for all, to carry on their commerce, and exercise their trade; if she refused this, they would consider it as a sure indication that she wished to reduce the kingdom to slavery, for which evil they would endeavour, by every means within their power, to find a remedy.

XLIII. The regent, three days after, sent Robert Forman,

principal herald, commonly styled Lyon King at Arms, to reply, with the following instructions:—First, you are to show that I cannot understand how any one can possess power in this realm, except my son-in-law, and daughter, from whom I derive all my authority. The former deeds of the nobles, and their present request, or rather command, sufficiently declares they they acknowledge no superior authority, neither does their petition, or rather threat, however plausibly expressed, surprise me. You will require the duke of Chatellerault to remember what he promised to me verbally, and to the king by letter, not only that he would himself continue loyal to the king, but would prevent his son, the earl of Arran, from at all interfering in the troubles of the country, and ask him how his present conduct corresponds with these promises. To the addresses you will reply, that I am ready to do, and hereby promise to do, whatever the public tranquillity requires, and is not repugnant to religion, and my duty to the sovereigns; nor did I ever so much as think of overturning either liberty or the laws, much less of conquering the kingdom by force; for why should I wish to conquer that, which without dispute, belongs to my daughter by hereditary right? Respecting the fortifications at Leith, you will ask whether I ever attempted any thing of that kind, until they by many meetings, and at last by a conspiracy, openly entered into, declared that they had rejected all legitimate authority, and would manage the commonwealth at their own pleasure, without consulting me, who held the rank and authority of chief magistrate; until they had strengthened their party by taking towns; by entering into a negotiation with the ancient enemy for ratifying a league, and especially now had many of the English in their own houses; and besides, what reasons can they offer why they should be allowed to keep an army at Edinburgh, for attacking the governors of the realm, and I not suffered to have some forces at Leith, as a protection for my person, and the support of my authority? Undoubtedly they wish to deprive me of any settled place of residence, and force me to change my situation daily, as I have hitherto done, to avoid their fury. Besides, where is there any mention made in their letters, of any obedience to lawful magistrates? Where do

they point out any way to restore concord? Where do they show any desire to allay these commotions, and bring back the commonwealth to its former situation? They may talk as they choose, about the welfare of the public, it is evident that there is nothing about which they think less; for if that be the only obstacle to concord, I have often shown how it might be removed. Nor are they ignorant that the French would have long ago been ordered out of Scotland by their king, if they themselves, by their own conduct, had not occasioned the delay. Wherefore, if they would now offer any honourable conditions, which would afford a hope that the majesty of the government would be preserved, and that they would modestly and obediently submit to their superiors, I will reject no plan for restoring concord. Nor am I only thus inclined, but their sovereigns also discover the same disposition, who had sent an illustrious knight, of the order of St. Michael, and one of the highest dignitaries of the church, with letters and mandates for that purpose, whom they had treated with so much contempt, that they not only returned them no answer, but would not even grant them a conference; for which reasons, you will require and command, both the duke, nobles, and all others of whatever rank, to separate from the army, on pain of being proclaimed traitors.

XLIV. To these communications, the nobles next day, 23d October, returned the following reply:—We plainly perceive, by the letters and mandates sent us by your herald, your persevering aversion to the true worship of God, the public welfare of the nation, and our common liberty. In order, therefore, to preserve them, we, in the name of our king and queen, suspend, and prohibit you from exercising the government in their name, as regent, or under whatever title you may assume, as we are assured that your proceedings are in entire opposition to their wishes for the welfare of this kingdom; and inasmuch as you do not employ us, the lawful counsellors of this kingdom, and native subjects of our sovereigns, as your parliament and council, so neither do we acknowledge you as regent, or exercising the supreme functions of government, particularly, because your power of whatever kind, intrusted to you by our sovereigns, is for the most

weighty and just causes, inhibited by us, and that in the name of these sovereigns, whose natural advisers we are, especially in affairs respecting the safety of the commonwealth. But although we have determined to hazard our lives in freeing that town, in which you have collected foreign troops against us, yet for the respect and regard we have for you as our queen's mother, we earnestly entreat you to withdraw, ere the public service forces us to reduce that city by arms, which we have so often before endeavoured to liberate by our petitions. Besides, we request that you would take along with you, within twenty-four hours, all those who lay claim to the name of ambassadors, for deciding or managing the public affairs; also, all the hired soldiers of every description who are in the town, as we would willingly spare their lives, and preserve them unhurt, on account of the friendship which has for so many ages existed between the Scots and the French, and which the marriage of our queen with their king, ought rather to increase than diminish.

XLV. On his return, the herald related, that the day before that on which the answer was written, in a full meeting of the nobles and others, it had been voted, that all the declarations, actions, and attempts of the regent, tended to pure tyranny, and therefore, in consequence, the act depriving her of the magistracy had been subscribed by the whole as most just. They also prohibited her from exercising the trust, deputed to her by her son-in-law and daughter, and forbade her exercising any authority, until a parliament, summoned by themselves, could be conveniently assembled. On the 25th, the nobles sent a herald to Leith, to order all the Scots to depart from that town, within the space of twenty-four hours, and separate themselves from the destroyers of public liberty. After the publication of these threatenings, the horse on both sides began skirmishing, and the war commenced, yet without any great loss on either side. In the beginning of their enterprise, so great a panic suddenly struck the reformers, as grievously distressed them for the present, and greatly diminished all hope of future success; for the regent, partly by threats, and partly by promises, seduced from the party of the nobles, a number of those who had subscribed the bond of

the congregation, and filled their camp with spies, who informed her not only of their words and actions, but even of their most secret councils, which they thought, and wished to keep entirely secret, and a servant of Sir James Balfour, being taken carrying letters to Leith, many became suspected, and a general distrust spread over the whole. The mercenaries also, mutinied for their arrears of pay, and outrageously threatened all who endeavoured to recall them to their duty. But this sedition, in men strangers to piety and honour, did not occasion so much surprise, as the imbecility, and almost despair of the duke of Chatellerault, who had been so terrified by his relations, that his alarm proved very widely infectious.

XLVI. When they who continued firm wished to remedy the evils with which they were assailed, the first inquiry that presented itself was, how to allay the discontents of the soldiers. Among the nobles who remained, some declining through avarice, and others incapable through poverty, it was found impossible to raise as much money as would satisfy the mercenaries. Some individual then proposed to melt down their silver plate, but when the master of the mint was ready, the dies were discovered to have been carried off by some secret fraud. There remained now only one hope, and that a slender one, of assistance from the English, they therefore determined privately to try the attachment of their friends, and sent John Cockburn, of Ormiston, to Sir Ralph Saddler, and Sir James Crofts, two knights of approved virtue, to obtain a small supply in their present exigence. This design, although taken with the utmost secrecy, was discovered to the queen regent, who ordered the earl of Bothwell to watch his return. He, notwithstanding he had only a few days before solemnly sworn, that he would do nothing to oppose the cause of the nobles, and had even led them to expect that he would subscribe the bond of agreement, yet waylaid the laird of Ormiston, attacked him unawares, wounded him, and carried off the money.

XLVII. When the report of this deed reached Edinburgh, the earl of Arran, and lord James Stuart, set out with almost the whole horsemen, not so much from a desire of revenge, as to rescue Ormiston, if yet alive, and, at least, prevent the

money from being carried to the queen regent ; but Bothwell being informed of their approach by his spies, avoided them by flight. The same day the provost of Dundee, with the citizens and a few volunteers, marched towards Leith, and placed their artillery on an adjoining hill. The French, who knew that almost all the horse were absent, sent out several regiments to attack the foot, who were only a few in number. The citizens of Dundee resisted for some time, in expectation of assistance ; but almost instantly on the first assault, the mercenaries—a few of whom had followed them—fled, and they, after a little, leaving their cannon, followed, slowly at first, until a clamour was raised in the rear, that the French having gone by a shorter way, had taken possession of the city gates behind them, in order to shut them out. At this report such a perturbation arose, that every one endeavoured to shift for himself ; in the crowd the weak were trode down by the strong, and as each consulted only his own, no one thought of the public safety. The papists, in consequence, came out from their skulking holes, and openly abused the fugitives, while those who had previously professed great attachment for the reformers, began some to withdraw themselves privately, and others to consult about abjuring the whole cause.

XLVIII. On the 5th of November, when it was reported that the French had marched on purpose to intercept the supply of provisions coming to Edinburgh, and as the mercenaries, on account of the dissensions among the reformed, could scarcely be forced out of the city, the earl of Arran, and James Stuart, went with a few of their friends at first against the enemy, but on being joined by many honourable and zealous companions, they attacked them with more spirit than prudence, and very nearly suffered the punishment of their rashness, by having their retreat to Edinburgh cut off ; for the marshes upon the one side, and the wall on the other, having left them only a narrow path, wholly exposed to the French musquetry, they were here trodden down, partly by themselves, and partly by their horse, and, in this confusion, were threatened with certain destruction, had not their leaders dismounted, and, by sharing the danger equally with all, retained a number around them by shame. Among these was

captain Alexander Halyburton, an active young man, strenuous in the cause of the reformation, who, being severely wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy, and died of his wounds in a short time after.

XLIX. After this conflict, in which about twenty-five were killed, many having withdrawn, and the rest desponding, the earl of Arran, and lord James, offered to continue the siege, if only a few would continue along with them; but almost the whole refusing, they held a council about leaving the city, and when it was determined upon by the nobles, they set out upon their march next day at the second watch, and came to Stirling, where John Knox preached a most animated discourse to them, and inspired the minds of many with an assured confidence of soon emerging from these misfortunes. In this meeting it was determined, that as the French were daily increasing by new supplies, that they also should strengthen their party by foreign aid; and William Maitland, a young man of consummate ability and great learning, was sent to inform the queen of England of the imminent danger which threatened that country, if the French were suffered to fortify towns and place garrisons in Scotland, as they sought not the destruction of religion only, but likewise of their liberty and laws; for if the Scots were overcome either by force or fraud, and reduced to slavery by an unequal alliance, they would have easier access to break the power of the English. The English, after long discussing the matter among themselves, at length gave some hopes of assistance.

L. The noblemen of the reformed party separated themselves into two divisions. The one remained at Glasgow, to take charge of the neighbouring countries, and protect the brethren from injury. The other went to Fife. The French, who omitted no opportunity of annoying their enemies, anxiously endeavoured, before the arrival of their English auxiliaries, to destroy the remains of the opposite faction; and first they proceeded against that party who had gone to Fife. On their march they spoiled Linlithgow and the estates of the Hamiltons; thence they continued their route to Stirling, and halting there only till they plundered the citizens, passed the bridge, and following the windings of the river, they directed

their course through a country abounding in towns and villages, and spoiling wherever they went, came at last to Kinghorn. The Scots, in order to stop their progress, garrisoned the small town of Dysart with a few men. Here, for twenty days, they were engaged in skirmishing, and the French, when they found they could not wreak their vengeance on the proprietors, poured out their fury on their houses. They razed the Grange, a seat of William Kircaldy, from the foundation. He, knowing that the French made many incursions to plunder the rustics, placed himself in ambush a little before day-break, and when he perceived captain L'Abbas, a Piedmontese, pass with his company, he remained in his hiding place till they had gone a mile distant from the French garrison, then, sending forward his horse, he cut them off from their friends. The enemy, in such a contest, had only one chance; they passed into a country village which was near, and endeavoured to defend themselves behind the walls and hedges. The Scots, enraged by the former cruelty of the French, regardless of their own safety, provided they injured the enemy, although they had no other weapon than horsemen's lances, rushed within the place, and overturned all before them. The captain refusing to surrender, was slain with fifty soldiers, the rest were sent prisoners to Dundee.

1. The nobles, who were stationed at Dysart, having met at Cupar, from among them, and the others who were at Glasgow, ambassadors were chosen to proceed to Berwick, to conclude a treaty with the English, of which the following were the principal conditions:—That if any foreigner should land in Britain to make war, the two nations should mutually send assistance to each other; that the queen of England should pay the Scottish auxiliaries when fighting in England, and the English auxiliaries when fighting in Scotland; that all the plunder taken from the enemy should belong to the English, the towns and cities excepted, which should immediately be restored to their ancient masters; that the Scots should give hostages, who should remain in England during the continuance of the marriage of the French king with the queen of the Scots, and one year after the dissolution thereof. This league was entered into at Berwick, 27th February,

1560. On the conclusion of the treaty, the English strongly advised the Scots not to fight the enemy before the arrival of their auxiliaries, nor put their all to hazard upon one engagement; for the English nobles greatly feared lest the too fervid disposition of the Scots, should precipitate the whole into irremediable confusion.

LII. In the meantime, the French having wasted Dysart and Weemyss, began to dispute among themselves, whether they should advance at once against the enemy, or march along the shore to St. Andrews, and thence to Cupar. The latter opinion prevailed, because, on account of the great fall of snow having obliterated the vestiges of the roads, the horses could not, without great inconvenience, be led through the inland districts. Wherefore, when they had marched a little along the sea-coast, and had reached the promontory of Kin-craig—as the head or end of the rock is called—some of them ascending to where there was an extensive prospect towards the sea, cried out with the greatest joy, that they beheld eight sail of large vessels. The whole French army immediately concluded for certain, that these were the long expected fleet bringing them assistance, and saluted them, as is customary, with a great number of cannon, which being returned, they congratulated each other, and determined to pass the day there with the greatest rejoicings. Not long after, first one boat, and then another, arrived from the opposite shore of Lothian, from whom—as in passing they had spoken with those on board the foreign vessels—they learned that it was the English fleet, and that the land forces were at no great distance from the Scottish borders. This intelligence produced a sudden change of spirit, and turned their premature rejoicing into fear and consternation.

LIII. Immediately striking their colours, they hastened back, some to Kinghorn, and some to Dunfermline, the greater part without waiting dinner, for they feared lest the garrison they had left at Leith being cut off, they themselves surrounded on all sides, might be overpowered before they could collect their whole forces together. In this march, they carried off more plunder from the papists, who joined them in great numbers, than from their enemies; for almost all the more

opulent of the latter had removed their property to distant places, out of the risk of danger; or, if any of them had not carried away their property, the French officers, elated with their present success, and trusting to the assistance they daily expected from France, believed that they would be the perpetual lords of that country, and preserved from spoliation the richer villas, abounding in all kinds of provisions, as their own peculiar prey. But they exhausted the papists, either by the frequent visits they paid them, under the honourable pretext of friendship, or by the secret pilfering of the soldiery, or, when in great want of provisions in their retreat, by open plundering,* accompanied with scorn, the French bitterly reproaching them for their cowardice in not assisting them in battle, and their avarice in not relieving them in want; which conduct, how far it differs from perfidy, they themselves are desired to judge. This contumelious pride, joined with rapacity, cooled the affection of numbers towards the French faction, and, not long after, many of the gentlemen of Fife, partly constrained by dread of the enemy, and partly by the injuries of their own associates, joined the congregation of the reformers, and, at length, the distant counties unanimously revolted from the foreigners, and evinced themselves no less active in repressing French tyranny, than the rest of the Scots had been in asserting their religion.

LIV. Spring now approached, and both parties hastened to collect their auxiliaries. The earl of Martigas, an active

* This statement is confirmed by Knox, who adds the following anecdote in his own characteristic style, and which paints the miseries of a country the seat of war: "As the Frenche spullyed the cuntrey in thair returning, ane captane or souldiour, we cannot tell, bot he had a reid clocke and a gilt murriow, enterit upon a pure woman, that dwelt in the Quhytysid, and began to spoile. The pure woman offerit unto him sick breid as sche had redy prepared, bot he, in na wayis tharewith content, wald have the meill and a litill salt beif, quhilk the pure woman had to sustein hir awn lyif, and the lyves of hir pure childrein; nouthur could teirs nor pitifull words mitigate the merciles man, bot he wald have quhatsoever he micht cary. The pure woman perceaving him so bent, and that he stoupit down in hir tub, for the talking furth of sick stuffe as was within it, first coupit up his heilles, so that his heid went down: and thairefter, quhidder be hirself, or if any uther cumpanie came to helpe hir, bot thare he endit his unhapie lyif."

young nobleman, arrived with a thousand foot, and a few horse, from France. He immediately landed with the troops, and the vessels during the night were taken by the Scots. Nearly about the same time, the marquis D' Elboeuf, the regent's brother, who with eight vessels was bringing money and auxiliaries, partly induced by fear—the sea being covered with English ships—and partly excusing himself on account of the unfavourable weather, returned to the port whence he had sailed. A fresh squadron having been sent to re-enforce the English fleet, they scoured the whole Frith, kept the island of Inchkeith besieged, and prevented all maritime intercourse with Leith. In the meantime, the leaders of the reformed, who commanded in Fife, proceeded to Perth, and, after a conference there with Huntly, which lasted three days, easily persuaded the whole northern coast of Scotland to join them, and, shortly after, orders were sent to them to assemble at the end of March.

LV. At that time, almost all the chiefs of the congregation met at Linlithgow; thence they went to Haddington, on the 1st of April, and joined the English. The English army consisted of upwards of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Next night they encamped at Preston. The same day, the regent, to be removed from the approaching danger, and at a distance from the uncertain chances of war, retired with a few domestics into the castle of Edinburgh, the governor of which was [lord] John Erskine, a man of approved integrity and circumspection. He had received it in charge, as before mentioned, by an order of the estates, on condition, that he should surrender it to no person without their command. The French, who perceived that the possession of this fortress would be of great advantage to their interest, had made many attempts to gain it by stratagem. The governor, although not ignorant of their designs, and who had fortified the castle against both force and fraud, and taken, besides, every other proper precaution, was yet unwilling to exclude the regent at such a time; but in receiving her, he carefully provided that both she and the castle should remain in his power. Nor did the nobles, the leaders of the reformed, although they had often before perceived how hostile the regent

was to their cause, think the present opportunity should be neglected, if perhaps either the nearer approach of war, or the uncertain hope of distant assistance, might induce her to hearken to more peaceful councils. Wherefore, the chiefs of the party having assembled at Dalkeith, thus wrote to her :

LVI. We have often before this, by letters and messengers, earnestly entreated your highness, that the French soldiers, who still, during another year, oppress the poor country people with the most intolerable miseries, and spread the dread of a wretched slavery over the whole population, might be ordered by you to depart, and free us from this apprehension ; but as our just petitions had no influence with your highness, we were forced to deplore our situation to the queen of England, our nearest neighbour, and to entreat her assistance in expelling, by force of arms, the foreigners who attempt to reduce us to subjection, if we cannot otherwise accomplish it ; but although affected by our calamities, she has undertaken our cause ; yet, that we may perform our duty to the mother of our queen, and prevent as much as we can the effusion of Christian blood, and only have recourse to arms when we can obtain our right in no other way, we yet think it proper again humbly to request that you would command the French forces, with their officers and generals, immediately to depart out of this country ; in order to do which more conveniently, the queen of England will not only grant a safe passage through her kingdom, but will also assist with her fleet to transport them. Which proposition if you reject, we call God and man to witness, that we resort to arms through no hatred or malice, but unwillingly, and forced by pure necessity to attempt this last remedy, lest we should plunge the commonwealth, ourselves, our fortunes, and our posterity, into utter ruin. Nevertheless, although we suffer the most severe deprivation, and are threatened with greater, no danger shall constrain us to depart from our allegiance to our queen, or to the king, her husband, in any thing which does not involve the destruction of our ancient liberty, or the ruin of ourselves or our posterity. But we beseech thee, most benign princess, again and again, that considering the equity of our just demands, and what evils may follow war, and how necessary quiet is to

your daughter's distressed kingdom, that you would lend a favourable ear to our prayers; which if you do, you will leave a pleasant remembrance of your moderation among all nations, and consult the tranquillity of the greatest part of Christendom. Farewell. Dalkeith, 4th April, 1560.

LVII. On the sixth of April, as the English approached by the sea side, about thirteen hundred of the French came out of Leith, and took possession of a gently rising hill, at the end of the plain, where they thought the English intended to encamp. The possession of this spot was keenly disputed for upwards of five hours, and a number of men fell. At length the Scottish horse rushing with great impetuosity upon the thickest part of the French line, drove them back in great disorder upon the town, and had the English horse not been later in arriving than was agreed upon, the whole of them must have been cut off from their friends, and destroyed. After this, several fruitless conferences took place, for the English refused all truce, and were frequently engaged in slight, but not bloodless skirmishes, not worth relating.

LVIII. On the 21st of April, John Montue, bishop of Valence in Savoy, arrived first in the English camp, whence he proceeded to the castle of Edinburgh to the queen regent, with whom, after he had held a conference for two days, he returned to the Scottish nobles, but could conclude no terms of amity with them, because the Scots persisted in demanding that all the foreign troops should return home. After this, the English, because the distance between their camp and the town prevented their artillery from taking effect, removed their camp beyond the Water of Leith, where their shot would strike with more certain execution, and they could more frequently engage in skirmishing with the enemy. On the last day of the month, about two hours before sunset, a fire accidentally broke out in that part of the town next the English camp, and the wind being high, it burned with great fury till next morning, occasioning very extensive devastation; and the flames reaching part of the public granaries, a quantity of the provisions was destroyed. In the midst of this confusion, the English were not inactive; but pointing their largest cannon towards that quarter, they prevented the common people

from extinguishing the conflagration, and entering the ditches, measured the height of the walls in various places, so that unless the French, who dreaded treachery, had run at the very first alarm to the walls in great numbers, that day, in all probability, would have finished the war. On the 4th of May, the English set fire to the water mills near the town; the one they burned in the morning before light, and next day they burned the other, notwithstanding the attempts of the French to extinguish the flames. On the 7th the besiegers made a general attempt to scale the walls, but the ladders proving too short, they were repulsed with a number wounded, and lost one hundred and sixty slain. The next three days the French spent with great labour and danger in repairing the walls, the English always pointing their artillery wherever they saw any number assembled.

LIX. The Papists, immoderately elated by this success, already flattered themselves with the departure of the English, the raising of the siege, and the end of the war. The allies, however, not disheartened by their defeat, exhorted each other to perseverance, and the English promised to remain until they learned from court what was the intention of their queen; but, in the meantime, letters from the duke of Norfolk greatly encouraged them, for he wrote to lord Gray, the commander-in-chief, and ordered him to continue the siege, and that soldiers would not be wanting, as long as there remained in his province—which was very extensive, comprehending all between the Tweed and the Trent—a man capable of bearing arms, and, if necessary, promised that he would come in person to the camp. Meanwhile, as a proof of his sincerity, he sent his pavilion thither, which he ordered to be erected in the camp, and within two days, sent a re-enforcement of two thousand soldiers. Thus all remembrance of the loss which had been sustained was obliterated, and the war recommenced, as it were, with renovated vigour. The French, although they made frequent sallies, were almost never afterwards successful.

LX. In the meantime, the queen of England sent to Scotland William Cecil, a learned and prudent man, at that time prime minister, and Nicolas Wotton, dean of York, to treat

for peace, who were ordered to confer with M. Randan, and the bishop of Valence, on the part of the French, respecting the conditions; for the sovereigns of France did not think it consistent with their dignity, to treat with their subjects on a footing of equality. It was reported, that all matters of dispute were nearly adjusted at this conference, and that a parliament was to be held in the month of July.

LXI. The queen dowager, however, ere that time, worn out by sickness and grief, died in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 10th of June. Her death affected the public very variously; and some, even of those who had borne arms against her, greatly lamented her, for she possessed an uncommon genius, and a mind strongly inclined to justice, and had pacified the fiercest clans and most distant islanders by her courage and wisdom. Some were of opinion, that had she been allowed to follow her own disposition, there would have been no war with the Scots, for she accommodated herself so well to their manners, that all would have been easily settled without force; because, although she had the name of the chief ruler, and possessed abilities not unworthy that elevated situation, she seemed only to yield a precarious sway, and, in her decisions upon affairs of importance, depended upon directions from France, as from an oracle; for the Guises, whose power was then unbounded in the French court, marked out Scotland as the private property of their family, and were the occasion of their sister supporting with more severity the cause of popery, than was either suited to her own nature, or that of the times, which she herself often confessed; for she affirmed, if she had had her own will in the government, she would not have despaired of composing all differences upon equitable terms. Some others thought she rather sported these speeches for the sake of popularity, than spoke them as her real sentiments; neither did they believe that she uttered them with the intention only of averting the odium and blame of male-administration from herself, but that, under the pretence of asking advice, she might interpose delays until she could procure foreign assistance, blunt the fierce impetuosity of the Scots by yielding to it, and gain time for allowing their anger to cool; while, at the same time, she thought that their voluntary

association being repeatedly broken up, it would not be easy to assemble them again in a camp, as they were men who served without pay, and were not under any strict military discipline; and they considered as a certain indication of the queen regent's hypocrisy, her unfaithfulness to her promises, for she would not wait the end of a truce, as prescribed by the terms she had signed, but whenever any appearance of advantage offered itself, she resumed the war at her pleasure. There were others who imputed the blame, of whatever was avaricious or cruel, or had been attempted by fraud and falsehood, to the counsellors she employed in managing the government; for from the time she was first in power, she had constantly had French counsellors associated with her. In the commencement of her rule, all her measures were directed by M. D'Osel, the French king's ambassador, of a quick and fiery temper, but otherwise an honourable man, well skilled in the arts of peace and war, and more inclined to justice, than devoted to the Guises, to whom was joined a M. Rubly, a Parisian lawyer, whose business it was to decide legal disputes, should any occur. He, wishing to assimilate every thing in the public administration, as much as possible, to the manners and customs of France, as if that had been the only method of governing a people, incurred the suspicion of innovation, and although, perhaps, the accusation was common to him with others, yet he bore the hatred alone. These two, however, committed no irremediable error. Towards the end of the war, three leaders in their different departments, superintended the military operations—the earl Martigas, of the Luxemburgh family, who was afterwards duke D'Estamps; La Brosse, whose father was a knight, and he himself an experienced officer; and the bishop of Amiens, attended by some doctors of the Sorbonne, as if words, not arms, were to decide the contest. The counsels of all these three tended to open tyranny. Martigas advised, that all the district in the vicinity of Leith, should be destroyed by fire and sword, that the desolation of the country, and the want of necessary supplies, might force the Scots to discontinue the siege, a measure by which many peaceable inhabitants, and poor people, chiefly papists, would have been ruined, and no advantage have

accrued to the besieged, for the intercourse by sea being open to the English, abundance could have been procured from all the maritime places of Scotland, for the supply of the besiegers, while from the devastation of the farms, as much mischief would have been done the papists, as the reformed. La Brosse thought all the Scottish nobility should be cut off without distinction, and a thousand French cuirassiers quartered upon their estates, to keep their vassals in subjection. This project being divulged by some intercepted letters, wonderfully increased the hatred already entertained against the French on other accounts. The bishop of Amiens proposed, that all should be seized, and without any trial, put to death, who were unfriendly to the Romish cause, or whom he did not think cordially attached to the French, and he severely blamed the French soldiers, for allowing those to appear openly, and with impunity, who were enemies to their king, particularly one whom he named William Maitland, a young learned nobleman, whom the bishop, because he could not refute by the arguments of the Sorbonne, was determined to silence by the edge of the sword. Him he upbraided the French soldiers for suffering to live, and advised them to put him to death, which, when Maitland came to understand, he seized the first opportunity of withdrawing himself from the French, and joining the Scottish army.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XVII.

1. **I**N a few days after the death of the regent, a truce being concluded for a short time, the nobles assembled to give audience to ambassadors who had arrived from France and England to negotiate a peace. They, however, could effect nothing, because the French, who, in the preceding winter, had acquired a great deal of plunder from the places in the vicinity, refused to depart, unless they were allowed to carry their baggage along with them untouched. When they could not obtain this, they recommenced their sallies more fiercely than before, but not with equal success. At last, when all parties were tired of the war, and could no longer dissemble their desire for peace, the ambassadors on each side had another conference. What chiefly inclined them to peace was:—The French, all hope of assistance being cut off, became daily more straitened for provisions, and as their present supply could not hold out long, they were nearly reduced to the last extremity. The English, tired of the long continuance of the siege, were equally in want of provisions with the French, and as desirous to finish the war; and the Scots, who served without pay, being with difficulty kept together, willingly listened to proposals for peace. Thus, with the unanimous consent of the whole, on the 8th of July, A. D. 1560, peace was proclaimed on these conditions:—That the French should embark within twenty days with all their baggage, and, as at present they had not a sufficient number of ships to carry away their whole multitude, that they should hire as many as were necessary from the English, leaving

hostages till the return of the vessels; that Leith should be restored to the Scots, and its walls destroyed; that the fortifications lately erected by the French at Dunbar should be razed; that, on these conditions being fulfilled as agreed upon, the English should immediately withdraw their forces; that Mary, queen of the Scots, with the concurrence of her husband Francis, should grant an act of indemnity for all the Scottish nobles had done or attempted, from the 10th of March, A. D. 1559, until the 1st of August, 1560; which act to be ratified in the next Scottish parliament, summoned for the month of August, and that Francis and Mary should give their consent to its being then holden; that sixty Frenchmen should keep possession of the island of Inchkeith and the castle of Dunbar, that the queen might not appear to be wholly dispossessed of her kingdom.

II. After the departure of the foreign soldiers, there was the greatest tranquillity till the return of the queen. A meeting of the estates was held at Edinburgh, which was chiefly occupied in providing for the promotion of the reformed religion; and the acts passed for this purpose were sent to France, to be subscribed by the queen; rather, however, to discover her inclination, than from any expectation of obtaining her consent. Ambassadors were also sent to England, to thank Elizabeth for the assistance so opportunely afforded. Not long after, Sir James Sandilands, a knight of Rhodes, and hitherto free from the discords of the factions, went to the French court, to excuse the preceding transactions to the sovereigns, sooth any irritation remaining on account of the war, and endeavour, by every method possible, to secure the peace; but he arrived in very turbulent times, for the Guises, who were then all powerful in France, after they perceived that flatteries and threats were of little avail, endeavoured by violence and arms to subdue the adverse faction; and as they could not discover any crime in those of the opposite religion, they accused them of having betrayed the kingdom. Already the king of Navarre had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and his brother, the prince of Conde, sentenced to death. Annas, duke of Montmorency, and his sister's two sons, Gaspar and Francis Coligny, and their relation, the

lord lieutenant of Chartres, were destined for destruction; and, besides these, above ten thousand were marked down on the roll of criminals, and every method of terrifying the protestants resorted to. The city of Orleans was filled with foot soldiers, in the country parties of horse were stationed every where, and all the public roads obstructed by their patrols. In the courts, sentence was passed by a few, on the lives, fortunes, and characters of the most honourable men. All the steeples of the churches, and the towers around the walls, had their windows built up, and their doors fortified, ready to be used as prisons. The criminal judges were assembled from all quarters of the kingdom, and the manner of inflicting the punishment was thus arranged:—As soon as the river Loire became navigable, by the breaking up of the ice, the king should withdraw himself to Chinon, at the mouth of the river Vienne, in Poictou; the Guises, with a few of the royal counsellors, of whom they themselves were the chief, should order the execution.

III. While these preparations were in progress, Sandilands arrived at court, not so much humbly to entreat pardon for the past transactions, as to exculpate his countrymen, by attributing the causes of the late disturbances to the French. The Guises haughtily received the knight, and reproved him with great harshness, because he, a man devoted to a holy military order, should have undertaken to carry the messages of rebels, in favour of an execrable heresy, which, with the universal approbation of all nations, had lately been condemned by the council of Trent. Nor could they sufficiently admire, not the folly, but the madness of the Scots, who, few in number, and at variance among themselves, destitute of warlike stores, and especially of money, should voluntarily affront so powerful a king, at rest from all external hostilities.

IV. In the midst of all the noise, and threatenings of their fury, the king suddenly fell sick, and the ambassador was dismissed without an answer. A messenger, however, overtook him at Paris, with accounts of the king's death, whence he hastened to return home, with higher expectations than he had entertained at the commencement of his journey. The intelligence of the king's death, enlivened the spirits of

the Scots, who had been depressed with anxiety respecting their own perilous situation, as much as it filled all France with factions, and spread the poison of domestic seditions. James, the queen's brother, now that Scotland was wholly freed from French domination by the death of Francis, hastened with the utmost speed to the queen, who, upon the loss of her husband, had gone to Lorraine with her uncle, either seeking to indulge her grief in secret, or, from a spirit of female envy, that she might be at a distance from her mother-in-law, who, through the indolence of Anthony Bourbon, king of Navarre, had by degrees, assumed the administration of the whole kingdom herself. There her brother James, who had made a temporary arrangement of affairs in Scotland, found her, and after many conversations respecting the subject, the queen informed him that she intended to return to Scotland, and fixed the day on which she desired her subjects to expect her. Her uncles, likewise, were very urgent for this measure. Before James' arrival, the future conduct of the queen had been the subject of much discussion, many urged the danger of the voyage, especially as the queen of England was not friendly, then the barbarous and turbulent race among whom she would arrive, who did not obey even the government of men willingly—the recent examples which she had of her father, and her mother, whom, when they dared not, or could not openly overturn, they by various methods reduced to despair—and represented the constant danger to which, by going among such a people, she would expose her honour or her life. On the other hand, it was contended by those acquainted with Scottish affairs, that the blame of seditions more frequently belonged to the kings than to the people, and originated from this—they endeavoured to reduce a kingdom, which from the earliest times had always been governed according to laws, to an unlimited, and lawless despotism, and that a nation more warlike than rich could not endure; but all their kings who had not attempted to infringe the rights of the people, were not only safe from private feuds, and popular tumults, but happy in the affections of their subjects, had reigned unconquered by their enemies, and renowned among foreign nations; but at present, the most effectual, and indeed

the only way to compose the country, was to attempt no change in the state of religion, as then established.

v. These were the public debates, but among their confidential friends, there were other more powerful causes. The queen's uncles, who, in the present disturbed state of France, cherished great rather than honourable hopes, thought that princess would be more in their power when absent, than if she remained in France, and that the hope of a marriage with her being held out to the neighbouring kings, would procure them many allies, whose assistance would be of service. In the meantime, one of their own faction would preside over the administration of affairs in Scotland. With these, the wishes of the queen agreed, who had determined at all events, to return to her own country; for her husband being dead, and her mother-in-law, who managed the government, estranged, she perceived she would be neglected at court, and although she had not been long accustomed to reign, yet a high spirited princess, in the bloom of youth, could not brook being reduced to privacy, and she preferred dominion in a moderate kingdom, rather than rank in one more powerful without it. Nor could she expect that her situation would be much more honourable, the power of the Guises being weakened by the first attack of the adverse party. The exhortations and promises too, of her brother James, who assured her she would find all tranquil at home, had no small influence upon her decision, especially as he was one on whose fidelity she could with the utmost confidence rely, her brother by nature, and who from his youth had managed the greatest affairs with the utmost fortitude and success, and had procured for himself both glory and power.

vi. While the queen was occupied in these matters, Noail, a senator of Bourdeaux, who had been sent as ambassador to Scotland, arrived there a little after the dissolution of the parliament, but his recognition was referred to the next meeting, appointed to be held on the 21st of May, which, however, did not sit on that day—although a great number of the nobles assembled—because the pleasure of the queen was yet unknown. In the meantime, James Stuart returned from France, and brought a commission from the queen, for hold-

ing the parliament, and passing what acts might be for the benefit of the public. Then the French ambassador was admitted to an audience. The objects of his embassy were:—That the ancient league with France should be renewed, and the new one with England dissolved; that the priests should be replaced in their situations, and their revenues restored, which had been sequestered. To these demands it was replied:—That with regard to the ancient league with France, they were not conscious of having violated it; on the contrary, it had been many times neglected by the French, especially very lately, by their fighting against the liberty, and endeavouring to reduce to humiliating slavery, their unoffending ancient ally. The treaty with England they could not dissolve, without being considered as the most ungrateful wretches, who repaid the greatest favour by the most grievous injustice, and who conspired against the welfare of the preservers of their own liberty. And with regard to the restoration of the priesthood, they neither acknowledged the order, nor the use of those whom he called priests. In the same parliament an act was passed, for demolishing all the monasteries, and proper persons were sent immediately into all parts of the country, to carry the enactment into execution.

VII. Every thing being prepared in France for the queen's departure, those whom she most confidentially consulted, advised her to dissemble for the present, in whatever regarded religion, although there were some whose rash counsels urged instant extremity, in particular, Dury, abbot of Dunfermline, and John Sinclair, lately appointed bishop of Brechin, to which she was both naturally, and by the persuasions of her relations, so much inclined, that threatenings sometimes unwittingly escaped her, which being noticed at court, were circulated among the people: she even boasted openly among her familiar attendants, that she would imitate the example of her cousin, Mary of England. Indeed, the whole of her designs tended to encourage for the present, the partisans of her own faction, and gradually depress the adherents of the opposite, till her power was established, and then she might safely declare her own sentiments; and this scheme did not seem so very difficult, as the council of Trent having lately

begun their deliberations, under the pretence, indeed, of restoring the degenerate manners of the church, but in fact, for exterminating the professors of the gospel, which was afterward declared by the decree of the more secret council.* Besides, her uncles strongly animated the queen, by showing her the strength of the papal faction, whose chief, Francis, the eldest brother of the Guises, was appointed to be, by the decree of the council. In the meanwhile, Charles, the cardinal, who, amid so many public cares, was not inattentive to private advantage, advised the queen to leave with him her royal furniture, and costly wardrobe, as she was about to pass, as it were, into another world, until she ascertained the issue of her voyage. Mary, who well knew the disposition of the man, understood the hint, and replied, when she ventured upon danger, she did not see why she should take greater care of her wealth, than of her person.

VIII. When the previous arrangements were all settled, D'Osel was despatched to England, to sound the disposition of Elizabeth, and, having been honourably received by the English sovereign, was instantly sent back to the queen of the Scots, to inform her, if she wished to pass through England, she would experience every kindness she could expect from a relation, or an ally, who would esteem her visit as the greatest favour, and would consider her declining an interview, as an affront. The queen of England besides, fitted out a large fleet, under pretence of pursuing the pirates, which some supposed was intended to intercept the queen of the Scots, if she endeavoured to pass in opposition to her will. They took one vessel, in which the earl of Eglington sailed, whom they brought to London, but soon liberated. But whatever was

* The council of Trent was assembled by Paul III. in 1545, and continued by twenty-five sessions till the year 1593, under Julius III. and Pius IV. in order to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the vigour of its discipline, and to reform the lives of its ministers. The decrees of this council, together with the creed of Pope Pius IV. contain a summary of the doctrines of the Roman Catholics. These decrees were subscribed by 255 clergymen, consisting of 4 legates, 2 other cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, besides inferior clergy. Of these 150 came from Italy; of course the council was entirely under the influence of the pope.

the design in preparing the fleet, if hostile, it was fortunately prevented, for the French gallies, after they sailed, were for some days enveloped in a fog, which concealed their motions till they reached Scotland, on the 21st day of August.

ix. At the news of the queen's arrival, the nobility flocked from every quarter of the kingdom, partly to see the show, and partly to congratulate her majesty on her return—some to represent their services to her during her absence, and claim her favour, or to prevent the calumnies of their enemies, and not a few, that from the commencement of the new reign, they might judge of their future prospects. Animated by these various motives, all equally desired to see their queen, who had come so unexpectedly among them, after such vicissitude of prosperous and adverse fortune. Born amid the storms of war, and deprived of her father within six days after her birth—she was educated, indeed, carefully, by her mother, an accomplished princess, but left amid domestic seditions, and foreign wars, a prey to the strongest, and before she could be sensible of her misfortune, exposed to the most imminent hazards of chance; next, leaving her country as if sent into banishment, and preserved with difficulty from the arms of enemies, and the fury of the waves. There fortune smiled upon her for a little, exalted by an illustrious marriage, but it was only a transient glimpse of joy, for her mother and husband cut off, she was now left to sorrow and widowhood, her new kingdom gone, and her ancient inheritance uncertain. But, beside the interest excited by the varied perils of her lot, she was recommended by her exquisite loveliness of form, her blooming vigour of youth, and her elegant genius, which a courtly education had either increased, or at least rendered more engaging, by a specious colouring of virtue. This indeed was not real, but presenting a certain semblance of courtesy, which produced a studied anxiety to please, that weakened the effect of her native affability, and which deadening the seeds of virtue by the witchery of pleasure, prevented the fruit from ever arriving at perfection. These accomplishments, though they were agreeable to the vulgar, did not deceive the discerning, but she being of an age yet tender and pliable, they thought experience would easily correct her failings.

x. Amid the rejoicings on the queen's return, there occurred an incident, trifling in itself, but which deeply affected the minds of both factions. The queen had agreed with the nobility, that she would change nothing in the then state of religion, only she and her own family should be permitted mass privately. While the preparations for celebrating the ceremony were carrying through the court to the chapel, some one of the crowd which had collected, seized, and broke the wax candles, and had not some of the more moderate interfered, the whole of the apparatus would have been cast down, and destroyed. This affray soon became the general topic of conversation, some blaming the outrage as too audacious, others pronouncing the conduct of the servants, an attempt to try how much the patience of the people would bear, and some even exclaiming, that the punishment denounced in the sacred writings against idolators, ought to be inflicted on the priests, but this commotion was crushed in the beginning, by James, the queen's brother, to the great, but secret vexation of George Gordon, [earl of Huntly,] who seized every opportunity of creating disturbance. Thinking on this occasion to display his loyalty, he went to the queen's uncles, who were still in the country, and promised them that he would bring back to the ancient religion, the whole of Scotland north of Dunkeld, but as they doubted his ability, having heard many disadvantageous reports respecting him, and being afraid he would only excite a fresh disturbance, without producing any advantage, they communicated his proposal to James, the queen's brother.

xi. The remainder of the year was spent in sending the French honourably away, who had courteously accompanied the queen, and in balls and entertainments. One of her uncles, the marquis D'Elboeuf, only remained. During this period, William Maitland, the younger, was sent ambassador to England, to compliment, as is the custom, the queen of that country, in the name of his own sovereign, and to inform her how highly his royal mistress regarded her majesty, and how greatly she desired to preserve terms of peace and concord with her sister. He also carried with him despatches from the Scottish nobility, to Elizabeth, filled with expressions

of affection and gratitude for her former good offices. But they particularly requested her to show kindness and courtesy, both in public and private towards their queen, that the friendship so frankly begun, might not only be preserved by good offices, but if possible, be daily knit closer, and they on their part, would omit no opportunity of evincing their zeal and anxiety for the preservation of perpetual amity between the neighbouring kingdoms. There was one certain way to bury in oblivion all ancient animosity, and destroy the source of discord for the future, if the queen of England would procure an act of parliament, and confirm it by her own authority, declaring the queen of Scots the lawful heir to the English crown, next to herself and her children, if she should bear any. After the ambassador had advanced many arguments to show how equitable such an act would be, and of how much advantage to all Britain, he added, that no one ought to show greater diligence and anxiety than herself, in settling this point, as she was her nearest relation, and such a declaration the Scottish queen expected from her affection and kindness.

XII. To which the English queen replied:—I expected a very different embassy from your queen, and I wonder that she has forgotten what, after a long contention, she promised before her departure from France—to ratify the treaty entered into at Leith, which she positively promised to do, as soon as she arrived in her own country. I have been long enough satisfied with words, it is now time, if she have any sense of her own dignity, that her actions correspond with her kind professions.

XIII. In answer, Maitland said, that he had been sent by his queen on this mission, a few days after her arrival, before she had attended to any public business: that she had been so much occupied in receiving her nobles, the most of whom she had never seen before, and who came then for the first time to pay her obeisance; that she was, above all, engaged in endeavouring to settle the state of religion, and how difficult and troublesome that was, she herself well knew; from all which, he added, your majesty will easily perceive that, before my departure, the queen of Scots had not a spare moment, nor had she yet called to her council men qualified

to advise her in these important subjects, because those noblemen, who dwelt in the northern extremities of the kingdom, had not arrived at the court before my departure, without whose opinion, she neither could nor ought to finish a business of such public concern. Elizabeth then asked with some warmth:—What necessity has your queen for consulting about whether she shall ratify that which she has bound herself by her signature and seal to ratify? I cannot answer that question, said Maitland, having received no instructions on the subject, nor did our queen expect that any would now be demanded of me; and your majesty may easily conceive what justifiable reasons she has for a delay at present.

xiv. After some other desultory conversation on the subject, the queen returned to the most important point of the whole business. I have particularly noticed, said she, what you have declared verbally in the name of your queen, and urged in seconding the request of the nobles, you have reminded me that she being sprung from the blood of the kings of England, I am naturally bound by that tie to love her as my nearest relation, a fact which I neither wish nor can deny. I have shown openly to the whole world, in all my actions, that I never attempted any thing against her safety, or the tranquillity of her kingdom; and they who are acquainted with my most intimate thoughts and feelings, are sensible that, even when your queen gave me the most justifiable cause of offence, by usurping my arms, and laying claim to my kingdom, nothing could ever induce me to believe but that these grounds of animosity originated with others, and not with her. But, however these things may be, I hope she would not deprive me of my sceptre while I live, nor prevent my children, if I should happen to have any, from succeeding; and if, in the meantime, any casualty should happen to me, she will not find that I have done any thing which can either hurt or weaken in the least whatever right she may choose to assert to the English throne. What that right is, I have never thought it necessary strictly to inquire, nor am I inclined very rigidly to call it in question, I leave it to those who are concerned to get this subject decided by the judges; but if your queen's claim be just, this she may assuredly expect from me, that I shall do

nothing to injure it, and God is my witness, that I know no one, next to myself, that I would prefer before her, or if the succession were disputed, could possibly exclude her. You know who are the competitors. With what wealth, or trusting to what forces, could such wretches attempt so great an enterprise? Then, after some short observations upon these persons, this at last was the conclusion:—That respecting so grave and weighty a subject, now for the first time seriously agitated, it was necessary she should have longer time to consider it. A few days after, having again sent for the ambassador, she said, she wondered exceedingly what the nobles intended by making such a demand immediately upon the arrival of their queen, especially when they knew the cause of the former offence was not removed. But what did they demand? That I, after being so seriously injured, should gratify her without any satisfaction having been given me. How little different is this demand from a threat? If they persist in it, I desire them to know that I am not more destitute than they of strength at home, and allies abroad, who will defend my right.

xv. To this he replied:—He, from the beginning, had shown clearly that the nobles had opened up this way to public concord, partly induced by the duty they owed their queen, to provide for preserving her security, and increasing her dignity, and partly by anxiety to establish the public peace, and strengthen the friendship between the two nations; and they have treated more openly with your majesty than with any other prince, not only because they have experienced your remarkable kindness towards them, but even on consideration of their own safety, for they knew their lives and fortunes must be put to hazard, if any one should oppose the right of their queen, or if any warlike commotion should arise in these kingdoms on that account. Wherefore, they ought not to appear as if they entertained any design injurious to your majesty who desire, that all grounds of discord being removed, a firm and solid peace may be established.

xvi. Had I ever, answered she, attempted any thing which would have lessened the claim of your queen, then there might have been just cause to require that what was wrong should

be corrected; but this demand that, while alive, I should place my grave-clothes constantly before my eyes, is unexampled, nothing like it was ever asked of any prince before; yet I take in good part the design of your nobles in asking it, and the more so, because I perceive in this their desire to honour their queen, and promote her dignity. Nor do I less commend their prudence, which would provide for their own security, and spare the effusion of Christian blood, which I confess could not be avoided, should any faction arise to lay claim to the kingdom. But what such faction can there be, or to what strength could they trust? However, passing this, suppose I were of my own accord inclined to grant what they require, do they think I would do it sooner to satisfy the wishes of the nobles, than to gratify the inclinations of their queen? There are, beside, many other considerations which disincline me to this transaction. First, I am aware how dangerous it is to touch this string, and it has always appeared proper to me to abstain from whatever could tend to bring the right of succession into dispute; for there has already been so much controversy and debate about legal marriage, about bastards and legitimate children, each, according to his inclination, flattering, some one party, and some another, that, on account of these disputations, I have myself hitherto delayed entering into the matrimonial state. Once, when I publicly accepted the crown, I married myself to this kingdom, as a pledge of which, behold the ring I constantly wear; with regard to any other marriage, however, that may be, I am determined, as long as I live, I shall be queen of England. When I am dead, let whoever has the best right succeed me; and if that belong to your queen, I shall in the meantime do nothing to obstruct it; but if any other have a superior claim, it is unjust to demand that I should openly injure it. If there be any law against your queen's succession, I am ignorant of it, nor shall I willingly inquire too strictly into the matter; but if any such exist, I, when I ascended the throne, swore to my subjects, that I would not change their laws; now with regard to your second assumption, that a declaration, with regard to the succession, would bind our friendship more closely, I am afraid it would rather sow the seeds of discord.

Can you believe that I would willingly have my funeral robes constantly before my eyes? Kings have frequently this peculiarity, that they dislike even their children who are to succeed them by right. What distaste had Charles VII. of France towards Louis XI.? And he again to Charles VIII.? Of late how did Francis hate Henry? It is therefore likely I might become averse to my relation, if she were once declared my heir, in the same manner that Charles VII. became disgusted with Louis XI. To this is added, and what possesses the greatest weight with me,

XVII. I know the inconstancy of this people. I have known how tired they are of a present government, and how keenly they would turn their eyes towards next successors. I know it is natural for many, as they say, to adore the rising, rather than the setting sun. But, to pass over other examples, I have learned this from my own times:—When my sister Mary reigned, how ardently did many desire to see me seated upon her throne, how solicitous in advancing my interest; nor am I ignorant what perils some men would have encountered to have accomplished their design, if my will had kept pace with their desires; but now perhaps the same persons have not the same affection for me; like the boy who, when asleep, rejoices over an apple that he has had offered him in a dream, but in the morning when he awakes, and perceives his disappointment, his joy is turned into tears; so it was with those; when I was plain Elizabeth, they attended me with the greater affection, and if by chance I looked pleasantly upon any of them, immediately he thought with himself, as soon as I ascended the throne, I would reward him, rather according to his desire, than the services he had done me; but now when the event has not answered his expectation, there are many who would desire a change, on the chance of bettering their fortune, for no wealth of a prince, however great, is capable of satisfying the insatiable avarice of men; but if the affections of my subjects have grown weaker, and their inclinations changed, because I am moderate in bestowing largesses, or from any other trivial cause, what might I not expect of these discontented subjects, were a certain successor to the throne appointed, to whom, upon every disgust, they might

resort, and to whom, when irritated, they might carry their every complaint? To what danger would I then expose myself, do you think, with so powerful and near a prince for my successor, to whom, inasmuch as I added to her strength, by confirming her succession, in so far would I take away from my own security? And this danger can neither be averted by any degree of caution or restraint of law; nor is it easy for princes, to whom the hopes of a crown are presented, to confine themselves within the bounds of law or equity. I, indeed, if my successor were once publicly declared, would never after consider my situation secure.

XVIII. The above is a summary of what passed at that conference. A few days after, the ambassador asked the queen what answer she would return to the letters of the nobles. I have not, she replied, any answer at present to return, except that I approve of their affection and devotion to their queen; for their request is a matter of such great moment, that I cannot suddenly return any plain or explicit answer to it. But when your queen shall have done her duty in ratifying the treaty, to which she has already bound herself, it will then be time to prove my affection towards her. In the meanwhile, I cannot, without degrading my dignity, think of doing any thing to gratify her. The ambassador denied that he had any instructions upon the subject, or had ever held any conversation with his own queen about it, nor had he then expressed her opinion, but his own, concerning the right of succession, and had adduced his reasons for confirming it; and with regard to the approbation of the treaty, it was forced from the queen of Scots by her husband, without the consent of those to whom it chiefly belonged to confirm or annul it, and it was not an affair of such great consequence, as that she and all her posterity should be excluded from her hereditary right to the kingdom on account of it. I shall not inquire, continued he, by whom, when, how, by what authority, or for what reason that treaty was made, as I am not ordered at present to discuss any of these questions, this, however, I dare assert, that, although in compliance with the will of her husband, she had confirmed that treaty, yet, now that so much is made to depend upon it, our queen, in proper time,

will be able to assign satisfactory reasons why it may, and ought to be dissolved. I do not speak this in the name of the queen; I only mean to show, that our nobles do not labour, without some reason, to remove the foundation of all controversy, that a firm and perpetual peace may be established between us.

xix. At last, after a long debate respecting the treaty, the queen was induced to consent that commissioners should be chosen on both sides to review it, and correct it according to this form—that the queen of the Scots should abstain from using the royal arms of England, and also from using the titles of queen of England and Ireland, as long as the queen of England, or any of her children remained. On the other hand, the queen of England engaged, that neither she, nor any children whom she might have, would do any thing to prejudice the queen of Scots, or impair her title to the succession.

xx. These were almost all the subjects which were discussed during this embassy; but while negotiations were going forward to establish peace abroad, affairs at home began gradually to assume a turbulent aspect. I mentioned before, that mass was allowed only to the queen and her family; and, when the decree respecting this was published, one only of the whole nobility, the earl of Arran, was found to oppose it; at which, although she dissembled, the queen was highly displeased. The next offence she took was against the inhabitants of Edinburgh. They were accustomed to choose their magistrates upon the 29th of September, when Archibald Douglas, the provost, proclaimed, according to custom, that no adulterer, fornicator, drunkard, mass-sayer, or obstinate papist, should remain in the town after the 1st of October, denouncing heavy penalties against all such as should be found contumacious. The queen, on receiving information of this, committed the magistrates instantly, and without trial, prisoners to the castle, and ordered the citizens to choose new magistrates; and, besides, issued a proclamation, that the city should be open to all faithful subjects; which was received with a mixture of contempt and indignation, because the most

abandoned characters were acknowledged as the most faithful servants.

XXI. When the queen found the patience of the citizens, in this instance, greater than she had expected, she began, by degrees, to attempt greater encroachments. On the 1st of November, she celebrated her mass, which had hitherto been observed without show, with all the pomp of popish ceremony. This, the preachers of the Reformed were highly offended at, and inveighed strongly against it in their public assemblies. Having warned the nobility of their duty, a disputation was held in a private house, at which it was discussed, whether it was proper to repress idolatry, already spreading to an alarming height, and whether the chief magistrate, when he prescribes no bounds to himself, ought to be compelled by force to observe the public law. The ministers of the reformed church persisted in the opinion which had been approved of in former times, that a supreme magistrate ought by force to be compelled to submit to the laws. The nobles, either to gain the favour of the queen, or in the hope of honour and reward, were less firm, but being superior in rank and number, the decision was according to their wish.

XXII. The court, in the meanwhile, immersed in their vices, and indulging in every description of luxury, could scarcely be roused from their slumbers by the robbers from the English borders, who ravaged the neighbouring districts, as if they had received permission to plunder, and filled every place with blood and slaughter. At last, James, the queen's brother, was sent with a commission of lieutenancy to repress them, not so much, as many believed, that he might reap honour, as that he might be exposed to danger, for his power was disagreeable to the queen, and his purity of manners, which reproved the impropriety of hers, and retarded her progress to tyranny, still more ungrateful. But God prospered his exertions beyond expectation; he hanged twenty-eight of the fiercest of the robbers, and of the rest, some he reduced to submission by taking hostages, and others solely by the terror of his name.

XXIII. During his absence, the queen seemed to have obtained some license; for she was not at all pleased with the

present state of things, either with regard to the controversies about religion, or the government, which was administered with greater strictness, than a young woman, educated in the most corrupt of all courts, could endure—the restraint of a lawful government was considered unworthy of kings, and the slavery of others their own liberty—and frequently, in her conversation, she expressed her discontent. Thus, by degrees, the foundations of tyranny seemed to be laid; for while the preceding kings intrusted their safety to the fidelity of their nobility, she determined to establish a body-guard; but she could not find a pretext for accomplishing it, nor could she assign any other reason for her desire, except a vain show of courtly magnificence, and the custom of foreign kings. Her brother's sanctity of conduct occasioned her much uneasiness, because it afforded her no opportunity for exciting suspicion, or forging accusations against him, and made her licentious life appear intolerable. The people, too, seemed so suspicious, that they would consider a body-guard as no obscure indication of tyranny. But determined to accomplish, by any means, what she had once designed, her restless spirit devised the following stratagem:—She had a brother named John, an ambitious man, but of a milder disposition than James, and who could be easily induced to comply with every inclination of the queen, and was therefore more beloved by her, and more fitted to accomplish her desires; to him, therefore, during the absence of James, she communicated her design of procuring a guard. This was her plan:—The report of a tumult in the night was to be spread, as if James Hamilton, earl of Arran, had secretly attacked the queen, who had but a slender guard, and endeavoured to carry her off to his castle, which was about fourteen miles distant. This story, it seemed to them, would appear likely, on account of the dislike which the queen had towards the earl, as well as the immoderate affection he entertained for her, neither of which were unknown to the public. This tumult being raised, as had been agreed upon, the horsemen scoured the neighbouring fields during a great part of the night, and next day, guards were posted at the gates of the palace, some indignant, and some smiling at the business. The authors of this plan, although

they knew they were not believed, behaved as if regardless of public opinion, as nobody present durst openly oppose them.

xxiv. From this commencement, the court plunged headlong into luxury and lasciviousness, yet justice was still impartially administered, and crimes punished, for the chief rule remained with James, the queen's brother, who, on account of his fortitude and equity, was dear to all. He employed, as his chief counsellor, William Maitland, a young man of the greatest ability, who had already given illustrious proofs of his brilliant talents, and raised the highest expectations of his future excellence.—By their bravery and wisdom, the greatest tranquillity was preserved both at home and abroad, and this state of affairs, so agreeable to all good men, was the more disagreeable to the factious, because it afforded no room for complaint.

xxv. During these proceedings, a subject of discussion arose in the palace, which, for three months, engaged the attention of the whole court. The preceding kings and regents had reduced the public patrimony, which was never ample in Scotland, almost to nothing, and the profusion of the young queen was extreme. The estates of the nobles, and of the common people, had been greatly exhausted during the late troubles, and nothing remained whence any supply for the expenses of the court could be scraped, except the church property. The church dignitaries were in consequence sent for to court, and some of the principal nobility were added to them, who might either persuade them to compliance by their ingenuity, or force them by their authority. At last, after a long disputation, the priests yielding, rather from a consciousness of weakness, than convinced by strength of argument, it was decided, that a third part should be taken from the ecclesiastical revenues, out of which the queen should maintain the reformed ministers, and reserve the remainder for her own use. This arrangement was, however, pleasing to no party. The rich priests were dissatisfied that any part of their ancient revenues should be taken from them; the ministers of the gospel distrusted the queen; while the queen herself, notwithstanding the splendid expectations held out to her, received but very little of the proceeds; for of the thirds, many were

forgiven to the ancient possessors, much was bestowed as premiums to male and female servants, whose wages for many years had been unpaid, and much of it went in pensions.

xxvi. That winter the queen, with universal approbation, created her brother James, earl of Marr, for all were delighted at her paying honour to virtue, nor were they displeased at her favouring a relation, and not a few thought the public advantage consulted, in conferring the honour upon a nobleman who had deserved so well of his country, in order that it might stamp greater authority upon his public functions. Some, however, believed that the kindness of the queen was intended to reconcile herself with James, who they knew was offended with the conduct of the court during his absence. A wife too, was given him at the same time, Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl Mareschal. At his nuptials, the magnificence of the banquets, or rather their immoderate luxury, greatly offended his friends, and afforded an occasion to the envious slanders of the malevolent, which was the more eagerly seized, because in all his former conduct, he had been so exemplary. Not long after, the earldom of Moray was given him, instead of that of Marr, which was discovered to have belonged by ancient right, to John Erskine.

xxvii. Gordon having thus had first Marr taken from him, and then Moray, over which country he had long presided, considered himself spoiled of his patrimony, and began to bend his whole attention to overturn his rival, to which many other motives incited him. By the gifts which his ancestors had received from the crown, he was become by far the most opulent of all the Scottish noblemen, and the power which he had received from his ancestors, he daily increased by the most sinister methods; first, he circumvented John Forbes by false witnesses, as already related; then, upon the death of James Stuart, brother to James V. without children, having received the Stewardship of Moray, from those who were then at the head of the government, he took possession as heir, by which means his riches increased to such an extent, that all rivalry ceased, and his neighbours in that country acquiesced in his authority, and almost universally acknowledged him as their superior.

XXVIII. But whilst others obeyed, from a fear of danger, or a spirit of servility, the independence, which Huntly chose to term the haughtiness, of one man, exceedingly tormented him. This was Mackintosh, the chief of a great clan among the ancient Scots. He was born indeed, and reared amid a fierce race, accustomed to plunder, yet, either from some hidden instinct of nature, or the enjoyment of proper instructors, he vied in politeness, modesty, and every liberal accomplishment, with those who had been educated with the greatest care by their parents and masters, in the exercise of every virtue. Gordon being suspicious of this young chieftain's power, and unable to render his upright soul subservient to his iniquitous designs, seized him unawares, and threw him into prison; but when no capital accusation could be brought against him, his friends persuaded him to submit himself and his cause to Gordon, for this, they told him, was the only way of escaping out of prison with a good grace, and securing the friendship of so powerful a man. The simple, unsuspecting youth was thus betrayed to his ruin. Yet Gordon, desirous of avoiding the odium of putting him to death, prevailed upon his wife to bear the blame, which the sternhearted woman readily undertook, and during the absence of her husband, beheaded the unfortunate, innocent, and betrayed suppliant.* After this execution, all his neighbours were either so stupified by terror, or conciliated by bribes, that all the country beyond the Caledonians, obeyed him alone. On this account, Gordon, who was exceedingly ambitious of splendour and power, could not brook James, earl of Moray, opposed to him as a rival, and, impatient of the present state of affairs, was eager to seize every opportunity for disturbing them. With this intention, he constantly, and openly calumniated all his actions, and laid before the queen a book, written with his own hand, in which he accused him violently, but on trifling grounds, of aspiring to the crown.

XXIX. In an opposite quarter of the country, and almost at the same time, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, overwhelmed

* This crime of Huntly's was formerly mentioned, Book XVI. cap. iv. It is here repeated, to account for his hostility to lord James Stuart, who, from this forfeiture, received first the earldom of Marr, and then of Moray.

in debt and debauchery, was induced to lay snares for the earl of Moray. Having spent his youth in licentious pleasures, he was reduced to the necessity either of raising a civil commotion, or having recourse to some daring project, to extricate himself from the danger of extreme want. Having weighed all circumstances, the most convenient attempt for disturbing public tranquillity which presented itself, appeared to him to be to embroil the earl of Moray with the Hamiltons, it seemed certain of success, and his expectations hung equally upon the destruction of either. He went first to Moray, and endeavoured to persuade him to cut off the Hamiltons, as dangerous to the queen, the kingdom, and to himself in particular, and offered him his assistance to accomplish it. He, at the same time, alleged that this would not be disagreeable to the queen, who, beside the common hatred of all kings for their near relatives, as if they were conspirators, she had particular, and not unreasonable causes of dislike to them, either with regard to the Evangelical religion, of which Arran was the chief assertor, on account of which he had even incurred the hatred of the Guises in France, or on account of the quarrel which he had lately had in Scotland, with another of the queen's uncles, the marquis D'Elboeuf. But when the upright Moray turned with disgust from so infamous a proposal, Hepburn then addressed himself to the Hamiltons, and offered his services for the destruction of Moray, whose power they envied. He represented him as the sole obstacle to their hopes and interests, and that on his being removed, the queen would be constrained, whether she would or not, to throw herself into their arms. The plan seemed short and easy. The queen was then at Falkland, a castle, with a village of the same name, situate near a small wood, in which a broad horned species of stags—commonly, but improperly, called fallow deer—were kept. As the queen went thither, or to some place in the neighbourhood, almost daily, attended only by a small retinue, it would not be difficult to surprise her, while Moray, unarmed, and off his guard, could, at the same time, be easily despatched, and she would in consequence, fall into their power. The Hamiltons were easily persuaded, and the time for perpetrating the deed appointed.

xxx. The earl of Arran alone detested the villany, and secretly sent information of the conspiracy to the earl of Moray, who returned an answer by the same messenger, but Arran being accidentally absent, the letters were delivered to his father. On which, a consultation was held, and Arran committed to close confinement by his father, from which, having escaped during the night, he proceeded to Falkland. As soon as his flight was publicly known, horsemen were despatched in all directions after him, to apprehend and bring him back, but having gone into a wood, he eluded them in the night, and in the morning arriving at Falkland, he discovered the whole arrangement of the plot. Not long after, Bothwell and Gavin Hamilton, who had undertaken the direction of its execution, followed him into the castle of Falkland, where they were detained by order of the queen, and a guard set over them. When the whole design was thus made manifest, and the leaders had arrived at the spot, and at the time mentioned by Arran, and the spies reported that horsemen had appeared in many places, Arran, when interrogated respecting the details of the conspiracy, became a little disturbed in his mind—deeply enamoured of the queen, and united in the strictest friendship with Moray, he greatly desired to be of service to them, yet, at the same time, he wished to free his father—a harmless man, but too easily induced to engage in hazardous enterprises—from any concern in the conspiracy, and his mind, tortured during the solitude of the night, between filial affection and love, became so unhinged, that his distraction appeared evident, both in his countenance and conversation. There were other previous causes, which might likewise affect the young man, having been educated liberally, and living in a style agreeably to the splendour of his family, till now, that his father, a man of penurious habits, by the advice of some who encouraged his avarice, had reduced his numerous retinue, to one servant only. Those who had undertaken to perpetrate the deed, were committed to custody, Bothwell to the castle of Edinburgh, and Gavin to Stirling, till the matter should be inquired into. Arran was sent to St. Andrews, whither the queen was proceeding, and ordered to be taken care of in the archbishop's castle. While confined

there, during his lucid intervals, he wrote such rational and collected letters, respecting himself and others, that he became suspected of having feigned madness, to free his father from the conspiracy of the murder. The rest he accused constantly and keenly, and being often brought before the council, when, from the design having been so secretly managed, that it was impossible to confirm his testimony by other witnesses, he offered to determine the affair with Bothwell by arms. About that time, James Hamilton, father of the earl of Arran, wrote to the queen, and afterward came himself to St. Andrews, and earnestly entreated her that she would accept surety from him for his son, Bothwell, and Gavin Hamilton, and commit them to his care, but he could obtain no indulgence for them. At the same time, the queen took from him Dunbarton, by far the best fortified castle in Scotland, and which Hamilton had held ever since he was regent.

xxxI. George Gordon, being, as I have said, inimical to Moray, was rendered far more furious by Hamilton, his son's father-in-law being implicated, and almost convicted of manifest treason, and thought he had found an opportunity of cutting off his enemy with impunity, as two illustrious families were added to his cause. First, he caused a tumult to be raised in the town, then but thinly inhabited, by some of his friends, hoping Moray would come out from the court, to quell it by his authority, when he could easily be murdered in the crowd, while unsuspecting, and unarmed. This not succeeding according to his wish, he ordered some of his men armed, to come into the palace to perpetrate the deed, by murdering Moray as he returned from the queen, who was accustomed to detain him till late at night, for that seemed the best time for effecting their purpose, and escaping after it was effected. Moray, when informed of this new plot, refused to believe it, unless he had ocular demonstration, he therefore went, attended by a few of his most faithful friends, that he might not seem to have suspected any thing, and apprehended several of the Gordons, armed, hastening through the passage of the court. On the circumstance being told the queen, Gordon was sent for, who pretended that some of his servants being about to return home, had armed themselves, but after-

ward had, for what reason I know not, been detained; and this excuse being at that time rather accepted than credited, he was dismissed.

xxxii. That summer, ambassadors were sent from both courts, to arrange a meeting between the queens of Scotland and England at York, at which to settle their numerous controversies, but when every thing was prepared for their journey, the interview was postponed to a future time. The reason commonly assigned for putting off the conference was, that the duke D'Amauli, one of the brothers of the Guises, had broken open the letters of the English ambassador, who was then resident at the French court, and likewise, chiefly by his means, the vessel which carried another ambassador, had been seized, on which account it was believed, a war with France was not improbable. The queen, returning from St. Andrews to Edinburgh, sent Arran thither, and confined him in the castle.

xxxiii. In the meantime, her brother James went to Hawick, a great market town in these districts, where, arriving unexpectedly, he surprised, and executed fifty of the principal robbers, who had convened there, and struck such terror into the surrounding districts, that that whole tract was rendered quiet for a long time. But this service, which procured for him the gratitude and affection of the good, inflamed the malevolent more ardently for his destruction. To the three powerful families eagerly bent upon his ruin, was now added the influence of the Guises, who wished to restore the ancient Romish superstition, and knowing it would be impossible to accomplish it as long as Moray existed, exerted their utmost ingenuity to get him removed by any means; and many circumstances concurred to encourage their hopes of easily perpetrating their villany. In particular, the French who had accompanied the queen, on their return home, expatiated on the extensive power of Gordon, his unquiet spirit, the assistance he had promised for re-establishing the mass, exceeding the truth a little in their descriptions; and the subject being much agitated in the French court among the papists, this method of accomplishing it was at last adopted. They wrote to the queen, to encourage the dotage of Gordon by promises,

to raise in his son John hopes of obtaining her in marriage, without coming under any engagement, that blinded by his expectations, he might be impelled as they chose. At the same time, they sent her a list of those whom they wished put to death. Letters of the same tenor were sent likewise from the pope and the cardinal; for the queen having found her revenue inadequate to support the expensive luxury to which she had been accustomed, she had required money from the Roman pontiff, as if to support a war against those who had revolted from the church of Rome. To this the pope replied rather obscurely; but the cardinal openly assured her, money would not be a wanting for the war, only those must first be slain, a list of whose names had been sent her. These letters the queen showed to Moray, and the others who were destined for the slaughter, either because she believed they would procure information through some other channel, or to convince them of her sincerity, and of her wish to conceal nothing from them.

xxxiv. Every other thing being prepared for making the attempt, the queen pretended a great desire to visit the northern parts of Scotland, and Gordon encouraged her desire by his pressing invitations. At length, having arrived at Aberdeen, on the 13th of August, Gordon's wife, a woman of a masculine spirit and understanding, studied by every art, to penetrate the intention of the queen, to discover her most secret inclinations, and then direct them to the quarter she desired, for she knew by what trifles the councils of princes are influenced. Nor was she ignorant how the queen stood affected, but lately, both to Moray and Gordon; for she hated them both, and sometimes used to debate with herself, which of the two she would wish first destroyed. She could not endure the purity of Moray's conduct, as a constant reproof of her own licentiousness, and she detested the perfidy Gordon had displayed towards her father and her mother in many instances, while at the same time she dreaded his power, but the letters of her uncles and the pope, urged the death of Moray. Gordon, who wished to put an end to this dubiety, with which he was well acquainted, again repeated by his wife, his promise of restoring the Romish religion. The queen

willingly listened to their proposals ; there was only one impediment, and that of no great importance, which prevented her acceding to them, she thought she could not, without compromising her dignity, be reconciled to their son John, who had broken his ward, into which he had been put a short time before on account of the tumult at Edinburgh, unless he delivered himself up, and remained at least for a few days, a prisoner at large, in Stirling. This the queen required, not so much for the reason she assigned, as that upon the death of Moray, she might be left entirely free, and not obliged to marry, as the proposed husband would be thus absent. Gordon likewise desired to oblige the queen, but he hesitated about giving his son into the hands of John, earl of Marr, Moray's uncle, governor of Stirling castle, the greatest opponent of his designs, especially as he was uncertain how the queen might behave after the murder was perpetrated.

xxxv. While they thus endeavoured to deceive each other, being mutually suspicious, and the queen denied that any delay existed on her part, though she took no steps to forward it, John Gordon, to display his zeal and determination to run all hazards, brought about a thousand of his relations and vassals, armed and ready to strike any blow, and posted them in places in the vicinity of the town. Moray, although he was but slenderly attended, and saw all these preparations for his destruction, as he had been forewarned by his friends, both at the French and English courts, nor was altogether satisfied with respect to the queen, yet he performed his duty as usual at court in the day, ordering one or two of his domestics to watch in his chamber during the night ; and being informed accurately of the stratagems of his enemies, trusting to the protection of his friends, he eluded all their attempts without noise.

xxxvi. About the same time, Bothwell, being let down by a rope from a window, escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh. The project at Aberdeen still continuing to hang in suspense, by the mutual dissimulation of the parties, the queen resolved to proceed, and being invited by John Leslie, a nobleman, and client of the Gordons, to visit his house, about twelve miles distant from the town, that place being lonely, appeared

to the Gordons well adapted for committing the murder, but Leslie, who was acquainted with their secret designs, earnestly entreated them, that they would not load him or his family with the infamy of appearing to betray the life of the chief man in the kingdom, the queen's brother, against whom he had no quarrel. Next night the court rested at Rothmay, a village of the Abernethys, where every thing passed quietly, because the day after they had resolved to lodge at Strathbogie, a castle of the Gordons, to which time the project of the murder was deferred, as then all would be in their own power. As they proceeded on their journey, Gordon entered into a long conversation with the queen, and at last explicitly required that she should pardon his son John, whose youth and inexperience had led him into an error, and that a venial one, of simply escaping from confinement, into which he had been cast for no treason, but only for a tumult of which he was not the cause. The queen replied, that her authority would be lessened, unless his son returned into ward, however large, for some days, that his former fault being, as it were, expiated, he might be more honourably discharged. Gordon, who was unwilling to let slip the opportunity of executing the deed he had determined on, although the injunctions of the queen were but trifling, obstinately refused to comply with them; for he intended, if the queen should disapprove of the murder after it was committed, to throw the blame upon his son; but if the murder was committed during his son's absence, though she should even approve of it, yet his son would be looked upon as an hostage. The queen was so highly offended at the stubbornness of Gordon, that, when almost within sight of his mansion, she turned aside in another direction. Thus the whole plan which they had laid so wisely, as they thought, was defeated, and their design delayed, till the court should reach Inverness, where, besides being sheriff, Gordon also was governor of the royal castle, which is built upon a high hill, and commands the town; besides, the whole region round was filled with his vassals. The queen, who had resolved to lodge in the castle, being refused admission by the garrison, began to be alarmed at passing the night in an unfortified place, while Huntly's son had more than a thousand

chosen horsemen, besides a promiscuous multitude from the neighbouring countries in arms. In these circumstances, she placed watches at all the avenues leading to the town, and ordered the vessels, which had followed her with provisions, to remain ready in the stream of the river, that, if attacked by a superior force, she might find refuge on shipboard. In the middle of the night, the spies sent out by Huntly, were intentionally allowed to pass the first watches, until they approached to a narrow pass, when they were all surrounded and taken, and the clan Chattan, from the mountains, as soon as they understood they were to be led against the queen, deserted Huntly, and next day came to her quarters.

xxxvii. Upon hearing of the danger of their princess, a great number of the ancient Scots, partly by persuasion, and partly of their own accord, flocked around her, particularly the Frasers and the Monros, the bravest of these tribes. When the queen found herself sufficiently strong, she laid siege to the castle, which having neither a sufficient garrison, nor being properly fortified for sustaining an attack, surrendered, when the commanders were executed, and the men dismissed. The nobility then collected about her from all quarters in such numbers, that those who came from the greatest distance were permitted to return home, while she herself, on the fourth day, set out for Aberdeen, accompanied by a sufficiently strong guard. Being now relieved from her terror, she became violently incensed against Gordon, and, eager for revenge, again bestowed upon her brother every mark of favour, pretending that her whole reliance was upon him, and endeavoured to persuade all who approached her, that she placed her hopes of safety entirely upon his preservation.

xxxviii. Gordon, who perceived that the whole appearance of the court scenery was shifted, the earl of Moray, but lately destined for death, being now in the greatest favour, and he himself fallen from the highest expectations of honour and dignity, become an object of the most implacable hatred, imagining that he had proceeded too far to expect pardon, had recourse to the most desperate measures, and perceived no other remedy for the present dangers, than to get the queen's

person into his power, in whatever manner; for although he knew, at first, she would be highly offended, yet he did not despair of being able to bend her womanish mind through time, by assiduity, flattery, and the marriage with his son, of which he believed her uncles to be the authors. Wherefore, having communicated his intention to his friends, it was determined to cut off Moray by any possible means; for on his removal, there was no one to whom the queen could intrust the government, or who was able to manage it, if she did. His spies gave him hopes of accomplishing his purpose; among others, George [John] Gordon, earl of Sutherland, who, by assiduous attendance at court, and great professions of affection towards the queen, obtained possession of her private counsels, and communicated them to Huntly. He not only watched for convenient time and opportunity, but also offered his assistance to effect the murder; besides, though the town was adapted for the purpose, being open on every side, and convenient for lurking assassins, the citizens, either conciliated by bribes, joined in alliance, or restrained by fear, durst attempt nothing. The highland auxiliaries were sent home. The earl of Moray had but a few attendants brought from the most distant countries, whose opposition was not much to be dreaded; and, as he had the command of the whole of the neighbouring countries, the affair might be effected almost without bloodshed; for one man only being killed, and the queen in their power, all other sores could be easily healed. Urged by these considerations to make the attempt, when the plan was all settled, some letters of the earl of Sutherland and John Leslie being intercepted, the whole design was discovered. On the discovery, Sutherland fled. Leslie acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon, and afterward, as long as he lived, conducted himself a brave and faithful subject, first to the queen, and afterward to the king.

xxxix. Huntly, who waited the issue with a great band of followers, in a situation surrounded with marshes, and almost inaccessible, having learned what had taken place at court, determined, by the advice of his friends, to retreat to the mountains; but induced by the promises of many of the neighbouring nobility, then with the queen, who were his al-

lies, he again changed his intention, and resolved to await the event of a battle in a station fortified by nature. Moray advanced against the enemy with the troops he could trust, amounting to scarcely a hundred horsemen. Of the nobles who were present, James Douglas, earl of Morton, and Patrick Lindsay, followed in front. The rest of his army, about eight hundred, collected from the neighbouring estates, who had been, the most part, previously corrupted by Huntly, and were more likely to draw on Moray's troops to their ruin, than afford them any assistance in the hour of danger, marched along with him, boasting mightily, and promising that they alone would defeat the enemy, the others might only look on as spectators.

XL. Some horsemen being sent forward to secure all the avenues round the marsh, that Huntly might not escape, the rest advanced more slowly; and although, during the preceding night, a great number of the Gordons had gone away, above three hundred still remained with him, keeping possession of their station. When Moray had arrived at a declivity in the vicinity, whence there was a view of the marshes, he halted with his party, drawn up in order of battle, in one line by themselves; the rest, immediately on being led against the enemy, openly discovered their treason, by affixing on their bonnets sprigs of heath, of which great quantities grew there. When they drew near, the Huntlean party, confident of the issue, ran towards them, and when they saw the opposite line thrown into confusion by the traitors, and already flying, they threw away their spears, that they might more quickly pursue them, and drawing their swords, and shouting, treason, to strike terror in the ranks which remained unbroken, they rushed forward at a quick pace against the enemy. The traitors, thinking they would, by their impetus, carry along with them the line which still remained firm, hastened towards them; but Moray, who saw no hope in flight, and believed that nothing remained but the glory of an honourable death, ordered that his soldiers should present their spears, and not receive any of the fugitives into their line; they, thus unexpectedly excluded, passed by on both wings in great disorder. But the Huntleans, who now thought the affair ended, when

they saw the line, although small, yet bristled with extended pikes, and they themselves scattered, disordered, and unable to come to close quarters, on account of the length of their opponents' spears, panick struck, turned their backs, and fled with greater celerity than they formerly pursued. The traitors, when they beheld this change of fortune, instantly turned upon the fugitives, and, as if to wipe away their former fault, whoever was slain on that day, was slain by them. Of the Huntleans there fell about one hundred and twenty, and one hundred were made prisoners; on the other side no one was hurt. Among the prisoners was Huntly himself, and his two sons, John and Adam. The father, heavy through age, and asthmatic through corpulence, died in the hands of those who took him: the rest were brought late in the evening to Aberdeen. Moray, having ordered a minister of the gospel to await his return, in the first place, gave thanks to the Almighty, who had saved him from such great and imminent danger, not by any strength or wisdom of his own, but solely by his providence, beyond all human expectation, had wrought this great deliverance for his people. He then proceeded to the court, where, amid the mutual gratulations of the courtiers, the queen betrayed no symptom of joy, either in her countenance or speech.

XLI. A few days after, John Gordon was executed, greatly pitied, for he was a manly youth, extremely handsome, and just in the opening bloom of life, apparently not less worthy of a royal bed, than miserably deceived by the pretended offer; and what moved no less indignation than pity, he was mangled by an unskilful executioner. The queen beheld his death with many tears; but as she was well qualified to conceal her emotions, her grief then was variously interpreted, for many understood she was not less disgusted with her brother than with Huntly. Adam was forgiven on account of his youth, George, the eldest, in the desperate situation of his affairs, fled to his father-in-law, James Hamilton, hoping either to find refuge with him, or, by his application, to obtain pardon. A number of Gordon's vassals were punished according to their guilt, some by fine, and some by banishment, and some were sent to the most distant parts of the

kingdom, to prevent their raising any disturbance at home. They who could procure powerful intercessors were pardoned, and received into former favour; and thus the north being settled or soothed, the rest of the winter passed quietly.

XLII. On the 27th of November, Bothwell was ordered, by proclamation, to surrender himself to the confinement he had broken, which not obeying, he was declared a traitor. When the queen had returned from Aberdeen to Perth, James Hamilton interceded with her for George Gordon, his son-in-law, and received a gracious answer; but, notwithstanding, was compelled to deliver him up, and he was sent prisoner to Dunbar, whence, next year, A. D. 1563, on the 26th of January, he was brought to Edinburgh, found guilty of high treason, and sent back to Dunbar. About this time a proclamation was issued, forbidding, under the penalty of a large fine, any person from eating flesh during Lent; the cause of the edict, however, was political, not religious. The archbishop of St. Andrews, because he had not abstained from being present at, or celebrating mass, according to the act made upon the queen's arrival, was confined in Edinburgh castle. Several others were slightly fined for the same crime, and threatened with severer punishment, if afterwards found guilty of a similar offence. The parliament now assembled, which had been summoned for the 21st of May, which the queen opened in great state, with the crown upon her head, and clothed in royal robes, which would have been, indeed, a new spectacle, had not men been accustomed, under her mother and grandmother, to see and endure female government. In this parliament some laws were enacted in favour of the Reformed, and a few for punishing coiners. The rest of the summer the queen amused herself hunting in Athole.

XLIII. About the end of autumn, with the permission of the queen, Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, returned to Scotland, in the twenty-second year after he had left it, upon being basely deserted by the king of France, as mentioned before. Next year, A. D. 1564, in a parliament held in January, and assembled almost for that purpose alone, his banishment was remitted, and his estates restored, the queen accompanying the restitution with many complimentary speeches, enumerat-

ing the kind offices the earl had conferred upon her from her infancy, as by his means she had been rescued from the power of her enemies, and decorated with the insignia of royalty. Soon after, on the 12th of February, his son Henry came to Scotland from England, having obtained a passport for three months. The queen received this young man very graciously, as he was of high descent, extremely handsome, and the son of her aunt; and when his constant attentions had attracted her affection, and it began to be commonly reported that she would choose him for her husband, the nobility were not averse to the marriage, as they perceived the many advantages which would result to the whole island from this union, if the approbation of the queen of England could be obtained. Elizabeth, who was the nearest relation of both parties, so far from being averse, wished to be considered as the maker of the match, and entitled to some kindness for bringing it about. At the same time, she thought it would be for her advantage, that the power of her kinswoman were kept within bounds by this mediocre alliance, which would prevent her being aggrandized beyond what might be safe for her neighbours. But it is necessary to explain a circumstance which retarded the consummation for a little, and afterward produced such disastrous confusion in the country.

XLIV. There was among the servants at court, one David Rizzio, born at Turin, in Savoy, whose father, honest enough, but very poor, supported himself and his family with difficulty, by teaching the elements of music, and having no other inheritance to leave, taught his children of both sexes, to be skilful musicians. David, one of these, when he grew up, having a good voice, and being well instructed in this science by his father, set out for Nice, the court of the duke of Savoy, lately restored to his dominions, in the hope of bettering his condition; but on his arrival there, not finding his expectations realized, and being reduced to great poverty, he attempted many expedients, till at last he got acquainted with Moretti, who was then preparing to set out upon a mission from the duke, to Scotland. Having followed him thither, on his arrival, Moretti, who was not very wealthy, found he could dispense with his service. Here, however, he remained, and

finally determined to try his fortune. To this he was chiefly induced, by learning that the queen delighted greatly in musicians, and was herself no despicable performer. He therefore, in order to procure access to her majesty, bargained with her musicians, the majority of whom were Frenchmen, that he might be allowed to perform among them. After being heard once or twice, he succeeded in pleasing the queen, and was immediately enrolled as one of the band. In a short time, having studied the manners and disposition of his royal mistress, partly by flattery, and partly by calumniating his fellow servants, he ingratiated himself with her, as much as he became hated by them. Yet, not content with this advancement, having rendered all his equals either submissive, or obliged them to leave the band, he began by degrees to aspire, and to attempt greater objects, until he was made secretary, and under this pretext, he could have access to the queen privately, and when alone. The sudden promotion of this man, from a state of beggary to wealth, without any intermediate gradation, his fortune so far above his merit, his arrogance so far beyond his fortune, his contempt for his equals, and his rivalry with his superiors, already gave rise to many remarks. The adulation of a great number of the nobility, nourished this madness of the vainest of men; they courted his friendship by their respectful salutations, and their subservience to his orders, walking before his door, and watching his departure and return. Moray alone, in whose bosom no dissimulation dwelt, not only did not flatter him, but frequently looked contemptuously upon him, a circumstance not less offensive to the queen, than to David himself. He, on the other hand, to prepare a protection against the hatred of the nobility, courted by every species of flattery, the youth destined for the royal bed, and attained such familiarity, that he was admitted to his chamber, couch, and most secret consultations. Finding the incautious youth as foolishly credulous as he could have desired, he persuaded him it was chiefly through his means, that the queen had entertained any affection for him. He likewise assiduously sowed the seeds of discord between Moray and him, whom, if he could only drive from the court, he flattered himself the remaining course of his life would be easy.

XLV. As the marriage of Henry became now the common topic of conversation, and also his secret interviews with the queen, and there being likewise many scandalous reports spread of her too great familiarity with David, Moray, whose faithful advice procured him only hatred from his sister, determined to retire from the court, lest he should be thought the author of what was going forward. Nor was the queen displeased at the absence of so severe a witness, especially at that time, when she reconciled the opposite faction to herself, for she recalled the exiles—Bothwell from France, and George Gordon, the earl of Sutherland, from Flanders. The other George Gordon, son of the earl of Huntly, she released from prison, and restored to his former rank and station. On the return of Bothwell from France, Moray accused him of recent plots against his life, which he offered to prove by some noblemen, who had been his companions in France. The fact was clear, atrocious, and detestable. When the day of trial approached, the queen first, strongly urged her brother to withdraw his accusation, but when he could not be induced to comply with her request, because he thought his character involved, she then prevented by her letters, many noblemen from attending the court, and when Alexander, earl of Glencairn, Moray's most intimate friend, was not far from Stirling, upon his journey, she called him out of his road, to come to speak with her. Yet such was the concourse of all good men, that Bothwell, not only already condemned by his own conscience, but alarmed at the public detestation of his attempt, did not dare to compear at the day.

XLVI. This display of the public affection for Moray, so much inflamed the queen against her brother, that it hastened his ruin, already determined upon. The plan laid was this—Moray being called to Perth, where the queen then was, with a few attendants, was there to enter into conversation with Darnly, and as nobody doubted but Moray would express himself with plainness and freedom, a quarrel was to ensue, when David Rizzio was to strike the first blow, and the others present were to consummate the deed. Moray, although informed of this conspiracy, by his friends who were at court, yet determined to go thither, until again advised by Patrick

Ruthven, he turned aside from his journey, to his mother's house, not far from Lochleven, where, being seized with a sudden illness, he excused himself on account of his distemper. A number of his friends coming thither to visit him, a rumour immediately arose, that he remained there to intercept the queen and Darnly on their return to Edinburgh. Horsemen were in consequence despatched in all directions, but they found no persons in arms, yet notwithstanding, the queen performed her journey thither, with as much haste and trepidation, as if she had ascertained that the most imminent danger threatened her.

XLVII. The nuptials approaching, in order that some appearance of consent might be procured for the queen's pleasure, a great number of nobles were convoked at Stirling, consisting chiefly of those who would readily approve, or who dared not oppose her wishes. Many of those who assembled, assented to all that was proposed, only, that no innovation should be made in the established religion, but the great part, without any exception at all, agreed to whatever they thought would be agreeable to the queen. Andrew Stuart, of Ochiltree, alone openly protested, that he would never consent to acknowledge a popish king. Moray was friendly to the marriage, as he was, indeed, the first person who advised bringing the young man from England; but he saw from the beginning what mischief it would occasion, if entered into without the queen of England's consent, and he promised to procure her approbation, provided only religion were protected. When he saw, however, that there would be no freedom of debate allowed in that parliament, he rather chose to absent himself, than to deliver an opinion which might probably prove ruinous to himself, and useless to the public. The question, likewise, was now discussed openly, whether a queen upon the death of her husband, had the power of marrying whatever person she chose; some thinking that a queen, left by the death of her husband, ought not to be denied the same liberty which was granted to the lowest subject. Others were of opinion, that the case was different in the heiresses of kingdoms, where the same act by which they took husbands to themselves, gave kings to the people; and many were of opin-

ion, that it was more equitable that the people should choose a husband for a girl, than that a girl should choose a king for a whole people.

XLVIII. In the month of July, an ambassador arrived from England, who expressed the queen of England's astonishment, that an affair of such magnitude should be precipitated without any communication being made to her, who was so nearly related to both the parties, and particularly requested, that it might be delayed, until it were considered more maturely, which she thought might not perhaps be disadvantageous for the kingdom. This embassy producing no effect, it was quickly followed by another—Sir Nicolas Trockmorton, in the name of the queen of England, reminded Lennox and his son, that they had leave of absence for but a certain time, and that time was expired; he therefore ordered them to return home under pain of banishment, and confiscation of their estates. This threat, however, occasioned no delay; they still persisted in their purpose. The queen, in the meantime, as her marriage might appear too unequal, if she, so lately the wife of a great king, and the proper heiress of an illustrious kingdom, should ally herself to a young man, distinguished by no splendid title, published an order, creating Darnly duke of Rothsay, and earl of Ross. In order to accelerate the marriage, the predictions of some witches in both kingdoms were likewise urged, who prophesied, if the nuptials were consummated before the end of the month of July, great advantage would arise to the kingdoms; but if delayed beyond that time, great loss and disgrace would be the consequence. Rumours were at the same time, spread every where, respecting the death of queen Elizabeth, and the day even mentioned, on which she would die—a prediction apparently more portentous of a domestic conspiracy, than of the art of divination. But there was above all this, most weighty reasons for hastening the marriage. Her uncles were undoubtedly averse to the match; therefore, if a longer delay should interpose, she feared some impediment would arise from them, to overturn the whole, now so nearly finished; for when that secret decree passed, for undertaking a holy war throughout all Christendom, and rooting out the Reformed religion entirely, the duke of Guise,

who was appointed commander, cherished the most wicked, and unbounded expectations, and had determined, by means of his sister's daughter, so to embroil the domestic affairs of Britain, that they would be able to afford no assistance to their continental friends. David, however, who was then the queen's chief confident, contended, that these nuptials would be of advantage to the cause of Christianity, because Henry Darnly and his father, were zealous adherents of the popish party, and greatly beloved in both kingdoms, united to the most illustrious families, and supported by numerous vassals, and after long discussion, he carried his point; for he was afraid if the marriage were completed with the consent of the queen of England, and the nobility of Scotland, two disadvantages would arise to him. First, he would lose the credit of having effected them; and next, the Reformed religion would be protected; but if he could join the queen to the council of Trent, he promised himself sacerdotal honours, unbounded wealth, and unrivalled power, and by strenuously exerting himself, he at last accomplished the precipitation of the marriage, not much to the satisfaction of the Scots, while the English were highly incensed against it.

CVII. HENRY AND MARY.

XLIX. On the 29th of July, [A. D. 1565,] Henry Stuart married Mary Stuart, which being announced to the public, was received by the multitude, with loud shouts of God save our sovereigns, king Henry, and queen Mary, and the day after, they were proclaimed at Edinburgh as king and queen. This proceeding greatly offended, not only the nobility, but likewise also the common people, and some indignantly pronounced it a precedent of the worst description. Of what use is it, asked they, to assemble the estates for creating a king, if their advice be never asked, or their authority required? If an herald can answer the purpose of a meeting, and a proclamation be as effectual as an act of parliament. In fact, such an assembly would not now be called for deliberation, but to try how far the Scots could endure tyranny. The absence of so many noblemen increased the suspicion, for James, duke of Chatellerault, Gillespie, earl of Argyle, James,

earl of Moray, Alexander, earl of Glencairn, Andrew, earl of Rothes, and many others, illustrious for their descent and wealth, did not attend. Heralds were therefore sent, requiring their attendance, which they not obeying, were banished, and went, the majority of them, to Argyle. Their enemies were recalled to court, and the king and queen, when their preparations were ready, went to Glasgow, attended by four thousand men. The rebels got possession of Paisley.

L. Various consultations were now held among the different parties; the king and queen sent an herald to demand the surrender of Hamilton castle, on whose return without obtaining possession, they prepared for an engagement. The other faction, divided among themselves, were distracted with various proposals. The Hamiltons, who were the most powerful in these districts, asserted that peace could be secure on no terms, unless the king and queen were cut off; for as long as they were safe, nothing could be expected but new wars, new plots, and a hypocritical peace, more dangerous than open war. The quarrels of private individuals, said they, are often laid aside, when the parties are tired of prosecuting them, and often amicably adjusted, but the enmities of kings, death only can extinguish. Moray and Glencairn, who perceived that they looked not to the public weal, but their own private exaltation by the slaughter—for the queen being killed, the Hamiltons were the nearest heirs to the throne—and, besides, abhorred the power of the Hamiltons, whose cruelty and rapacity they had so lately experienced, proposed milder measures. They wished, if possible, that a civil dissention, bloodless as yet, which had been carried on by votes and not arms, could be honourably finished. There were many, they said, in the royal camp, desirous of peace, who would willingly listen to moderate counsels, and who would not desert those who had been forced to take arms for their independence. The king and queen had perhaps been unguarded, through youth, but they had not yet done any thing which tended to hurt the state of the country; if they had any private vices, these were not to be remedied by death, their cure should be attempted by less powerful medicine. They recollected an old observation, which had been left for the imitation of posterity :

—That in the conduct of kings, their secret vices should be overlooked, their doubtful actions taken in the most favourable sense, and their open offences borne with, as long as they did not endanger the public.

LI. The majority agreeing in these sentiments, all the Hamiltons, except James their chief, resolved to remain quiet. He, however, attended by sixteen horsemen, continued with the nobles, whose strength, thus diminished, being too inferior either to risk an engagement, or force their way each to his own clan, they yielded to their circumstances, and went that night to Hamilton, and next day marched to Edinburgh, to concert measures for carrying on the war; but the castle which commands the city playing incessantly upon them, and their friends, from a distance, not arriving so quickly as their situation required, and being told, too, that the king and queen were quite at their heels, they were induced, by the earnest entreaties, and magnificent promises of John Maxwell, [lord] Herries, to direct their course to Dumfries. The king and queen then returned to Glasgow, and appointed the earl of Lennox their lieutenant, in the south-western countries; they themselves proceeded to Stirling, and thence through the heart of Fife. In their progress they forced the greater part of the nobility to take an oath, that if any commotion should arise at the instigation of England, they would render faithful assistance; those who would not take the oath they punished, either by pecuniary fines, or banishment; the effects of the rebels, who had fled to the English border, they seized wherever they could be found, and ordered courts to be held in every district, for inquiring into, and trying the residue of the conspirators. On the ninth of October, they led their army from Edinburgh, and marched for Dumfries. Maxwell, who till then had shown great attachment to the faction opposed to their majesties, thinking it time to provide for his own interest, went out to meet them, as if to intercede for his party. He negotiated, however, for a part of his father-in-law's estate, which he greatly desired, and being considered an active and useful partisan, he easily obtained his request, and returning to the rebels, told them that he had been unsuccessful, and every man must shift for himself. England was near, to

which if they chose to retire, after he had settled his private affairs, he would immediately follow, and join them. In the meantime, he extorted from Moray a thousand pounds, as money which he had expended in enlisting soldiers; for having been ordered to raise a few troops of cavalry, he mounted his own domestic servants, and produced them as a regular military force.

LII. The king and queen, by their arrival, and the accession of Herries to their party, struck terror into their enemies, and settled every thing according to their pleasure in these districts. The leaders of the faction being driven from the country, and the rest anxious about their own safety, returned to Edinburgh about the end of October, and Scotland remained tranquil till the beginning of Spring. A parliament was summoned for the month of March, that the estates of the exiles might be confiscated, their names erased from the list of nobility, and their coats of arms torn, which the king could not do without an act of that assembly.

LIII. In the meantime, David, perceiving the court deserted by the principal nobles, and thinking the opportunity favourable for realizing his own immoderate expectations of power, urged the adoption of rash and precipitate measures, constantly exhorting the queen to put to death the chiefs of the faction, and affirming that a few being cut off, the rest would not dare to move. But he was afraid the queen's guards, being Scotsmen, would not easily consent to this nefarious massacre of the nobility; he therefore used every endeavour to have them dismissed, and foreigners—as has been usual in the beginning of almost all tyrannies—substituted in their room. At first Germans were mentioned for this purpose, because of the remarkable fidelity of that people to their lords; but David, on more maturely considering the subject, thought it would suit his purpose better to get Italians to perform that duty, because, being his own countrymen, he thought they would be more under his authority; and being men of no religion, they seemed more adapted for times of confusion, and would be more easily induced to commit any atrocity without examination. Besides, needy banditti, born and educated under tyrants, accustomed to infamous warfare, and strangers, who had

nothing dear to them in Britain, appeared fit tools for effecting a revolution. Accordingly, soldiers of fortune began to be sent for, by degrees, from Flanders and other continental countries, but almost individually, and at intervals, that their design might not be discovered; and it was more dangerous to offend any of these vagabonds, than to offend the queen herself.

LIV. But as the influence of David rapidly increased with the queen, so the king daily became more disagreeable; for as, in concluding the match, Mary had been rashly precipitate, so she as suddenly repented, and gave evident proofs of an altered inclination. She had immediately after the nuptials, without the consent of parliament, proclaimed him king, and from that time, in all public deeds, the names of king and queen were expressed; but she soon, although she preserved both the names, altered the order, writing that of the queen first, and the king's after. At length, in order to deprive her husband of all power of granting favours, she complained, that while he was engaged in hunting and hawking, much public business was either not done in time, or not done at all, and therefore, as being more convenient, she proposed that she should sign for them both, by which means he might enjoy his pleasure, and the public business not suffer by his absence. To which proposal, having assented, as he was unwilling to offend her in any thing, he was soon, on slight grounds, removed to a distance, that, being absent from the council, and ignorant of all the public business, the honour of all favours might belong to the queen alone, who persuaded herself, that when his friendship could neither be profitable, nor his anger formidable, he would soon gradually fall into general contempt; and to increase the indignity, David was substituted in his place, who, with an iron stamp, signed the official papers for the king.* Excluded, by this deceit, from every official transaction, that he might not be a troublesome witness of their secret correspondence, in the

* Buchanan's assertion, that the queen had a stamp made with Darnly's signature, which she committed to Rizzio, to affix to public instruments, &c. is confirmed by a deed published by Mr. John Davidson, to which Darnly's name has been affixed by a stamp.—Laing's Dissert. vol. i. p. 102.

very depth of winter, he was despatched to Peebles, with only a very mean train, beneath the dignity of many private gentlemen, rather as if going to seek plunder than recreation. At the same time, there was so great a fall of snow, that in a barren country, and infested with robbers, a prince, educated in a court, and accustomed to plenty, was in danger of starving, had not the bishop of Orkney accidentally came that way, who, knowing the place, had brought some wine and other provisions along with him.

IV. The queen, not satisfied with thus bringing out David from his obscurity, and introducing him to the public, began, in another way, to adorn him with domestic honours. She had already, for some months, admitted more company than usual to her table, that, among a multitude, David's seat might be less envied. By this show of popularity, it was thought that the strangeness of the spectacle would gradually wear off amid the multitude of the guests, and the frequency of its repetition, and men by degrees be accustomed to bear any thing. At length it came to this, that he, with only one or two, daily dined with her; but that the smallness of the place, might diminish the odium of the action, the meals were served up in a little chamber, and sometimes even in David's own lodging; but this method of lessening the envy, increased the infamy of the proceeding, and afforded scope for the most unfavourable remarks. Besides, what tended more to inflame the public mind, already inclined to believe the worst, was, that in household furniture, dress, the number and breed of his horses, and rank of his attendants, he far exceeded the king himself; and what made the whole seem more unmeet, his equipage was so far from improving his appearance, that his appearance disgraced his equipage.* The queen, therefore,

* I copy the following from lord Elibank's letter to Lord Hailes, it is a quotation from a book entitled, *Les Lessones diverses de Louis Guyon conseiller aux finances au Roi de France*. The edition, his lordship adds, that I have seen of this book, is printed at Lyons, "chez Abraham Claqueman, in 3 vols. 12mo. An. 1613. The author, speaking of himself, uses these words: 'Etant en Ecosse, j'ai bien connu David Rizzio, duquel j'ai reçu bien de courtoisies a la cour; Il étoit assez age et laid, d'une humeur morgne et mauvais plaisant; mais d'une rare prudence, et fort habille dans les affaires.'"

when she could not amend the faults of nature, by loading him with wealth and honours, endeavoured to raise him to the rank of a lord of parliament, that she might conceal, beneath a robe of fortuitous splendour, the meanness of his birth, and deformity of his body; but chiefly, that, by procuring for him the right of voting in that assembly, he might manage their proceedings according to the wishes of the queen. In order to advance him by degrees, that he might not appear a needy and mercenary senator, an attempt was first made to procure him an estate in the neighbourhood, which the Scots call Melville.* The proprietor of this estate, his father-in-law, and his other friends, who had the greatest influence with him, being collected, the queen requested the proprietor to yield up the barony, and, at the same time, urged his relations to persuade him to do so; but not being able to succeed, the queen considered this repulse as an affront, and what was more fatal, David was offended.

LVI. These transactions being public, the common people lamented the present situation of the country, and prognosticated its daily becoming worse, if men of ancient nobility, and distinguished reputation, were to be turned out of the seats of their ancestors, at the pleasure of a needy vagabond, and many of the older persons recalled to their recollection, and often repeated in their conversation, the time when Cochrane, by the greatest villany, having killed the king's brother, from a mason, became earl of Marr, and kindled the flames of a civil war, which were only extinguished by the death of the king, and the destruction of almost the whole kingdom. While such was the tenor of public remark, the mutterings of clandestine rumour, as usual in cases of dishonour, went much farther. The king, who, although told, yet refused to believe any one without demonstration, being informed that David

This establishes the fact of Rizzio's ugliness, as represented by Buchanan. Mr. Laing gives this quotation, as—from Blackwood, repeated by Guyon—not having both the books beside me, I cannot compare the passages: but as they are both verbally the same, they both establish the authenticity of Buchanan's statement, and more strongly, if the words were originally Blackwood's, one of the most virulent of Buchanan's defamers.

* Scotice—Mailen?

had gone into the queen's bedchamber, went himself to a small door, of which he always carried the key, and contrary to the usual custom found it bolted within. On knocking, he received no answer, on which he retired, boiling with rage, and spent that night in sleepless vexation.

LVII. From that time he selected a few of his domestics—for he could only trust a few, the rest, being corrupted by the queen, he knew were placed as spies upon all his words and actions—and consulted with them about putting David to death. They approved of his design, but could not easily discover a proper method of carrying it into execution. This consultation having lasted some days, his other servants, who were not privy to his purpose, from many circumstances suspecting what was in agitation, informed the queen, and promised to lead her to an immediate discovery. Nor did they deceive her; for having observed the time, when the king having shut out all others, had only with him the servants in whom he could repose confidence, the queen, as if she intended to pass through his bed chamber to her own, unexpectedly surprised him with his secret associates, she then bitterly upbraided him, and severely threatened his domestics—told them, she was acquainted with all their machinations, and would apply a remedy in due time.

LVIII. Placed in this disagreeable situation, the king informed his father of his condition, and they both agreed that the only way of extricating himself from his present misfortunes, would be to effect a reconciliation with that part of the nobility who were present, and, if possible, recall those who were absent. But there was a necessity for expedition in the business, as the day approached on which the queen had determined to procure the condemnation of the absent lords, for which she had summoned a parliament, in opposition to the representation of the French and English ambassadors, who did not think they had committed any crime worthy so severe a punishment, and perceived besides, the dangers which would follow.

LIX. At the same time, some very long letters arrived from the queen of England, in which she benevolently and prudently reasoned with her relative, on the present state of Scot-

land, and in mild, even loving terms, endeavoured to incline her irritated mind to moderation. The nobles knew that such letters had arrived, and were not ignorant of the nature of their contents, the queen therefore, with an air of condescension, began to read them to a number of them who were assembled, but as she proceeded, David openly told her, that enough had been read, and desired her to stop. This proceeding appeared, however, rather as an arrogant than unusual sort of conduct, to all present, for they knew how imperiously he often behaved towards her, and sometimes reproved her more sharply, than ever her husband dared.

LX. At this time, the-cause of the exiles was warmly debated in parliament; some, in order to gratify the queen, would have decreed the punishment of treason, while others contended that they had done nothing, as yet, deserving so heavy a penalty. David, in the meantime, went about among them individually, to sound their dispositions, and learn what each would do, if he were elected president by the rest, nor did he hesitate openly to tell them the queen wished the exiles condemned, that they who opposed it, would strive in vain, and would likewise incur the displeasure of their prince. He did this partly to distract the feeble between fear and hope, and partly to exclude from the number of the select judges, those who were more determined, that the majority, at least, of that number should be such as would comply with the queen's desires. While some dreaded, and all hated such power, united with such flagrant injustice in this obscure wretch, the king, by the advice of his father, sent for James Douglas, [earl of Morton,] and Patrick Lindsay, [lord Crawford,] the one related to him by the father, the other by the mother's side, they advised with Patrick Ruthven, a man prompt both in council and execution, but who was so debilitated, that for some months he had not been able to rise out of bed. The greatest confidence, however, was reposed in him in this important business, both on account of his great prudence, and because his children were cousins-german to the king. The king was admonished by them of the great error he had committed, in not only suffering his relations and friends to be expelled the court, for the sake of an infamous vaga-

bond, but in even almost with his own hand, driving them away, and in exalting a base born reptile, till he was himself despised by him. They besides, conversed much on the state of the country, and at last brought him frankly to confess his fault, and to assure them, that in future he would undertake nothing, unless with the consent of the nobility. These experienced noblemen did not think it, however, altogether safe, to trust an uxorious young man, lest seduced by the caresses of his wife, he might deny their agreement, and ruin them. The articles, therefore, which they had agreed upon, were committed to writing, all of which he freely, and even eagerly subscribed. These were—that religion should be established, as it had been provided for at the queen's return to Scotland; that the persons lately driven into exile, and whose aid their country could not want, should be brought back; and that David, during whose life neither the dignity of the king nor the safety of the nobility could be preserved, should be put to death.

LXI. The whole having signed this agreement, and the king professing himself the author of the murder, it was then resolved, in order to prevent the condemnation of the absent nobles, and also that the design might not be discovered through delay, instantly to attempt the deed. Therefore, while the queen was at supper, in her small cabinet, the earl of Argyle's lady, and David sitting with her as usual, and a few attendants standing, as the place would not admit many, James Douglas, earl of Morton, with a great number of his friends, having taken possession of the outer gallery, promenaded there, while their vassals, and most faithful adherents, were ordered to watch in the open court, and check any disturbance, if any should occur. The king ascended from his bedchamber, which was below the queen's, by a narrow staircase, open to himself alone, followed by Patrick Ruthven, armed, and attended by four, or at most, five companions. On their entering the closet, where the party were at supper, the queen, somewhat agitated at the unusual appearance of such guests, and seeing Ruthven squalid and haggard, emaciated from long disease, yet clad in armour, inquired what was the matter? for those who were present thought he was del-

irious through fever. He then ordered David to arise and come out, for the place where he sat was no proper place for him. The queen immediately getting up, and interposing her body, protected him. The king, however, catching her in his arms, desired her to take courage, that the death of that low villain only was determined on. David then was dragged to the next, and afterward to the outer chamber, and there put to death, by them who walked along with Douglas, in opposition to the wishes of the conspirators, who had determined to hang him publicly, as they knew it would have afforded a grateful spectacle to the people.*

LXII. It is currently reported, that when John Damiet, a French priest who was generally believed to understand the magical art, had repeatedly warned Rizzio to depart, now that he had made his fortune, and withdraw himself from the hatred of the nobility, with whom he was unable to contend, he replied, the Scots were greater boasters than fighters. Again, a few days before his death, being advised to beware of a bastard, he replied that he was not afraid, for no bastard should have power in Scotland, as long as he lived; he thought his danger was predicted of Moray, but that prophecy was either eluded or fulfilled by George Douglas, the earl of Angus' bastard, who gave him the first blow, after which, every one who stood near him struck, and the king also inflicted a wound, either to gratify his resentment, or desirous of joining the band of public avengers.

LXIII. The noise of the assassination spread over the whole palace, and the earls of Atholl, Huntly, and Bothwell, who supped in a different part of the mansion, wished to break away, but were prevented by those who kept watch within the court, and confined in the room where they had supped, though without any harm being done them. Ruthven having gone from the cellar to the queen's bedchamber, where, not being able to stand, he sat down, and asked for something to drink, the queen inveighed against him as a perfidious traitor, in terms such as her grief and indignation suggested,

* Knox says, "They first purposed to have hangit him, and had provided cords for the sam purpois; bot the grit haste which they had, moved thame to dispatch him with whingers or daggers."

and among other reproaches, asked him how he sitting, durst speak to her standing. He excused himself, saying that he did it not from insolence, but from weakness, and advised her, that in governing the kingdom, she should consult the nobility who were interested in its welfare, rather than needy adventurers, who could give no pledge of their fidelity, and who had neither property nor character to lose. Neither was the present any new example, the authority of the Scottish kings was a legal authority; nor were they ever accustomed to be governed by the will of one, but by the authority of the laws, and the will of parliament, and any of their kings who had attempted the contrary, had suffered severely for their temerity. Nor were the Scots now so far degenerated from the manners of their ancestors, as patiently to allow a foreigner, unfit to be their servant, not only to rule, but to reduce them to slavery.

LXIV. This speech having only enraged the queen the more, the conspirators departed, after leaving proper guards, to prevent any other disturbance. In the meantime, the report spread over the city, where it was credited or disbelieved, according to the various wishes of the inhabitants, but all, seizing arms, ran to the palace. On their arrival there, the king himself spoke to them from a window, assuring them that he and the queen were safe, that there was no reason for a tumult, whatever had been done, had been done by his authority, and why he had acted thus, he would inform them in due time. At present, he desired every one to return to his own house, which order all obeyed, except a few who were retained to keep guard.

LXV. Next day, the nobles, who had returned from England, went directly to the town hall, and surrendered themselves, in order to take their trial, for that was the day appointed, when nobody appearing, they publicly protested that no obstacle existed on their parts, why the trial should not be proceeded in, and went every one to his own dwelling. The queen having sent for her brother, and having had a long conversation with him, in which she led him to expect that she would in future be directed by her nobility, her confinement was relaxed—a clemency which many predicted would be a public mischief.

She in consequence re-assembled her old guard, and escaped during the night, through a back gate, along with George Seton, who had brought two hundred horse, and proceeded first to his castle, and then to Dunbar, carrying the king, whom she threatened with death if he refused, along with her. There, having collected a considerable force, pretending to be reconciled to the nobles lately returned from exile, she directed her vengeance against the assassins of David, who, yielding to the necessity of the times, fled, and she, as if every thing had been pacified, returned to indulge her former inclinations. Her first proceeding was to cause David's body, which had been buried before the neighbouring church door,* to be removed in the night, and placed in the tomb of the late king and his children, which alone, with a few unaccountable transactions, gave rise to strange observations; for what stronger confession of adultery could she make, than that she should equal to her father and brothers in his last honours, a base born reptile, neither liberally educated, nor distinguished by any public service; and what was still more detestable, that she should place the miscreant almost in the very embrace of Magdalene of Vallois, the late queen. In the midst of all these

* I annex an extract from James Melville's Diary. I have mentioned it before in the life of Buchanan, but as these little circumstances, although of great importance to historical truth, are apt to be forgotten in cursory reading, I here repeat it. It is needless to allude to its importance; it is the dying declaration of a great man, to the truth of the record he was leaving behind him. To those who are unable to appreciate the solemn worth of such an attestation, I know not what stronger weight I could give to human testimony.

"We went from him to the printers wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his Chronicle, at a place qhuilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, qhuilk might be an occasion of steying the haill work, anent the burial of Davie. Therfor steying the printer from proceeding we cam to Mr George again and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did, Even going the way of weifare sayes he. Mr Thomas his cusing schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his storie, y^t the king wald be offendit w^t it and it might stey all the wark. tell me man sayes he giff I have tauld the treuthe. yis sayes Mr Thomas sir I think sa. I will byd his fead and all his kin's then qthhe, pray, pray to God for me and let him direct all. Sa be the printing of his Cronicle was endit y^t maist lerned wyse and godlie man endit this mortal lyff."

transactions, she threatened, and threw many oblique hints against her husband, at the same time, doing every thing in her power to lessen his authority, and render him contemptible, while she proceeded with great severity in the trial of David's murderers. Of those who were found privy to the act, many were banished, many fined, and several who were almost innocent, and therefore most secure, were put to death; but the leaders of the faction escaped, some to England, and others to the highlands of Scotland. The magistrates, and all who bore any public office, who were in the least suspected of having had any share in the business, were removed, and their situations given to their enemies. Proclamation too, was made, which, notwithstanding so much public dissatisfaction, excited considerable merriment; for it was ordered, that no one should say that the king had any participation, or was privy to the murder of David. This ferment being a little allayed, on the 13th of April, the earls of Argyle and Moray were received into favour. Not long after, the queen retired to Edinburgh castle, as the time of her delivery drew near, and on the 19th day of June, a little after nine o'clock, in the morning, she brought forth a son, who was afterward called James VI.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XVIII.

I. THE queen, after her delivery, although she received the congratulations very graciously of every other person, yet, as often as she was informed that the king wished to see her, both she and her companions looked and spoke in such a manner, as that he might perceive his visits were unwelcome, and his presence disagreeable. On the other hand, Bothwell was every thing; he alone managed all business, and so much did the queen wish her predilection for him to be understood, that no applications were attended to, except such as were presented by him; yet, as if afraid her partiality would not have been sufficiently observed, on a certain day, early in the morning, she went down to the port called Newhaven, with only one or two domestics, without informing any person whither she was going, and embarked on board a small vessel lying ready for her, which had been prepared by William and Edmond Blackadder, Edward Robertson, and Thomas Dickson, all Bothwell's vassals, and notorious pirates. With this band of ruffians, to the astonishment of all good men, she put to sea unattended by one decent servant, and landed at Alloa, at a castle belonging to the earl of Marr, where she, for some days, behaved, as if she had forgotten not only the majesty of a queen, but the modesty of a matron.

II. When the king heard of the queen's unexpected departure, he followed her as fast as he could by land, in the hope, and with the design of being along with her, and enjoying the mutual interchange of conjugal endearments; but he, as a troublesome interrupter of their pleasures, without being al-

most allowed time sufficient to refresh his servants, was ordered to return whence he came. The queen, a few days after, when she came back to Edinburgh, apparently to avoid the crowd, abode not in her own palace, but in a private lodging in that neighbourhood, whence she removed to another house where the court of exchequer is held annually, not so much for the spaciousness of the building, and the pleasantness of the adjoining gardens, as that David Chambers, a vassal of Bothwell's, lived there, and the back entrance was in the vicinity of the queen's garden, through which Bothwell had access whenever he chose. In the meantime, the king, who could obtain no favour from his wife, but was driven from her presence with insult and reproach, after having often attempted to regain her affection, when he could by no attention or assiduity succeed in being admitted to his former intercourse, withdrew to Stirling, as to a solitude. The queen, shortly after, determined to proceed to Jedburgh, to hold a border court.

III. In the beginning of October, Bothwell set out upon an expedition to Liddisdale, in which, when behaving in a manner unworthy the situation he held, the dignity of his family, or the general expectation, a petty thief, whom he almost killed by a shot, after he was taken and secured, wounded him, and he was carried to the Hermitage castle in a doubtful state. When intelligence of this was brought to the queen at Borthwick, although then in the depth of winter, she flew, first to Melrose, and thence to Jedburgh. Here, although certainly informed that Bothwell's life was out of danger, she could not restrain her impatience, but, in an inclement season of the year, despising the difficulties of the road, and the danger of robbers, she undertook the journey, accompanied by a train with which no gentleman of moderate circumstances, would have dared to intrust himself. Thence, returning again to Jedburgh, she, with the greatest care and attention, prepared every thing for the removal of Bothwell thither; and on his arrival, their meeting and intercourse was extremely unbecoming. Here, whether in consequence of her daily and nightly exertions and fatigue, or by some secret dispensation of provi-

dence, the queen was seized with so severe and painful an illness, that her life was despaired of.

iv. The king, as soon as he heard of his wife's situation, set out with the greatest expedition for Jedburgh, both to testify his affection, and at the same time, hoping, that as is usual in cases of great distress, she might repent her past conduct, and be inclined to amend it. She, however, on the contrary, so far from showing any mark of reconciliation, forbade her attendants to rise on the king's entrance, to salute him, or show him the least courtesy, or give him even a night's lodging, and suspecting the kind and courteous disposition of Moray, she desired his wife to hasten home, pretend sickness, and immediately take to bed, that at least under the pretext of ill health, the king might be excluded thence; and she would have succeeded in forcing him to depart for want of lodging, had not one of the Humes, ashamed at such proceedings, pretended a sudden cause for going away, and left his lodging empty for the king; but early next day, he was ordered off, and returned to Stirling. His departure appeared the more shameful, because, at the same time, Bothwell was openly removed from the lodgings he had formerly occupied, to the queen's apartments, and although neither were completely restored, she from her sickness, nor he from his wound, they travelled first to Kelso, then to Coldingham, and afterward to Craigmillar, a castle about two miles distant from Edinburgh, careless of the reports which they spread at every step; the queen openly avowing in conversation, that she could not live, unless she were separated from the king, and that if she could not effect it otherwise, she would free herself by her own hand. In these conversations, she often started the subject of a divorce, and remarked that it would not be difficult, if the pope's dispensation, which allowed their marriage contrary to the papal law, was destroyed. But when she did not appear likely to succeed in this, which was discussed before a number of the nobility, giving up every other idea, she bent her whole attention to the murder of the king.

v. A little before winter, when ambassadors arrived from France and England, to witness the baptism of the prince, the queen supplied not only money, but by her own care and

superintendence, endeavoured to render Bothwell the most magnificent in his dress of all her subjects or visitors, while her lawful husband was denied the necessary apparel to appear in, at the christening of his son, excluded the presence of the ambassadors, his personal attendants even dismissed, and the nobility forbid to take notice of him. But when the nobles saw the implacable hatred of the queen towards her husband, they were the more disposed to pity a young and harmless prince, treated with so much contempt, who bore it all, not only patiently, but seemed constantly anxious to expiate her unjust anger, and even in the most servile manner, endeavoured to procure a share of her favour. With regard to his dress, she adopted an impudent and evidently false excuse, by throwing the blame upon the embroiderers, gold workers, and other artisans, when every body knew the fault was her own; but on the other hand, she frequently herself wrought at the ornaments for adorning Bothwell. The foreign ambassadors were even admonished that they should not converse with the king although they passed the greater part of the day in the same castle together.

VI. The young man thus inhumanely treated, when he saw himself exposed to universal contempt, and his rival set up before his eyes to be worshipped, determined to retire—as some think sent for—to his father at Glasgow. At his departure, the queen followed him with her usual hatred, the silver plate which he had used ever since his marriage, was carried away, and pewter substituted in its stead. Poison also was administered to him before he set out, that the crime might be the better concealed, if he died when absent from the court. But they who gave it, were at this time mistaken in their calculations, for before he was a mile distant from Stirling, his whole body was so violently affected, as to render it easily apparent, that his distemper was not incidental, but the effect produced by human agency. When he came to Glasgow, the virulence of the disease openly betrayed the cause, for livid pustules broke out over his whole body, accompanied with such pain and universal irritation, that little hopes were entertained for his life. James Abernethy, an eminently skilful and experienced physician, of the most

undoubted fidelity, on being asked respecting the nature of the disease, immediately replied, that poison had been given him. The queen's domestic physician had been called, but she forbade him to attend, fearing lest he might be able to effect a cure, besides, she did not wish the symptoms of poison to be noticed by too many.

VII. The baptismal ceremonies being finished, and the company by degrees dispersing, the queen, desirous of solitude, passed several days almost alone with Bothwell, at the noblemen's seats of Drummond and Tullibardine. About the beginning of January, she returned to Stirling, and pretended every day as if she would go to Glasgow, while she waited for accounts of the king's death. In this uncertain state of the case, she determined to obtain possession of her son. To render this design the less suspected, she began to complain, that the house where the child was nursed, was incommodious, because, the situation being damp and cold, he was in danger of catching rheumatism; but that there were other reasons was sufficiently apparent, because the evils proposed to be avoided by a change of residence, were in fact much greater in the place to which he was carried, for the palace is situated in a swamp, and shaded from the sun by the opposite mountains. The boy, however, yet scarcely entering his seventh month, was brought to Edinburgh in a very severe winter. While there, learning that the king was recovering, having overcome the power of the poison, by the strength of his youth, and the natural vigour of his constitution, she renewed her plots for his destruction, and even acquainted some of the nobility with her iniquity.

VIII. In the mean while, the queen was informed that the king designed to fly to France or Spain, and that he had been consulting on the subject, with an Englishman, who had a vessel lying in the Frith of Clyde. Some thought that now a fair opportunity presented itself, that the queen should send for him, and, if he refused to come, put him openly to death; nor were there wanting those who offered assistance in the business. Others advised, that the deed should be privately committed, but all agreed that it should be done quickly, before the king was perfectly recovered. The queen, secure

of her son, that she might also get her husband into her power, although not quite determined as to the manner of his death, resolved to proceed herself to Glasgow, having, as she thought, done away the suspicions of the former months, by her frequent and very kind letters. Her conduct, however, contradicted the professions of her letters, for the Hamiltons and the other enemies of the king's father, were almost the only companions of her journey. In the meantime, she committed the charge of the necessary arrangements in Edinburgh to the care of Bothwell, as that appeared the most convenient place for perpetrating the crime, and concealing it when perpetrated; because in the great assemblage of the nobility, the suspicion of the murder could be thrown upon some other person, or scattered among a number. The queen, who used every art to dissemble her hatred, after much mutual chiding and complaining, with difficulty, produced a belief of her sincere reconciliation.

ix. The king, not yet quite recovered, was brought on a couch to Edinburgh, to the place which Bothwell, who, in the absence of the queen, had undertaken that office, had destined for his murder. This was a house, which had for some years been uninhabited, near the city walls, in a lonely situation, between two ruined churches, where neither noise nor outcry could be heard. Here he was thrust in with a few menials, for the greater part of the servants, whom the queen had placed around him as spies, departed, aware of their imminent danger, and they who remained, could not obtain possession of the keys from those who had prepared the lodgings. The queen, who anxiously took every precaution to remove all suspicion from herself, so far succeeded in her dissimulation, that the king, now fully convinced of her affection for him, wrote to his father, who had remained sick at Glasgow, letters full of his expectation and confidence, mentioning the kindnesses of the queen, as proofs of her entire and sincere affection, and strongly assuring him, that he hoped a change of every thing for the better. While writing these, the queen unexpectedly came in, and having read the letters, kissed and embraced him, and professed herself be-

yond bounds gratified, as she now clearly perceived, that no shade of suspicion remained on his mind.

x. Every thing seemingly settled in that quarter, her next care was how she might, if possible, divert the whole guilt to others. She therefore sent for her brother Moray, who, having lately obtained leave, had gone to St. Andrews to visit his wife, who was said to be in imminent danger of her life, being pregnant, and attacked with the smallpox. She pretended, that the reason why she desired to retain her brother, was, that she wished to dismiss honourably, the duke of Savoy's ambassador, who had arrived too late for the prince's baptism; this, although it appeared an inadequate reason, why he should be called away from so pious and necessary a duty, he yet obeyed. The queen, in the meantime, daily visited the king, and having reconciled him to Bothwell, whom she wished to place beyond suspicion, she made him many liberal promises of her future kindness, which professions of affection, although strongly suspected by all, yet no one durst warn the king of his danger, for whatever he heard from any other quarter, he was accustomed to tell the queen in order to ingratiate himself the more with her. One however was found, Robert, the queen's [bastard] brother, who, either moved by the atrocity of the action, or by pity for the youth, dared to unfold to him the treachery of his wife, on condition that he should keep it secret, and consult his safety as well as possible. This the king, according to his custom, told to the queen, and Robert being sent for, firmly denied it, when each having given the other the lie, they drew their swords. The queen who rejoiced at this sight, which promised soon to accomplish her end without her interference, called her other brother James, as if to settle the dispute, but in fact that he likewise might fall on the same occasion, for no witness was present except Bothwell alone, who would rather have finished the weaker, than have separated the contending parties, as evidently appeared from his remark, that it was unnecessary to send, in such a hurry for James, to separate men who were not so very desirous of fighting.

xi. The quarrel between these two being adjusted, the queen and Bothwell turned all their attention to the plan of

the murder, and how it might be accomplished most secretly. The queen, pretending love for her husband, and an oblivion of former disgust, ordered her bed to be brought from the palace to the bedchamber, immediately below the king's. There she herself lay for several nights, after having sat up till late, in conversation with the king. Meanwhile, she left no method untried, by which, when the deed was perpetrated, the infamy might be shifted to her brother James, and the earl of Morton, for these two, whom she chiefly feared on account of their virtue and authority, being cut off, every thing else, she flattered herself, would fall before her; to which the letters of the Pope, and Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, likewise incited her, for in the former summer, when she petitioned the Pope by her uncle for money, for overthrowing the established religion in Britain, the Pope, more secretly indeed, but the Cardinal openly, exhorted her to put to death, those who chiefly opposed the restoration of the papal power, and especially named the earls I have mentioned, on whose destruction he promised her immense sums of money for carrying on the war. The queen, who believed that rumours had reached the nobles, showed them the letters, thinking by this means to clear herself of all suspicion of being alienated from them; but these plans, although they appeared so subtilely laid, were somewhat disturbed at the outset. Frequent messages from Moray's lady, brought him information, that she had had a miscarriage, and that little hope was entertained for her life. This was told him on the Lord's day, as he was going to hear sermon, on which he returned to the queen, and requested leave to go home. She insisted strongly that he should wait one day for more certain intelligence, as, if the disease increased, his presence could be of no avail, but if it abated, next morning would be early enough. He, however, persisted in setting out upon his journey.

XII. The queen, who had destined that night for the murder, wishing to appear wholly at her ease, celebrated the marriage of Sebastiani, one of her musicians, during the day, in the palace, where having spent the evening in mirth and festivity, she came with a large retinue, to visit her husband. After conversing with him more cheerfully than usual

for some hours, and after kissing him, she gave him a ring. When the queen had departed, and the king, with a few servants who remained, was talking over her behaviour, among a number of gratifying speeches, the recollection of one short observation, somewhat disturbed him, whether her impatience betrayed her joy on the near approach of the murder, or whether the word unintentionally escaped her, she remarked, It was about this time last year, that David Rizzio was slain. Though none of them liked this inopportune remembrance of the fact, yet, because the night was far spent, and the morrow was devoted to sports and amusement, they speedily separated, and went to bed.

XIII. In the meantime, gunpowder was placed in the chamber below, to blow up the house. But while every thing else was cautiously and artfully managed, they allowed a trifling circumstance to betray no trifling indication of the crime. The bed, in which the queen had lain for some nights, was removed from its place, and a worse one substituted in its stead; amid such a prodigality of character, such was their care for a little money. In the midst of their conversation, Paris, a Frenchman, one of their ministers of villany, entered the king's bedchamber, and silently placed himself in a situation where he could be observed by the queen, for that was the signal agreed upon, that all was ready. She, as soon as she saw Paris, as if suddenly remembering the nuptials of Sebastiani, accused herself of neglect, in not having danced masked, as she had promised, nor put the bride to bed, as was usual, which saying, she arose and departed. On her return to the palace, she conversed a considerable time with Bothwell, who, at length being dismissed, went into a bedchamber, changed his dress, put on a soldier's cloak, and passing through the guards with a few attendants, returned to the town. Two other bands of the conspirators, came to the place appointed, by different roads, and a few entered the king's bedchamber—the keys of which they had, as I formerly mentioned—fell upon him, when wrapt in a deep sleep, and strangled him, together with a servant, who lay on a little bed near him. After they were strangled, they carried the bodies through a gate, which they had made in the city wall

for this purpose, into a small garden close by, then setting fire to the gunpowder, they blew up the house from its foundation, with such an explosion, that the neighbouring buildings were shaken, and persons who were asleep in the most distant parts of the city, awoke terrified. On the deed being perpetrated, Bothwell, departing by the ruins of the city wall, in a different direction from that by which he had come, returned through the guards to the palace.

xiv. This for several days was the common report of the king's death. The queen, who was watching the event of the night, when she heard of the catastrophe, assembled such of the nobility as were in the palace, and among the rest, Bothwell, and by their advice, as if ignorant of all that had happened, despatched messengers to inquire into the cause of the disturbance. Those who went to examine the circumstances, found the king lying naked, except only a linen shirt upon the upper part of his body, the rest of his clothes, and even his slippers, lay close by him. The common people came in great crowds to see him, and formed many conjectures on the subject, yet nobody could be persuaded to believe, what Bothwell so strongly desired they should, that he had been forced through the roof of the house, by the violence of the gunpowder, especially, because no fracture, contusion, or livid mark appeared on his body, which there must have been in such a case, and his clothes, which were lying near, were not only not singed with the flames, nor sprinkled with the powder, but were so regularly placed, that they appeared to have been carefully put there, and not either thrown by violence, or left by chance. Bothwell, when he returned, as if in astonishment, delivered his story to the queen, after which, she went to bed, where she remained in a sound sleep, wholly undisturbed, the greatest part of next day.

xv. On this, rumours were immediately spread by the paricides, and carried before daybreak to the English borders, that the king had been murdered by the contrivance of Moray and Morton. The queen, however, was secretly considered the author of the catastrophe, nor did the bishop of St. Andrews entirely escape, owing to a number of circumstances, which gave rise to conjectures. A deep and cruel enmity had

subsisted between the families, and the bishop had never been reconciled to the queen, till she began to contemplate this atrocity; but lately he had attended her to Glasgow, and been the participator of her most secret counsels. It increased suspicion too, his having lately taken up his abode in the house of his brother, the earl of Arran, the nighest house to that in which the king had been killed, while he always before resided in the most public place of the city, better adapted for popular civilities and entertainments; besides, from the higher parts of the town, a light, and night watch had been seen in his lodging during the whole night, until the explosion, when the lights were extinguished, and his vassals, numbers of whom had watched armed, were forbidden to go abroad; but when the real state of facts came to be divulged, some months after, many of these circumstances, which had only been viewed as very suspicious, were, after the conspiracy was discovered, considered as indisputable proof.

xvi. The crime being perpetrated, messengers were immediately despatched into England, to spread the report that the king of Scotland had been cruelly murdered by his subjects, and chiefly by the contrivance of the earls of Moray and Morton. This news was instantly carried to court, and raised such a general sentiment of indignation against the whole country, that for some days no native of Scotland durst appear in public, except at the imminent risk of his life; and it was even with difficulty, after a correspondence had brought to light the secret conspiracy, that that indignation was at length appeased. The king's corpse, after it had remained for a considerable time a spectacle, and a continual concourse of the people still flocking to gaze on it, the queen caused it to be extended upon an inverted bench, and carried by porters to the palace. There she looked earnestly upon that body, the handsomest of his age, but gave no sign by which the secret emotions of her heart could be discovered. The nobles present determined to give him a magnificent and honourable funeral, but she caused him to be carried in the night by menials to his sepulchre, and privately interred; and to the great disgust of the public, his grave was placed near that of

David Rizzio, as if she intended the death of her husband for a propitiation to the manes of that infamous vagabond.

xvii. Two incidents which occurred at this time, I think worth relating, the one of which happened a little before the murder. James Loudon, a gentleman of Fife, who had long been ill of a fever, on the day before the king died, about noon raised himself up in his bed, as if amazed, and besought all present, with a loud voice, to assist the king, for already the parricides are killing him. Then shortly after, in a mournful tone he exclaimed, Your assistance is too late, he is now killed; and after this saying, he himself survived but a very short time. The other occurred almost at the moment of the murder. Three intimate friends of the duke of Athol, relations of the king, men of virtue and high rank, lodged not far from the king's dwelling. They were sleeping together in the same apartment, when, in the middle of the night, some one appeared to approach to Dugald Stuart, who lay next the wall, and drawing his hand gently across his beard and his cheek, awoke him, and said, Arise, they bring violence to you. He suddenly started, and, while he was thinking with himself on his vision, another immediately exclaimed, from another bed, Who kicks me? and when Dugald replied, Perhaps the cat, who walks as usual in the night, then the third, who had not been awakened, immediately rose from bed, and getting on his feet, asked, Who struck him on the ear? and while yet speaking, a figure appeared to go out at the door with a considerable noise; and as they conversed on what they had seen and heard, the sound of the explosion of the king's house struck them all with consternation.

xviii. The treason being concluded, men were variously affected by it, according as they loved or hated the king. All the good with one consent detested the nefarious crime, but John Stuart, earl of Athol, was most seriously grieved, for, among other reasons, he had been the principal promoter of the marriage. The next night after the murder, armed guards, as is usual in cases of disturbance, keeping watch round the palace, a sound was heard, as of persons gently destroying the foundation of the outside wall of the bedchamber in which Athol slept; the family being raised by the crash, passed the

rest of the night without sleep. Next day the earl removed into the town, and soon after departed home, being afraid for his life. The earl of Moray too, when he returned to court from St. Andrews, was not without danger, for armed men were observed to walk about his house during the night, but as his servants watched him on account of sickness, the villains could attempt nothing against him privately, and publicly they durst not. At length Bothwell, who would willingly have been quit of the trouble, resolved to make the base attempt himself. For this purpose, about the middle of the night, he asked his domestics how Moray's health was; being answered that he was extremely ill, and cruelly tortured with pain, what, said he, although we should pay him a visit, and having said so, he arose, and was hastening to his house. When upon the road, he was informed by his servants, that Moray had gone to his brother Robert, to be without the reach of the noise of the palace, and where he could enjoy more liberty and comfort. He stopped, and after remaining silent a little, he returned home, regretting that he had missed such an excellent opportunity.

xix. Meanwhile, the queen assumed a grave countenance, and by pretending great sorrow, thought to reconcile the people to her; but this part of the conspiracy was equally unsuccessful with the rest, for as it was the custom of former times for queens, after the death of their husbands, to withdraw many days, not only from the society of men, but even to shut out the light of heaven, the joy of her mind overcame this restraint, and though she shut the doors, she opened the windows, and on the fourth day, having thrown off her weeds, she could endure both light of heaven and of the sun, and before the twelfth, having fortified her mind against vulgar report, she set out for Seton, about seven miles distant from the town, during which journey, Bothwell was never absent from her side, and she behaved herself there in such a manner, as to render it evident, that although the dress of her body was altered a little, there was no alteration in the habits of her mind; the place was frequented by a great concourse of nobility, and she followed her usual amusements in the adjoining

plain, although some of them were plainly not adapted for women.

xx. The arrival of M. Le Croc, however, who had often been ambassador in Scotland before, somewhat disturbed their plans, for when he represented how infamous these proceedings were among foreigners, they returned to Edinburgh. But Seton had so many conveniences, that, although at an expense of character, they returned thither; there the chief object of their consultation was, how Bothwell might be acquitted of the murder. An attempt had indeed been before made, at a trial and acquittal, for immediately upon the murder of the king, Bothwell, and several of his associates had appeared before the earl of Argyle, lord justice-general, at first, as if wholly ignorant of the transaction, expressing their astonishment at it, as a strange unheard of incredible thing, next they proceeded to take a precognition, citing a few poor old women from the neighbourhood, who, hesitating between hope and fear, were uncertain, whether to speak out, or to keep silence; yet although cautious in their speech, they blabbed more than was intended, and were in consequence dismissed, as having spoken rashly, but it was easy to despise their testimony. The king's servants who had escaped the disaster, were then sent for, and on being interrogated respecting the entrance of the assassins, denied that the keys were in their possession; and on being further asked, who then had them, they answered, the queen, on which the further examination was delayed, but in fact given up, for they were afraid if it were proceeded in, the secrets of the court would be betrayed to the public. That the business might not, however, appear to be dropped entirely, a proclamation was issued, offering a reward to those who should discover the authors of the king's murder. But who could dare to impeach Bothwell, when he would be at once the pannel, examiner of the witnesses, and awarder of the punishment? Yet this fear which shut the mouths of individuals, could not stop the observations of the multitude, for hand bills and caricatures were published, and nightly cries were heard during the darkness, by which the parricides were informed, that their secret nocturnal deeds were known; that no person

was ignorant either of those who contrived the infamous treason, or who executed it, and the more they were restricted, with so much the more violence did the public discontent burst forth.

xxi. Although the conspirators seemed to despise these things, yet they were secretly so much vexed, that they could not conceal their vexation; wherefore, setting aside all inquiry into the king's death, they instituted a much more strict one against the authors of the libels, the calumniators, as they called them, of Bothwell, and prosecuted it with a zeal that spared neither labour nor expense. All the painters and writers were summoned, to see if by chance they could discover the authors of the pictures and libels, and a very consistent clause was added to the proclamation, declaring it not only a capital crime to publish these libels, but even to read them when published. While, however, they endeavoured to restrain people's speeches, by threatening capital punishments, they did not restrain their insatiable hatred towards the dead king. The effects of the deceased, his arms, horses, clothes, and the rest of his household stuff, were seized as if they had been confiscated, and divided by the queen among his murderers, or his father's enemies; this, as it was done openly, was openly discussed, so much so, that a tailor, who was altering some of the king's dress to suit Bothwell, was bold enough to remark, That it was but right, and according to the custom of the country, for the clothes of the deceased to be given to the executioner.

xxii. Among the rest of their perplexities, another difficulty which arose, was, how to put the queen in possession of Edinburgh castle. John, earl of Marr, kept possession of it, on condition, that he was to deliver it up to no person, except by direction of the estates, which although they were to meet next month, even that delay seemed long to the avidity of the queen. Therefore, she treated with the earl's friends, as he himself lay ill of a dangerous distemper at Stirling, that the castle should be delivered to her, assigning as her chief reason, that she could not keep the populace of Edinburgh, who were then troublesome, in proper subjection, unless she had the command of the castle, but that she would

give the earl, as a pledge of her greatest affection, her son, the only heir of the kingdom, to be educated by him, which office, his ancestors had discharged towards many other princes, and lately towards her mother, and grandfather, with the greatest applause. Marr, although he understood the tendency of these flatteries and promises, yet not unwillingly consented. The queen, when she found that she had succeeded more easily with him than she had expected, attempted to obtain immediate possession of the castle, and at the same time retain the custody of her son, which not being able to effect, she attempted him by another manœuvre. She proposed that he should receive the prince at Linlithgow, midway between Edinburgh and Stirling, on a certain day, on which day the castle should be surrendered, but, as he suspected some deceit, it was at last agreed, that the boy should be delivered to him at Stirling, he at the same time giving some of the principal of his relations as sureties, for the surrender of the castle.

XXIII. These circumstances occasioned the parricides some anxiety, but the daily complaints of the earl of Lennox distressed them much more, who, as he durst not come to court, on account of Bothwell's exorbitant and lawless power, constantly assailed the queen by letters, and required from her, that Bothwell the undoubted author of the murder, should be committed to prison, till such time as he could be brought to trial. His demands were eluded for some time, by a great many subterfuges. As it was, however, impossible to avoid inquiring into so atrocious a crime, the following method was contrived for conducting the trial. Parliament stood summoned for the 13th of April, before which day, the queen wished the trial finished, that the pannel, acquitted by a sentence of the court, might have his innocence fully declared by a vote of the whole estates, and such was the haste, that nothing was carried on regularly, according to ancient practice, in the whole process. The accusers nearest of kin, the wife, father, mother, and son, ought to have been cited to appear either personally, or, by procuration within forty days, the legal time, here the father was summoned to appear on the 13th of April, and, that without any invitation

of friends, with only his own family, now in his great poverty, reduced to a few, while Bothwell paraded the town with a crowd of attendants. The earl of Lennox, therefore, judged it better to remain absent from a city filled with his enemies, as without friends, and a guard of vassals, he could neither be safe, nor consider himself free.

xxiv. On the day appointed, Bothwell, at the same time the prosecutor and pannel, proceeded to the town hall; the judges were called from the nobility, the majority of them his friends, none of the opposite party having challenged any of them. Robert Cunningham, one of the Lennox family, caused a little delay in the proceedings. After craving liberty to speak, he protested that that court was incapable, either by law or practice, to sit in judgment, where the accused was too powerful to be punished, and the accuser absent through fear of his life; therefore, whatever they determined, being both inconsistent with law and form, was irrelevant; they, nevertheless, proceeded. Gilbert, earl of Cassillis, too, being chosen one of the judges, rather for the sake of using his right, than that he hoped to succeed, excused himself, and even offered to pay the fine usually exacted from those who refuse to sit. Immediately a messenger arrived from the queen with a ring, ordering him to sit as one of the judges, and threatening him with imprisonment, unless he obeyed. Still refusing, another message was sent him by the queen, accompanied by a menace of punishing him as a traitor, should he continue refractory. Thus terrified, he complied, and they pronounced [a verdict of not proven against Bothwell] that they saw no grounds for condemning Bothwell, but if any one afterwards should legally and regularly accuse him, this judgment should not prevent his proceedings. Nor did the verdict appear improper, for the question was so put, that Bothwell could not have been condemned by the severest judges. They were ordered to inquire into a murder which had been committed on the ninth of February, whereas the king was killed on the tenth. Thus Bothwell was acquitted, but not freed from the infamy, for the suspicion against him was increased, while the punishment seemed only delayed; but any pretence, however shameless, was sufficient for the queen, who was eager to be

married to him. As an epilogue to his acquittal, a placard was affixed on a very conspicuous situation :—That although Bothwell was acquitted by a legal tribunal of the charge of murder, yet, that his innocence might appear untarnished, he was ready to defend it by the sword, if any person of unexceptionable character and birth should charge him with the murder of the king. Next day the challenge was as boldly accepted, in a bill publicly posted, on condition only, that a place should be appointed where the person could arm himself without danger.

xxv. Notwithstanding her success, the queen appeared more haughty in parliament. Formerly she wore a species of civility, but now she undisguisedly showed her tyrannical disposition, and openly refused all that she had promised in the cause of religion at Stirling; which was, that in the first parliament, the laws enacted through the tyranny of the pope, should be abrogated, and the authority of the reformed church confirmed by new statutes. Besides her promise, when two deeds, with her own sign manual affixed, were produced, she eluded their force, and desired the messengers, who had been sent her by the church, to return upon another day, but she never, after that time, afforded them an opportunity. The acts of parliament, which had been passed by the consent of her husband Francis, before her return to Scotland, she alleged, fell under the act of oblivion. This declaration appeared to all an evident profession of tyranny; therefore, as the Scots have no laws but their acts of parliament, they silently began to reflect what would be their situation, under a prince whose will was to be the law, and who paid no regard to promises. These circumstances occurred towards the end of the parliament.

xxvi. About the same time, the queen, who was exceedingly anxious to hasten the marriage, endeavoured by every art, to obtain some expression of the public consent, that she might not appear to have acted in opposition to the inclination of the nobility. Bothwell, therefore, took this method for sanctioning the marriage, by an appearance of public authority. He invited all the principal nobility then in town—and there were a great number—to an entertainment, and when their hilarity

had opened their dispositions, he begged them to preserve towards him in future, the same affection they had formerly expressed; at present, he requested, that as he was a suitor to the queen, they would subscribe a small paper he had drawn up on the subject, which would procure him favour from the queen, and honour from the people. The company, astonished at this sudden and unexpected proposal, could not conceal their chagrin, yet durst not refuse the request. A few who were acquainted with the queen's inclination, showing the example, the rest, ignorant of the number of sycophants, and suspicious of each other, all signed. Next day, when the nobles reflected upon what they had done, some ingenuously confessed, that unless they had considered it agreeable to the queen, they would never have consented; for, besides the disgrace of the transaction, and the public detriment, it might be dangerous, lest, if any disagreement should arise, as they recollected with her former husband, and Bothwell be thrown aside, they should be accused of having betrayed the queen, and compelled her to a dishonourable marriage. Wherefore, before proceeding farther, they determined to learn her pleasure, and procure a writing under her own hand, approving what they had done in the marriage. This being easily obtained, it was delivered by general consent, to the keeping of the earl of Argyle.

XXVII. Next day, all the bishops who were in town, were called to court, that they likewise should subscribe. This obstacle overcome, another presented itself, how was the queen to get her son into her power? For Bothwell did not think it safe to preserve a boy, who might some day become the avenger of his father's murder, nor did he wish any other to precede his own children as heir to the throne. On which the queen, who could deny him nothing, personally undertook the task of bringing back the prince to Edinburgh. She had also other reasons for visiting Stirling, of which I shall speak presently. When she had arrived thither, the earl of Marr, suspecting her intentions, showed her indeed the child, but in such a manner as never to have him out of his own power. The queen, on her stratagem being detected, and not being able to effect her purpose by force, dissembling the cause of

her visit, set out upon her return. During the journey, either from her constant exertion, or from indignation, because the plan that seemed to the authors so skilfully concerted, had not succeeded, she was suddenly seized with severe indisposition, and stopped at a wretched hovel, about four miles from Stirling, where the pain abating a little, she proceeded on her journey, and came that night to Linlithgow. Thence she wrote to Bothwell, by Paris, what she wished him to do respecting the attempt upon her person; for, before she left Edinburgh, she had arranged with him, that he should seize her upon her return at Almond bridge, and carry her with him wherever he chose, as if it were by force. Thus her conduct was generally interpreted, for she could neither conceal her intercourse with Bothwell, nor desist from it, nor enjoy it so openly as she wished, without loss of character. As it was tedious to wait for a divorce from his former wife, and as she wished to consult her honour, for which she had hitherto pretended some regard, and, at the same time, gratify the impatience of her desire, it was thought an excellent plan, for Bothwell, by his egregious criminality, to wipe away the infamy of the queen. Yet there was a deeper design in this enterprise—as was afterward understood—for when the people frequently pointed out, and execrated the authors of the king's murder, they, in order to provide for their own security, by the advice, as is thought, of John Leslie, bishop of Ross, concerted the rape of the queen. In Scotland there is a custom, that in all pardons granted to criminals, the heaviest offence is mentioned by name, and the rest added in general terms, the parricides, therefore, resolved to ask pardon for laying violent hands on the queen, and then to add, as a concluding clause, and for all other nefarious acts, in which clause they persuaded themselves the murder of the king would be included, as it neither seemed safe for the authors to be named in a pardon, nor honourable to be granted in explicit terms, neither could it well be as an appendix to a pardon for crimes of a minor description. Another crime therefore, less odious, but equal in the nature of its punishment, was to be devised, under whose shade the murder of the king might be covered and pardoned, but nothing presented

itself, except this pretended rape, by which the queen's pleasure, and Bothwell's safety could at the same time be secured.

XXVIII. Bothwell, therefore, attended by six hundred horse, waited for the queen at Almond bridge, as had been agreed upon, and carried her, not unwillingly, along with him, to Dunbar, where they freely indulged themselves, while a divorce against his former wife was sued for in two courts; before the commissaries, who usually judge in such questions, and before the officials, the bishops' judges, although they were forbid by act of parliament, to act in a magisterial capacity, or interfere at all in public business. Lady Gordon, Bothwell's wife, was forced to institute two actions for divorce, before the queen's judges. She accused her husband of adultery, the only just cause of divorce allowed by them. Before the papal judges, forbid by law, yet assembled by the archbishop of St. Andrews, for deciding this plea, she accused him of incest. No delay occurred in procuring the divorce, either on the part of witnesses or judges, and in less than ten days, the suit was commenced, heard, and decided.

XXIX. In these circumstances, the nobility attached to the Reformation, assembled at Stirling, and sent to the queen, to inquire whether she was detained where she was, willingly, or by constraint, for if against her inclination, they would assemble an army, and liberate her. She received the messenger with smiles, and answered, that she had been brought thither unwillingly, but had been so kindly treated since, that she could not greatly complain of the previous injury. Having thus treated the messenger with derision, they made haste to repair the injury of the rape by a legal marriage; yet two impediments appeared still to remain. The first was, if the queen married in a state of captivity, the marriage might be held as defective, and thus easily dissolved; and the next, how the usual ceremonies were to be observed, which required, that the intended marriage between James Hepburn, and Mary Stuart, should be proclaimed before the congregation three Lord's days, that if any one knew of any fault or impediment, why the parties ought not to be lawfully united, they should declare it to the church. To remove these obstacles, Bothwell, having assembled his friends and vassals, determined to

carry back the queen to Edinburgh, where, under a vain show of liberty, he might decide upon their marriage at his pleasure. A number of his armed attendants, as they went along, fearing lest they might afterward suffer for having kept the queen a prisoner, merely because they surrounded her in arms, when the country was quiet, threw away their spears, and as a peaceable train, in appearance at least, escorted her to Edinburgh castle, then in the possession of Bothwell. Next day, they carried her to the city, and to the courts of justice, before whom she affirmed she was completely free, and under no restraint.

xxx. With regard to the proclamation of marriage, the reader whose duty it was, steadily refused to publish it, on which, the deacons and elders being assembled, and not daring to refuse, ordered the preacher to proceed to publish the intended marriage, according to custom, and he obeyed them thus far, that he declared he himself knew a lawful hinderance, which he was ready to tell either the queen or Bothwell, when they chose. On which, he was brought to the castle, and sent by the queen to Bothwell, who, although he could neither by flattery nor threats, shake the preacher from his purpose, nor yet dared to trust a discussion, proceeded with the marriage. The bishop of Orkney alone could be found, who preferred the favour of the court to truth, all the rest loudly exclaimed against the marriage, and adduced their reasons, to show that there could be no legal union with a man, who had two wives living, and had lately been divorced from a third, upon his own confession of adultery. Yet, notwithstanding the indignation of all good men, the execration of the common people, and the disapprobation of her relations, expressed by letter, while the business was in progress, and their detestation shown, after the mock ceremonies were finished, the marriage was celebrated. Such of the nobility as were present—for almost all of them had gone home, except a few of Bothwell's friends and relations—were invited to an entertainment, and along with them Le Croc, the French ambassador. He, however, although of the Guise faction, and residing near the spot, decidedly refused to attend, for he did not think it becoming the dignity of his

character as ambassador, to approve by his presence, of a marriage, which he heard devoutly execrated by the people. The queen's uncles disapproved of it, both during its progress, and after it was consummated; and the sovereigns, both of France and England, expressed by their ambassadors, their dislike at the disgraceful proceeding.

xxxI. Although these circumstances were disagreeable, yet the sullen discontent of the people much more exasperated the haughty disposition of the queen, as what we see usually affects our minds more deeply than what we are told. In their procession through the city, no person followed them with the usual acclamations; one poor old woman alone once cried, God bless the queen; on which, another exclaimed once and again, sufficiently loud to be heard by the bystanders, Let that be according as she deserves; which incident incensed her highness still more at the inhabitants of Edinburgh, with whom she was already angry. Perceiving this general dissatisfaction both at home and abroad, she consulted with a few of her confidential advisers, on the most proper measures for establishing her power, and securing herself from tumults in future; and, first, it was resolved to send an embassy to France, to reconcile the king and the chief of the Guises, who were offended at her precipitate marriage. The ambassador made choice of, was William, bishop of Dunblane. His instructions were almost literally as follow:

xxxII. You will excuse us to the king and queen, and to our uncles; first, for the report of our being married having reached them before they received any despatches from us respecting our intention. This excuse, as the foundation, must rest upon a true delineation of the whole life, and especially the services of the duke of Orkney towards us, to the day when we thought proper to take him for an husband. You are to commence your account of his history as you have opportunity, beginning at the earliest period of his youth, as soon as he came of age. Immediately upon the death of his father, one of the first noblemen of the kingdom, he devoted himself almost entirely to the service of the king; and his family was, besides, not only illustrious by its ancient nobility, but by holding the highest command in the kingdom, which was

their hereditary right. At that time particularly, he so wholly attached himself to our mother, who then managed the government, and was so constant in supporting her, that though, for a short time, great part of the nobility, and almost all the towns deserted her, under the pretence of religion, yet he never disowned her authority, nor could be induced by any promises, or offers or threats, nor by any loss which he suffered in his private property, to cease from any part of his duty towards her, and rather suffered his mansion house, with his furniture, which was splendid and valuable, to be plundered, and the rest of his effects to become the prey of his enemies. In fine, destitute of our support, and also of all assistance from our subjects, an English army was brought into the very bowels of the kingdom, by domestic enemies, with the sole intention of forcing our husband, then earl of Bothwell, to leave his country and patrimony, and fly to France, where, even till my return to Scotland, he served, and waited upon me with the most respectful attention. Nor must his military exploits against the English be forgotten, when, shortly before my return, he gave such proofs of military conduct and bravery, that, although a youth, he was preferred to be commander in chief of the army, and our lord lieutenant; in which office he so answered public expectation, that his valorous deeds left an illustrious memorial of his courage, both among his countrymen and the enemy.

xxxiii. After our return, he exerted all his endeavours to establish our authority, nor never shunned any danger in subduing the rebels inhabiting the borders nearest England, and having reduced every thing there to a state of the greatest tranquillity, he had determined to do the same in the other parts of the kingdom; but as envy is always the attendant on merit, the restless, ambitious Scots, desirous of lessening our affection and regard towards him, by misrepresenting his good services, at last occasioned our committing him to prison, partly to gratify the envious disposition of some who could not endure his increasing greatness, and partly to check a sedition, that threatened destruction to the whole kingdom. Released from prison, he yielded to the jealousy of his rivals, and retired to France; there he remained almost two years,

at which time, the authors of the former sedition, having forgot our lenity towards them, and their own duty towards us, commenced a war, and marched in arms against us; then he was recalled by our order, restored to his estates and pristine honours, and again appointed commander of our army, and under his conduct our authority almost instantly revived, so that the whole of the rebels, suddenly leaving their country, were forced to retire to England, until part of them were, after the most humble entreaties, restored by us to favour; how perfidiously we were rewarded by those who returned, whom we treated with much greater favour than they deserved, our uncles know, and therefore little need be said about that. Yet the dexterity with which he rescued us from their hands, by whom we were then held captive, must not be passed over in silence, nor with what celerity, by his singular providence, we escaped from confinement, and upon the dispersion of the whole band of conspirators, recovered our former authority. Here, indeed, I am forced to confess, that the services he then rendered, were so grateful that they never can be eradicated from our memory.

xxxiv. But besides these extraordinary services, his assiduity and diligence increased so much, that we could neither have wished greater attention nor fidelity in any person than what we found in him, until lately, after the death of our husband the king; for from that time, as his thoughts became more ambitious, so his actions seemed rather insolent. But although circumstances were such, that we were forced to accept all in good part, yet even then we were highly offended at his arrogance, when he imagined that there remained with us no other method of showing our gratitude, than by bestowing ourself as the reward of his services—at his secret plans and designs, and, at last, at his flagrant contempt, and to prevent failure, open violence employed in obtaining possession of our person. In the meantime, the whole of his conduct was so regulated, as to exemplify how speciously those who undertake great actions, conceal their designs until their ends are accomplished; for I thought this constant attention and assiduity, in performing my orders with the greatest despatch, flowed from no other source, than his strong desire of show-

ing his loyalty towards me, nor did I ever think any higher wish or design lurked under it; nor had I ever expected that a gracious look, such as I used towards noblemen to induce them more cheerfully to obey us, would excite in him the hope of any uncommon affection for himself. He, however, twisting every fortuitous circumstance to his own purpose, carried on his designs unknown to me, and, at the same time, by his accustomed attention, preserved my former favour, and, by entertaining, he secretly courted the nobility to assist him in obtaining a new one; and with such constant diligence did he prosecute his purpose, that without my knowledge, when the parliament was assembled here, he obtained, from the whole nobility, a writing authenticated by all their subscriptions. In which paper, they not only consented to a marriage between me and him, but likewise promised to hazard their estates and lives in forwarding his design, and declared that they would consider as their enemies all who should attempt to oppose it.

xxxv. To obtain more easily the suffrages of the nobility, he had persuaded them, that I was not averse to his proceedings. Having, at length, obtained this bond from them, he began by degrees, and by the most respectful entreaties, to attempt by flattery our consent also. But when our answer was not agreeable to his wish, he began to reflect upon those circumstances which were wont to occur in similar undertakings; the marks of our aversion; the methods by which our friends, or his enemies, might prevent his design; the possibility of those who had subscribed altering their mind; besides many other impediments, which might be thrown in the way, or might spontaneously arise to frustrate his expectations. At last he determined to follow up his favourable fortune, and stake upon one throw, his existence and his hopes. Wherefore, when he had seriously resolved to execute his design, on the fourth day, as I was returning from visiting my dearest son, he watched a convenient time and place, attacked me with a strong force upon my journey, and with the greatest expedition, carried me to Dunbar. Any one may easily imagine how we regarded this action, especially in him from whom of all our subjects we least expected it; I upbraided

him with the favour which I had always shown him, and what an honourable opinion I had always expressed to others of his manners, and accused him, on the other hand, of ingratitude towards me, and whatever else I could do to procure my deliverance out of his hands. His treatment was rude, but his speeches were gentle:—That he would observe all honour and respect towards us, and would study in nothing to offend us. As a suppliant, he entreated my pardon for the audacious act of having carried me unwillingly to one of our own castles, and that, impelled by the violence of his affection, he had forgotten the respect and obedience which he owed me as a subject, and added, that a regard for his own preservation had likewise forced him to adopt it.

xxxvi. Then he began to recount to me the whole history of his life, and to lament his fate; that those whom he had never offended, had become his most inveterate enemies, whose malice suffered no opportunity of hurting him to escape: with how much odium they had loaded him on account of the king's death, and how unequal he was to cope with their secret conspiracies; for as all pretended kindness in their countenance and language, he could not guard against the snares of men he did not know. Such was their malice, that in no place, at no time, could he consider his life secure, unless assured of our immutable favour; and this certainty could only be procured in one way—if he could induce me to vouchsafe accepting him as my husband, and he solemnly protested that he did not in this aim at any majesty or supreme dignity for himself, but only desired that he might serve me and obey me, during his life, as he had hitherto done. Having urged his plea with all the eloquence of language, when he saw neither prayers, nor promises, could bend us, he at last showed what he had obtained from the whole nobility and gentry, and the promise they had subscribed with their own hands. This being suddenly and unexpectedly produced, I leave to the king, queen, and my uncles, and other friends, to determine whether I had not just cause of amazement; wherefore, when I perceived myself placed in the power of another, at a distance from all whose advice I was accustomed to use, nay, when I saw those on whose fidel-

ity and wisdom I could rely, whose strength should preserve our authority, without whom our power would become weak, or rather nothing, when I saw these almost wholly devoted to promote his desires, and I left alone as a prey to him, I revolved many things, but could find no way to extricate myself. He also gave us no time for consideration, but constantly and importunately urged his proposition.

xxxvii. At last, when I saw I had no other hope of escape, and that there was not one in the whole kingdom who cared about our liberty, for it was evident by their signatures, and their profound silence, that all the nobles had been drawn to his party, I was at length forced, our anger and indignation being a little abated, to listen to his petitions. Therefore, taking into consideration his former services, and the hopes we entertained of his persevering constantly for the future in the same dutiful attention; also, how reluctantly our subjects would receive a foreign king, unaccustomed to their laws and institutions, for they would not have suffered me to remain long unmarried; that a people, naturally factious, could not be kept in obedience, unless our authority was supported and exercised by a man capable of enduring the fatigue of governing the commonwealth, and coercing the insolence of the rebellious, the weight of which, our strength, weakened and almost broken since our return to Scotland by constant tumults and rebellions, was incapable of longer enduring; also that, on account of these seditions, we were forced to create four or even more lieutenants in different parts of the kingdom, the greater part of whom, under colour of the authority which we had delegated to them, forced our subjects to take arms against us; for these reasons, when we saw it would be necessary, if we wished to preserve the dignity of the royal name, that we should bend our mind to think of marriage; and as our people could not endure a foreign king, and there was not one of our subjects, who, either in splendour of family, wisdom, bravery, or any other virtues either of body or mind, was preferable, or even equal to him whom we have accepted for our husband, we forced ourself to comply with the unanimous wish of the estates, of which we have made mention.

xxxviii. After he had, by these and many other reasons,

shaken my constancy, and extorted from me, partly by force, and partly by flattery, a promise of marriage, yet could we not, by any argument, obtain from him—who always feared a change of our disposition—any delay in celebrating our nuptials, not even till we should communicate the matter to the king and queen of France, and the rest of our allies; but, as by a bold act he had at first reached the summit of his wishes, he never ceased from the most importunate entreaties, till he forcibly compelled us to consummate what he had begun, and that at the time, and in the manner that seemed most convenient to him for perfecting his design; in which, I must confess, I was neither treated by him as I wished, nor as he had promised, for he was more solicitous to satisfy those to whose expressed opinion he considered himself indebted for obtaining his end—although he deceived them as well as us—than to gratify us, or to attend to what was decorous for us, who had been educated in the forms and ceremonies of our religion, from which, neither he, nor any other man alive, shall ever seduce me while I exist. In this we confess our error, yet we greatly desire the king, and his mother the queen, and our uncles and other friends, would not reproach or blame him on this account; for now that the business is finished, and cannot be undone, it is needless to reflect; and as he is in fact, so he must be treated as our husband, whom we have determined to love and obey, and whoever would show themselves our friends, must also be friendly to him who is united with us in indissoluble bonds. Although in some things he behaved carelessly, and even rashly, which we are willing to impute to his excessive affection for us, yet we are anxious that the king, the queen, our uncle, and the rest of our friends, should show him no less kindness, than if every thing, to this date, had been conducted according to their directions; and, on the other hand, we promise, that in every thing which they may require of him, they will always find him ready to gratify them.

xxxix. By these representations, they sought to counteract abroad, the reports which were widely spread against them. At home, in order to provide against domestic commotions, after attaching to themselves, by presents and promises, the

perpetrators, and those who were privy to the king's murder, they endeavoured to form the majority of the nobles into an association, by whose assistance they might set the rest at defiance, or destroy them if they were obstinate. Having, therefore, accordingly assembled a number of the nobility, they produced a written bond for their subscription, the conditions of which were, that they should defend the queen and Bothwell, and all their proceedings, who, on the other hand, were to consult and advance the welfare and advantage of the confederates to the utmost of their power. The greater part who were present, having been tampered with before, subscribed, and the rest, although they saw the impropriety of the oath, yet, perceiving at the same time, the danger of a refusal, did the same. Moray was then sent for, that his authority, which his virtue rendered of the greatest weight, might be obtained. Upon his journey, he was advised by his friends to consult his own safety, and not to spend the night in Seton house, which was occupied by the queen and the principal conspirators, but remain at the seat of some friend in the neighbourhood; to which he answered:—That was not in his power, but, whatever happened, he would never consent to any wicked deed; the rest he would leave to God. When asked to consent to the bond, by the courtiers to whom the queen had intrusted the business, he replied:—That he could neither honestly, nor honourably, enter into this bond with the queen, whom he ought to obey in every lawful command; that at the queen's desire he had been reconciled to Bothwell, and what he had then promised, he would perform to the last tittle; but to enter into any bond or confederacy with him, or with any one else, he neither thought it right nor advantageous to the commonwealth. The queen, after treating him for some days with more flattering attention than usual, promised, in a conversation, that she would explain her opinion to him upon the whole transactions, yet, restrained by shame, she endeavoured by her friends to overcome his repugnance. These, too, overawed by his steady uprightness, dared not openly to propose their requests, and were unable to accomplish any thing in a covert manner. Bothwell at last attacked him, and after several conversations, told

him explicitly that he did not perpetrate the deed of his own accord, nor by himself alone. At which speech, when Moray looked indignantly at him, Bothwell, with harsh and somewhat taunting language, endeavoured to excite his passion, and produce an altercation; he, on the other hand, by answering calmly, afforded no opportunity of quarrelling, protected himself and yet did not recede from his purpose.

XL. After Moray had remained for some days, surrounded by these embarrassments, he at last asked leave of the queen, that as his presence did not appear to be of any service at court, he might retire, either to St. Andrews, or to Moray, for he desired to be at a distance even from the suspicion of being connected with the disturbances, which he foresaw must soon arise. When he could not procure this, neither could remain at the court, without the greatest evident danger, he with much difficulty obtained leave to travel, but upon condition, that he should not abide in England, but proceed through Flanders to Germany, or any where else he chose. But to go to Flanders, he knew was only to precipitate himself into open hazard, he at length, with great difficulty, received permission to proceed through England to France, and thence to wherever he should find it most convenient.

XLI. The queen, thus delivered from a frank and popular nobleman, endeavoured to remove the other impediments to her tyranny, and these were the noblemen who had unwillingly subscribed the approval of her past conduct, and did not seem to acquiesce readily in her future designs. In particular, she hated those who, perceiving that her disposition was not more tender towards her son, than it had been towards her husband, had confederated together at Stirling with no bad intention, but only to protect the safety of the child, for his mother wished to deliver him into the power of his stepfather, who, it was never doubted, would remove the prince the first opportunity, that no avenger of the king's murder might remain, or that there might be no obstacle to his children's inheriting the crown. The chiefs of the conspiracy were the earls of Argyle, Morton, Marr, Athol, and Glencairn, also lord Patrick Lindsay, and Robert Boyd, with their friends and vassals. But Argyle, with the same levity with which he

had joined them, betrayed them a day or two after to the queen, and Boyd was seduced, by magnificent promises, to the adverse party.

XLII. Next to the confederates, those chiefs were suspected who lived on the English border, the Humes, the Kerrs, and the Scots, whose power the queen tried by every method to diminish, and the present occasion appeared very opportune for this purpose; for, when Bothwell prepared an expedition for Liddisdale, to wipe away the disgrace he had received the former year, and by his military fame, diminish in some measure the odium of the king's murder, all the chiefs of Teviotdale, were ordered by the queen to pass to Edinburgh castle, to remain there for a short time, as prisoners at large, under pretence that they could not be trusted in an expedition, undertaken against their inclinations, and might disturb its progress through their envy; and that in their absence, their vassals might be accustomed to obey strangers, and their love to their chieftains be weakened by degrees. But they, thinking some darker design lay hid under that order, proceeded all home in the night, except Andrew Kerr, who was generally believed to be an accomplice of the parricides, and Walter Kerr, of Cessford, whose great integrity rendered him unsuspecting. Hume, although often called by Bothwell, suspecting his intentions, refused to come to court. The expedition, notwithstanding, proceeded, and the queen removed to Borthwick castle, about eight miles from Edinburgh.

XLIII. In the meantime, the nobles who had confederated to protect the prince, as they knew Bothwell's hatred toward them, thought something ought to be attempted, both for securing their own safety and for wiping away the public infamy from the Scottish name, among foreign nations, by bringing the authors of the king's murder to punishment. Imagining, therefore, that the public would favour their attempt, they collected two thousand horse so quietly, that the queen heard nothing of what was in agitation, till Hume, with a part of the army, advanced upon Borthwick, and besieged her there, along with Bothwell; but when the other part of the confederates did not assemble at the time appointed, and he had not himself a sufficient number of troops to shut up

every avenue, and being besides, becoming rather careless in his operations, because he supposed the attempt given up by the rest, Bothwell first escaped, and afterward the queen, in men's clothes, and proceeded direct to Dunbar. The earl of Athol prevented the confederates from being forward in time, for, either alarmed at the magnitude of the undertaking, or kept back by his own sluggish disposition, he detained the others at Stirling, till the opportunity was lost. But lest they should seem to have done nothing, after such preparations, the greater part were sent to besiege Edinburgh. James Balfour, the governor of the castle, appointed by Bothwell, one of the chief of the parricides, and either the author, or privy to all their designs, when he did not receive the reward of his services, and perceived that he was not treated by the queen and Bothwell, with the gratitude that he had expected, for they had attempted to take the command of the castle from him, turned out the adherents of both factions, and kept the place in his own power. He then promised the confederate lords, that he would not harm them, and negotiated with them about the terms for delivering the garrison into their hands.

XLIV. A number of the queen's faction then in town, John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, George Gordon, earl of Huntly, and John Leslie, bishop of Ross, when they perceived that the enemy would be received into the city, went to the cross, and offered themselves as leaders to the multitude, but when only a few joined them, they were driven away, and forced to seek refuge in the castle. They were admitted into the fortress by Balfour, who kept them a few days and then sent them away safe by the opposite side; for, Balfour not yet having closed with the other party, was unwilling to preclude himself from all hopes of pardon with theirs. The town readily acceded to the confederacy of the nobles, having within a short time, been frequently oppressed by the queen with new taxes, and because in the present emergency, they expected no moderation; they were universally hostile to the tyranny of the queen's faction, and as often as opportunity was afforded them for declaring their sentiments, they openly execrated their conduct. While the con-

federates tardily carried on their operations before Borthwick, the queen and Bothwell, who, by the carelessness of the watch, had escaped during the night, reached the castle of Dunbar, which they had strongly fortified. Upon their arrival there, a great change of affairs followed; they who were but now in the utmost despair, by the confluence from all quarters, of those who were either united in crime with them, or who sought the shade of the royal name, seemed to themselves sufficiently strong to humble their adversaries. On the other hand, the assertors of liberty were placed in the greatest difficulty, for, contrary to their expectation, few were attracted by the report of their glorious attempt. The ardour of the common people, as usual, quickly subsided, and a great part of the nobility either opposed them, or waited the event of their hazardous enterprise; besides, had they been superior in numbers, they were deficient in artillery for besieging the castle.

XLV. Wherefore, perceiving no likelihood of their plans being successful at present, and almost reduced to extremity, they already deliberated about dispersing, without accomplishing their design. The queen decided their doubts, for her forces inspiring her with courage, she resolved to march with the multitude she had with her to Leith, that she might risk her fortune in the neighbourhood, thinking that a greater number would meet her advance, and that her boldness would at the same time strike her enemies with terror; for her former success had so elated her, that she thought nobody would be able to oppose her, and her flatterers, particularly Edmond Hay, a lawyer, increased her confidence. He affirmed that every thing was open to her courage, and that her enemies, without means, and without a plan, would disperse at the report of her approach. But the real state of affairs was extremely different, and nothing in her circumstances would have been so useful to her as delay; for if she had only continued three days in Dunbar castle, the assertors of public justice, destitute of all warlike stores, having attempted their liberty in vain, would have been forced to disperse. Yet, notwithstanding this obvious fact, impelled either by her wretched counsel, or her more faithless hopes, she moved

from Dunbar, and marching slowly, distributed, as she went along, arms among the countrymen she collected from the vicinity. At length, they arrived at night at the village of Seton, and because the place could not contain so great a multitude, they were divided among the two neighbouring villages, both called Preston.

XLVI. The alarming intelligence thence reached Edinburgh a little before midnight, and immediately on the signal being given, the Reformed ran to arms. Awakened confusedly from their sleep, every one, as fast as he could, hastened to the adjoining plain, and about sunrise, a numerous body having collected, they formed in order, and marched to Musselburgh, to pass the river Esk, before the bridge and fords were seized by the enemy. This village is only two miles distant from Preston. Here, when they saw nobody to oppose them, nor perceived any thing moving, having placed watches, they refreshed themselves. In the meantime, their patrols falling in with a few horse, drove them back upon the village, but fearing an ambuscade, durst not proceed farther. They returned without any certain intelligence, except that the enemy were upon their march, on which, the Reformed, having left Musselburgh, saw the enemy drawn up in order of battle, upon the top of the opposite ridge. The hill was so steep, that they could not approach them without danger, they therefore inclined a little to the right, that they might have at once the sun on their back, ascend a gentler acclivity, and fight on less unequal terms. This movement at first deceived the queen, who thought they fled, and were running for Dalkeith, a small town belonging to the earl of Morton, near at hand, for she had persuaded herself that they would so reverence the name of royalty, that no one would dare to appear against her. But it soon appeared, that as authority is procured by good conduct, it may be lost by bad, and majesty, when destitute of virtue, vanishes like a shadow. On the march, the population of Dalkeith brought every kind of provisions in abundance, and the army having refreshed themselves, and satiated their thirst, which was chiefly distressing, when they reached a place where the ground becomes equal, they marched against the enemy in two lines, the first commanded by the earl of

Morton, assisted by Alexander Hume, with his vassals. The earls of Glencairn, Marr, and Athol, led the second.

XLVII. When they halted, drawn up in order of battle, Le Croc, the French ambassador, came to them. Through the medium of an interpreter, he expressed how much he had always studied the advantage, and public tranquillity of Scotland; that he was now equally anxious, and desired, if it were possible, that the dissention might be adjusted without violence or slaughter, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, for which he offered his service, adding, that the queen was not disinclined to peace; and to prove her sincerity, she promised them pardon for the present, and oblivion of the past, and solemnly declared, no one would suffer for having taken arms against the supreme magistrate. When the interpreter had thus spoken, Morton replied, they had not taken arms against the queen, but against the murderers of the king, whom, if the queen would deliver up to punishment, or separate herself from, she would perceive that nothing was more desired by him and her other subjects, than to evince their duty to her, but otherwise, there could be no agreement. Glencairn added, they had not assembled in arms to ask pardon, but rather to give it. Le Croc, seeing their determination, as he knew the truth of their complaints, and the equity of their demands, requested a passport, and set out for Edinburgh.

XLVIII. In the meantime, the queen's army occupied the old English camp. It was on a hill, higher than the rest, surrounded with a rampart and ditch, there Bothwell, mounted on a conspicuous charger, challenged, by herald, any of his accusers, to decide the contest by single combat, when a young nobleman, of the opposite army, stepped forward, James Murray, the same who had formerly offered himself as his antagonist, by an anonymous placard, as mentioned before; but Bothwell refused him, as not his equal in wealth or dignity, on which, William Murray, James' eldest brother, advanced, and affirming, that if in this business, money were set aside, he was as powerful as Bothwell, and superior to him in the antiquity of his family, and the integrity of his character. But he refused him likewise, as being only a knight, and of the second rank. On which, many of the first rank, in par-

particular, lord Patrick Lindsay, offered himself, who begged, as the sole reward of all the labours he had undergone for the safety of Scotland, and the preservation of her glory, to be permitted to fight with Bothwell. Here too, Bothwell shuffled, and when he could not honourably get off, the queen interposed her authority, and forbidding the combat, ended the contention. She then rode round the army, and tried the dispositions of the soldiers. The relations and vassals of Bothwell were anxious to engage; the others, on being addressed, said there were many skilful and experienced warriors in the opposite army; that the battle would be hazardous for the queen, as for themselves they were ready to fight, but the common people, of whom there were a great number, abhorred the cause. It seemed likewise, far more equitable, that Bothwell should defend his own cause, than that so many noble persons, and in particular the sovereign herself, should be exposed to hazard. But if she were so very desirous to fight, the battle might be deferred till next day, as the Hamiltons were said to be approaching with five hundred horse, and could not be far distant, on whose junction a decisive engagement might with greater safety be risked, especially, as the earl of Huntly, and John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, had already convoked their relations and vassals at Hamilton, and on the next day, would have arrived to their aid.

XLIX. Enraged at these speeches, and weeping violently, the queen reproached the nobles, and despatched a messenger to the opposite army, desiring them to send William Kirkaldy of Grange to her, as she wished to treat with him about terms, and, in the meantime, that their army should halt. The forces of the confederates, in consequence, halted in a low situation at a short distance, where the superior artillery of their opponents could not hurt them. While the queen held Kirkaldy in conversation, she ordered Bothwell, for whose sake the pretended conference was sought, to provide for himself; and he departed with so much trepidation towards Dunbar, that he ordered two horsemen, who accompanied him, to return. So conscious was he himself of a base heart, that he durst not even trust his friends. She, after she thought him

beyond the reach of danger, agreed with Kirkaldy, that the rest of the army should disperse quietly, and went with him to the nobles, dressed only in a short, shabby robe, that scarcely reached below her knee. On her arrival there, she was received by the first line with the marks of former respect; she then asked that she should be sent away to meet the Hamiltons, who, she said, were approaching, and promised that she would return, having ordered Morton to be her surety, for she hoped, by flattering promises, to effect what she wished; but when she could not obtain this, she broke out into the most bitter language, reproaching the leaders with the favours they had received from her; all which they heard in silence. When she came to the second line, there was an universal cry raised of:—Burn the harlot! Burn the murderer! The soldiers had among them a standard, on which king Henry's dead body was painted, and near it his infant son, praying to God for vengeance on the parricides. This standard two soldiers carried, fixed upon two spears, and wherever she turned, presented it before her. At this sight she almost fainted, and became so ill, that she would have fallen from her horse, if she had not been supported; but recovering, she abated nothing of her former boldness, and poured forth a torrent of threatenings, reproaches, tears, and other expressions by which women display their grief. During the march she created every possible delay, in expectation that some assistance would appear; on which, one of the crowd exclaimed:—You need not look for the Hamiltons, there are no armed men within many miles. At length, at night, she entered Edinburgh—the whole people crowding to see the spectacle—her face so disfigured with dust and tears, as if she had had dirt thrown on it. She passed amid the utmost silence through the greater part of the city, the streets of which were so crowded, that room was scarcely left for one abreast to pass. As she was ascending the stair to her lodging, a woman from the mob, prayed God bless her, on which she turned to the people, and promised, among other threats, that she would burn the city, and quench the flames with the blood of its inhabitants. But when she showed herself weeping at the window, when a great concourse of people had collected, and

there were some who commiserated this sudden change of fortune, the standard, formerly mentioned, was immediately held up to her, on which she instantly shut the window, and retired hastily within. After she had remained there two days, she was, by a decree of the nobles, sent prisoner to Lochleven castle; for Balfour still retained that of Edinburgh, who, although he favoured the cause of the vindicators of liberty, had not yet finally settled with them about delivering up the fortress.

L. While these transactions were taking place in Scotland, the bishop of Dunblane, who had been sent ambassador to France to excuse the marriage of the queen, ignorant of all that had happened since he left home, arrived at court during the very time in which these last circumstances had occurred, and had a day of audience appointed, on which to deliver his instructions. By accident, on the same day, two despatches were brought to the king and his mother, the one from Le Croc, the French ambassador, the other from Ninian Cockburn, who had served as a commander of horse some years in France, and both contained accounts of the late transactions in Scotland. When the Scottish ambassador was introduced, he began a long elaborate oration, partly excusing the queen for contracting a marriage without consulting her allies, and partly eulogizing Bothwell in terms far beyond the truth; on which, the French queen interrupted his harangue, by producing the letters from Scotland, containing the information of the capture of the queen of the Scots, and the flight of Bothwell; and he, struck with the unexpected bad tidings, was silent. Some of the courtiers present grinned, and some laughed at this unlooked for reverse, but every one thought it was not unmerited.

LI. About the same time, Bothwell sent one of his most confidential servants to the castle of Edinburgh, to bring to him a small silver casket, which, from the inscriptions upon it, appeared to have belonged to Francis, king of France. In it were contained letters, almost all written with the queen's own hand, by which the murder of the king, and nearly every thing else that followed was clearly discovered, to each of which it was generally added:—Let this be burned as soon as

read. But Bothwell, who knew the queen's inconstancy, of which he had seen many examples within a few years, preserved the letters, that if any dispute should arise with her, he might use them as evidence, that he was not the author, but an accomplice in the king's murder. This casket, Balfour gave to Bothwell's servant to be carried to him, but first sent notice to the chiefs of the adverse party, what, by whom, and whither he had sent it; upon which, the messenger being taken, many and great discoveries were made, of what had formerly been but matter of suspicion; indeed, the whole crime was completely laid open.

LII. Bothwell, unsuccessful in all his attempts, destitute of all assistance, and of every hope of regaining the kingdom, fled first to the Orkneys, and next to the Shetland islands, where, reduced to the greatest extremity, he commenced pirate. But the queen, when some of the nobles entreated her to separate her cause from his—for punishment being inflicted upon him, she might easily, and unanimously have been reinstated on her throne—that haughty princess, bearing still the spirit of her former fortune, and exasperated by her present distresses, replied, she would cheerfully endure with him the most extreme hardships of ill fortune, rather than pass her life in royal splendour without him.

LIII. The nobles, too, were divided in opinion; for the avengers of the parricide thought, that at the report of such a noble exploit, if not all, yet the better part of the community would join them; but it happened quite otherwise. The popular hatred, weakened partly by time, and partly by reflecting on the inconstancy of human affairs, was turned into compassion; nor were there wanting some of the nobility, who then lamented the calamity of the queen, as much as formerly they had execrated her cruelty, both of which they had done more from fickleness, than from any regard to either circumstance; which plainly evinced, that in the general confusion, they rather followed the dictates of private interest, than of public advantage. Many were desirous of ease, and weighed the power of the parties, in order to join with the strongest; but the strongest party, it was thought, consisted of those who had either consented to the murder, or, after it was per-

petrated, had, from deference to the queen, supported the crimes of others. The chief of these, having assembled at Hamilton, trusting to the strength of their confederacy, neither wished to receive any messages from the adverse faction for establishing a common peace, nor would they refrain from using contumelious language towards them, and they were the bolder, because a number of nobles, who looked more to the turn of fortune than the equity of a cause, had not joined the assertors of liberty, and whoever had not joined them, they reckoned as belonging to their own party. They likewise considered it arrogant in the assertors to have entered the capital of the kingdom before acquainting them, who were both more numerous and powerful. The opposite party, although they had not imperiously ordered, but humbly requested their attendance, yet, that no ground might remain for accusing them of arrogance, procured the ministers of the church to write a general letter, addressed to all, and likewise individually to each, that they ought not, in so perilous a time, to disturb the common concord, but, laying aside all private animosities, they should consider what was most expedient for the public weal. But these letters had as little effect upon the adverse faction, as those the nobles had formerly sent, all returning the same excuses, as if by general consent. Afterward the queen's faction met in several places, but not being able to accomplish any thing, dispersed.

LIV. The avengers of the public parricide, in the meanwhile, negotiated with the queen—whom they could not separate from the authors of the murder—that she should resign the crown, and, under the excuse of infirm health, or any other honourable pretence, commit the charge of her son, and the administration of the government, to any of the nobles she chose. At last, with great reluctance, she nominated tutors to her son—James, earl of Moray, if he, upon his return, did not refuse the charge, James, duke of Chatellerault, Matthew, earl of Lennox, Gillespie, earl of Argyle, John, earl of Athol, James, earl of Morton, Alexander of Glencairn, and John, earl of Marr. Procurators were, at the same time, sent to see the king enthroned at Stirling, or wherever else it was most convenient, and proclaim the com-

mencement of his reign. This took place on the 25th of July, A. D. 1567.

LV. A few days before, James, earl of Moray, when he understood the state of affairs at home, returned through France. He was received at that court with sufficient politeness, but by no means so favourably as Hamilton, whose faction, the French king believed, were more firmly attached to his interest, and that chiefly through the endeavours of the Guises, who opposed all Moray's undertakings. After he was dismissed, the archbishop of Glasgow, who called himself the ambassador of the queen of the Scots, persuaded the court that Moray, though absent, was yet the chief of the adverse faction; that the opposition had formerly been carried on by his direction, and now he was sent for as their leader by his associates. In consequence of these representations, messengers were despatched to bring him back; but he, being warned by his friends, had sailed from Dieppe before the king's letters arrived at that port, and landing in England, he was received by all ranks with the greatest distinction, and conveyed honourably home. His return was hailed with the most lively demonstrations of joy by the people, but particularly by the assertors of public liberty, who all earnestly entreated him to assume the government during the infancy of the king, his sister's son, for he alone, either on account of his propinquity, or his approved courage, or the favour his numerous merits had procured, and the request of the queen, could enjoy that honour with the least possible envy. Moray, although convinced of the propriety of the request, yet required a few days for deliberation. In the meantime, he wrote urgently to the chiefs of the other factions, and especially to Argyle, who, on account of his relationship, and their ancient intimacy, he least of all wished to offend. He showed him in what situation he was placed, and what the party of the infant king required of him; he entreated him, by their common blood, by their friendship, and the safety of their common country, to give him an opportunity of consulting with him, that by his assistance, he might relieve himself and his country from these difficulties. To the rest he wrote according to their situation and circumstances. From all he requested in common, that

seeing the country was in such confusion, that it was impossible to exist long without a supreme magistrate, they should meet as soon as possible, in whatever place was most convenient, and provide, by universal consent, for the security of the government. At length, when he could neither obtain a conference with the one party, nor a delay from the other, he was, with the universal approval of all present, elected **REGENT !**

CVIII. JAMES VI.

LVI. On the 29th of August, after an animated discourse, delivered by John Knox, James VI. was crowned. James, earl of Morton, and Alexander Hume, took the oaths for him, that he would observe the laws, and maintain the religion then publicly taught, preserve it as far as he could, and oppose every thing contrary to it. Soon after, those who had assembled at Hamilton, complained, that a petty number of the nobles, and these not the most powerful, had, without waiting for their consent, settled the government according to their own pleasure. But, notwithstanding their solicitations among the rest of the nobility, very few joined their party, except those who had met them at first, for the greater number were rather inclined to be spectators, than actors in these transactions. At last they wrote to the regent, that Argyle was ready to attend a conference with the earl of Moray. These letters, which were addressed to the earl of Moray, without any higher title, were, by the advice of the council, refused, and the messenger dismissed, almost without an answer ; but Argyle knowing what was offensive in the letters, and having perfect confidence in the regent's friendship, came to Edinburgh, with a few of the chiefs of his faction, where, being satisfied that it was not through contempt of any who were absent, but from the urgent necessity of the case, that the chief magistrate was so hurriedly created, a few days after, he attended the public convention of the estates.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XIX.

I. THE king being crowned, and the power of the regent nearly established, there was some respite from violence and arms. But the peace was faithless and insecure; the unsettled state of the public mind, and the undisguised indignation of many, seemed to portend some sudden mischief. In this state of uncertainty, all eyes were turned towards the next parliament. The day of meeting was the 25th of August, and the attendance was more numerous than had ever before been witnessed. There the authority of the regent was confirmed, but they differed in their opinions with respect to the queen; for as the whole contrivance of the cruel deed was, by many proofs and testimonies, but particularly by her own letters to Bothwell, clearly fixed upon her, some, induced by the atrocity of the crime, and some, who, having been admitted to a knowledge of the fact by the queen, wished to remove the evidence of their common crime, thought that she ought to suffer punishment according to law. The majority, however, decreed to keep her in custody.

II. After the parliament rose, the winter was spent in establishing courts, and punishing delinquents. The French and English ambassadors were admitted to an audience, but neither were permitted to visit the queen, she being considered as a prisoner of state. Bothwell alone remained in arms, a fleet was sent to apprehend him, for he had commenced pirate, and was roving among the Orkney, and more distant islands, but such was the public poverty, that the money necessary for fitting it out, was borrowed from James Douglas, the earl of

Morton, who supplied the necessity of the state from his private purse. Bothwell, trusting to the boisterous sea, particularly tempestuous during winter, and the empty treasury, which he himself had exhausted, lived almost in a state of security, and was nearly surprised by the sudden arrival of William Kirkaldy, of Grange, who commanded the fleet. A part of his associates were taken, he himself escaped, along with a few followers, by the opposite side of the island, among the rocks and shallows, where large ships could not approach, and soon after, sailed for Denmark, where, not being able to give any satisfactory account of himself, he was thrown into prison, and being recognised by some merchants, was committed to the closest custody. After nearly ten years' imprisonment, the loathsomeness of his dungeon, combined with other miseries, drove him distracted, and his infamous life closed in merited wretchedness.

III. In the beginning of next spring, the regent resolved to make a circuit of the whole kingdom, and hold justiciary courts, to take cognizance of the disorders which had occurred during the late unsettled state of the kingdom, a determination which variously affected various descriptions of people. The adverse faction declaimed against the severity, or, as they called it, the cruelty of the regent, formidable indeed, to those who, on account of the magnitude of their crimes, could not endure either laws or equity, after so great licentiousness of the late past times; but were the queen at liberty, some flattered themselves with the hopes of impunity, and others with the hopes of reward. Thus many, even of those who had been the principal means of taking her captive, were induced to espouse the cause of the opposite faction. Maitland, in proportion as he favoured the queen's interest, hated Bothwell as a perfidious villain, from whom his own life was in danger, and because he despaired of overturning him as long as the queen lived, was induced to consent to that party in parliament, who would have executed justice according to the laws and customs of our ancestors. James Balfour was in the same situation, for he esteemed Bothwell his implacable enemy, and both, it was suspected, were privy to the design of the king's death. But Bothwell being taken, and thrown into prison in

Denmark, they turned their thoughts to the queen's liberation, not only because they expected from her more readily impunity for their common crime, but because they believed she who had removed her husband, would not deal more gently to her son, whose infancy, and the shade of the royal name, excluded her from the government, which they considered requisite for their security, lest the son, when he arrived at maturity, should become the avenger of his father's murder. There were besides, pretty strong conjectures, that the queen herself was not averse to such a deed. She had often been heard to say, The boy would not live long, for she had been informed at Paris, by a learned mathematician, that her first child would not live beyond a year; and it was believed, in this expectation she had, sometime ago, gone to Stirling to carry the infant to Edinburgh along with her, owing to which suspicion, the governor of the castle would not allow the boy to be taken from him, and a great number of the nobility, collected at Stirling, confederated to protect the prince. The Hamiltons likewise, strained every nerve to liberate the queen, because if the young prince were removed by her, they themselves would be advanced one step nearer the throne, and she then, without much trouble or danger, could also be cut off; for, hated on account of so many crimes, she would naturally, after being restored, exercise with greater cruelty than before, the tyranny which had been interrupted. Argyle and Huntly favoured the hopes, and desired the success of the Hamiltons, the mother of the one, and the wife of the other being of that family. But they had likewise their private reasons, for it was understood neither had been unacquainted with the faults of the queen. William Murray, of Tullibardine, dissatisfied on account of his difference in religion, had also a private quarrel with the regent, and although he had rendered the most important assistance in taking the queen, now not only left the royal party, but, on great expectations of advantage being held out to him, carried a great body of his friends along with him. These were the principal persons concerned in the liberation of the queen. But there were many others, whom domestic necessity, or private hatred, or the desire of revenge, or the hope of advancement, induced to join the same party, besides

these who were allied by propinquity, or other bonds, with those I have mentioned.

iv. In this perturbed state of the country, the regent remained firm, equally unmoved by the entreaties of his friends, and the threats of his enemies. Even when libels were published openly, avowing their hatred, and expressing their desire of revenge, and some astrologers, who knew of the existence of the conspiracy, had named the day before which he would die, still he continued steady to his purpose, and often said, he knew perfectly he must die sometime, but he could not possibly die more honourably, than in procuring public tranquillity. Wherefore, having called a parliament at Glasgow, he ordered the Lennox men, and those of Renfrew and Clydesdale to attend; while there, engaged in administering justice, and punishing offenders, the plans which had been so long in agitation for liberating the queen, were brought to a conclusion.

v. In Lochleven castle, where the queen was confined, there were the regent's mother, his three brothers by another father, besides a crowd of women, but no one was admitted to see the queen, except such as were well known, or were sent by the regent. Among her domestics, the queen singled out George Douglas, the regent's youngest brother, a youth of an amiable disposition, and of an age easily captivated by female allurements, as best adapted for her purpose. He being accustomed frequently to attend her at a species of game, with which she used to amuse her leisure, after some familiar intercourse with her, undertook to corrupt the inferior servants of the castle, some by gifts, and others by promises. Nor, after she had intrusted herself to him, and hoped, by his means, to regain her liberty, could she allow herself to deny him any thing. George, therefore, having secured his own safety, and excited by the hope of future riches and power, with the connivance of his mother, as is believed, set himself vigorously to accomplish what he had undertaken. But although some persons perceived what was in agitation, and informed the regent, he confided so much in the fidelity of his relations, that he changed none of the original guard, except that he ordered George to leave the island, on which, he withdrew to

the next village on the shore of the loch, where he communicated with the queen about the enterprise, through the medium of the servants he had bribed, more freely than before. And now, not only the dissatisfied Scots were admitted into the plot, but the French likewise were solicited to aid it, by James Hamilton, the former regent, and James Beaton, the archbishop of Glasgow—the Scots to perform the work, the French to supply the money.

vi. Toward the end of April, an ambassador came from France, and demanded, in the name of his king, that he should be allowed to visit the queen, and pretended, if that were refused, that he would immediately depart. The regent denied that he possessed the power, the queen not having been committed to prison by him, nor could he do any thing in the matter, without consulting those who had at first confined her, and afterward obtained an act of parliament, approving what they had done; that he would gratify, as far as he could, his sister, and his ally the king, and on the 20th of next month, would convene the parliament for that purpose. With that answer the ambassador appeared satisfied, and the regent proceeded with the administration of justice. In the meantime, the queen, having bribed the master of a small vessel, and sending away the rest of her attendants under various pretexts, escaped from the loch. The news of her flight being told to the guards, who were at dinner, a fruitless noise was made, for all the boats were hauled up on dry ground, and the apertures for the oars destroyed, which prevented any immediate pursuit. The queen was received by horsemen, who were waiting for her on the shore, and escorted her to the houses of the partisans, whence, next day, May 3d, she came with a great train to Hamilton, eight miles distant from Glasgow.

vii. The noise of the queen's escape having spread widely, multitudes flocked to her, who either distrusted the royal party, as not yet sufficiently secure, or who were in expectation of fresh favours from the queen, or relied on the remembrance of their old services. In this confusion, numbers openly discovered themselves, while many, having secretly obtained pardon for their past offences, waited the chances of

fortune, and lingered with the regent. But while the defection of others occasioned little surprise, the departure of Robert Boyd, who till that day had possessed the highest reputation for constancy, occasioned much speculation. He, upon the wreck of that noble family—noticed in the life of James III.—being educated by his father, a brave man, emulous of ancient parsimony, in a frugal and circumscribed manner, followed the same course as his relations, and attached himself to the more powerful families, in order to pave the way for restoring to its ancient vigour, his own stem, lately so flourishing. Wherefore, his father and himself first applied to the Hamiltons, then in office; but, upon the regency being transferred to the queen dowager, when the tumults arose about the controversies in religion, he joined himself to the Reformed, to whom his father had been strongly averse, which faction then appeared strongest, and remained with it till the return of the queen from France, and raised so great an opinion of his constancy, fortitude, and prudence, that Gillespie, earl of Argyle, was swayed almost entirely by his advice. But when it happened that some of the chief nobles confederated to protect the king, he too subscribed the bond; yet, with equal levity, he and Argyle, who was then ruled by him, informed the queen of what had been transacted at that meeting, and from that time, Boyd had been a participator of all the queen's counsels against his ancient friends, a conduct which stamped him, in their opinion, as fickle and deceitful. Upon the queen's being confined, however, Boyd attached himself to the regent, Moray, who respected his ability and industry so much, that he admitted him into his privy council, and whatever sentiments might be entertained with regard to him otherwise, he merited the highest commendation for his conduct in the capital trials before the regent at Glasgow; but when he perceived the prospect of a civil war, he secretly withdrew to the queen, whence he sent, however, his son with letters to the earl of Morton, excusing his departure, alleging that perhaps he would not be of less service to the king's party, than if he had remained with him. His defection, therefore, on account of the high opinion numbers entertained of his manners, gave rise to many observations.

VIII. Meanwhile, it was keenly disputed in the regent's council, whether they should remain where they were, or go to Stirling, where the king was. Many strongly advised to depart; they urged that the populous village of Hamilton was in the neighbourhood, and the numerous vassals of that powerful family were spread around everywhere; that about five hundred horse had arrived with the queen, and many more reported on their march from the remote districts, while there remained with the regent only his own friends, the rest having gone, some to join the queen, and some to attend their individual concerns, as if it had been a season of profound tranquillity, and although the inhabitants of Glasgow appeared sufficiently faithful, having suffered many and great losses from the Hamiltons when in power, yet the town was large, thinly inhabited, and open on every side. On the other hand, it was contended that almost every thing depended on the first blow; that a retreat would be infamous, and next to a flight; that all appearance of fear ought then particularly to be avoided, lest the spirits of the enemy should be raised, and their own troops disheartened; that the powerful families of Cunningham and Semple were on the one side, and Lennox, the king's peculiar patrimony, on the other, whence the nearest re-enforcements could join in a few hours, the rest, next day, or on the third at farthest; and till assistance should arrive from a greater distance, they were sufficiently strong, especially when joined by the citizens.

IX. The latter opinion prevailed in the council. The French ambassador passed between the parties, rather like a spy than as a peace-maker, which he pretended to be, and when at first he saw the small number of troops which were at Glasgow, and the appearance of the great multitude around Hamilton, he strenuously advised the queen to give battle. Already, however, the regent had collected his friends from the nearest places, and waited those at a distance from Merse and Lothian. They, when these arrived, were about six hundred chosen men, whom, having allowed to rest one day, he determined to march to Hamilton, and, if possible, immediately bring on an engagement, for delay, he thought, would be hurtful to his party, and favourable to the enemy, who

were most popular in the most distant parts of the country. In two days after, early in the morning, he received certain information that the enemy were collecting from the several places where they were quartered, as they trusted to their numbers, which amounted to six thousand five hundred men, and knew there were hardly above four thousand with the regent, and had determined to march beyond Glasgow, and after leaving the queen in Dunbarton castle, either to fight or lengthen out the war as they saw it convenient, or, if the regent should oppose them, which they did not expect, give him battle immediately, never doubting of the issue.

x. The regent, who had previously resolved to provoke the enemy to engage, immediately led his troops into the open fields before the town, where he thought the enemy would come, and stood for some hours drawn up in battle array; but when he saw their army upon the farther bank of the river, he immediately comprehended their design, and ordered his own to cross, the foot by the bridge, and the horse by the fords, and march towards Langside, through which the enemy's road lay. This village is situate on the river Cart, at the foot of a hill, running south-west; on the east and north the approach is steep, the other sides decline gently to a plain; thither Moray hastened with so much speed, that the king's forces almost occupied the hill before the enemy was aware of their intention, although they hurried thither by a shorter route; but two adverse circumstances happened to them, which were of great advantage to the royalists. First, Gillespie Campbell, earl of Argyle, their commander-in-chief, was suddenly taken ill, and falling from his horse, occasioned some delay in their movements; and next, their army, occasionally descending into narrow vallies, never saw the whole of the royal forces at once, which made them believe they were so few—nor were they numerous—that they despised both them and the disadvantage of the ground. At length the queen's army, when they advanced nearer, and perceived the situation they desired occupied by the enemy, took possession of a gently rising hill opposite, and divided their force into two lines; in the first they placed their chief strength, calculating that if it broke the opposite line, the others would

never stand an attack. The leaders of the king's army, likewise, divided their forces into two battalions. On the right were James Douglas, earl of Morton, Robert Semple, Alexander Hume, and Patrick Lindsay, each at the head of his vassals; on the left, John, earl of Marr, Alexander, earl of Glencairn, William, earl of Monteith, and the citizens of Glasgow; the musqueteers lined the village below, and the gardens near the public road.

x1. Both armies being thus arranged, the queen's artillery were attacked, and driven from their ground by the king's troops. The king's cavalry, on the other hand, being greatly inferior, were dispersed by their opponents, who, after having performed this service, in order to throw the foot likewise into confusion, advanced to attack the line drawn up on the hill, but were driven back by the royal archers, and a part of the horse who had rallied in the flight, and returned to the charge. In the meantime, the enemy's left wing advanced along the highway, which was a declivity lower down the valley, and although annoyed on their march by the musqueteers, yet, on emerging from the glen, formed regularly into line. Here they were opposed by two battalions of spearmen, each presenting a dense rampart, and the struggle was fiercely and obstinately contested for upwards of half an hour, those of them whose spears were broken, drawing their daggers, throwing stones, fragments of lances, or whatever missile they could lay their hands on, in the faces of their enemy. At this crisis, some of the rear rank of the king's party—whether through cowardice or treachery is uncertain—took to flight, and would undoubtedly have disordered the combatants, had not the depth of their array prevented those in front from knowing what was occurring in rear. The second division observing the danger, and being themselves disengaged, threw forward some entire regiments to the right, and re-enforced the first line. Their adversaries incapable of withstanding the united attack, were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and universally fled. Urged by hatred and private revenge, the slaughter of the fugitives would have been terrible, had not the regent sent horsemen in every direction to stop the carnage. That division of the second line of the king's army,

which had till now remained entire, when they observed the enemy routed, and flying in disorder, likewise broke their ranks and pursued.

XII. The queen, who had stood a spectator of the action, about a mile distant from the field, on perceiving all lost, fled towards England, with the horse of her party, who came unbroken out of the battle. The rest returned each to his home with as much expedition as possible. Few fell in the engagement, but many, scattered over the country, fatigued and weary, were slain in the pursuit. The amount of the killed was about three hundred; the prisoners were more numerous. Of the king's troops there were not many wounded, but among them were lord Alexander Hume, and Andrew Stewart, and only one killed. The victorious army, except a small number of horse who continued the pursuit, returned rejoicing to Glasgow, and after rendering thanks to God, who gave an almost bloodless victory to the cause of justice and equity, against a brave enemy so superior in numbers, congratulating each other, separated, and went to dinner. This battle was fought on the 13th of May, eleven days after the queen had escaped from prison. The French ambassador, who had waited the event of the battle, and had confidently expected the queen to prove victorious, disappointed in his expectation, threw off his mask, and without waiting upon the regent, to whom he pretended he was sent, took horses, and guides, and set off for the nearest part of England. Being robbed upon his journey, James Douglas, laird of Drumlanric, although he knew him to be friendly to the enemy, yet respecting the name of ambassador, which he bore, procured the restoration of the property which had been taken from him. The regent spent the remainder of the day, on which the battle was fought, in inspecting the prisoners; some he freely discharged, others he dismissed on giving surety for their peaceable behaviour. The chiefs he detained, especially those who were of the Hamilton family, and distributed them in various prisons. Next day, knowing how much that clan was hated among their neighbours, he took with him only five hundred horse, forbidding the rest of the army to follow, and marched to Clydesdale, which he found almost

wholly deserted, the inhabitants considering rather what they deserved, than placing any reliance on the clemency of the regent, although they had already amply experienced it. He took the castles of Hamilton and Draffan, both quite empty, except Hamilton, where he found some of the furniture of James V. The same terror drove the queen to England, either because she thought no place in that quarter of Scotland sufficiently safe, or because she had little confidence in John Maxwell of Herries.

XIII. The regent, having procured a temporary tranquillity, summoned parliament to meet in the month of —. Many endeavours were used to prevent this by the adverse faction. Rumours were everywhere spread of the approach of French auxiliaries; nor were they wholly without foundation; for some regiments marched to the sea coast, under Martigues, an active officer of the Luxemburgh family, to be transported with all expedition to Scotland; and they would have come, had not the civil war, suddenly breaking out in France, prevented them. But this event would not have been so formidable to the regent as his enemies imagined, for it would have alienated England from them, and joined it more closely to him. Argyle, too, with six hundred of his clan, came to Glasgow, where, after conferring with Hamilton and some of his faction, about preventing the assembling of the estates, perceiving no means of accomplishing their purpose, they returned home; and Huntly, having collected about one thousand foot to watch the day of meeting, marched to Perth; where, finding the fords of the river Tay guarded by William Ruthven and the neighbouring nobility, he retreated without attempting any thing. At the same time, letters were obtained by the public enemy from the queen of England, addressed to the regent, desiring him to delay assembling the parliament, and likewise requesting that he would not precipitate the trial of the rebels until she was more fully acquainted with the whole subject, as she could not with honour overlook the danger of a queen, a neighbour and a relation, so nearly allied to herself, who had complained to her heavily of the injuries she had received from her subjects. This concession, although it seemed unimportant, yet if the rebels could have obtained

it, they hoped they would have gained every thing, as that delay and trifling would have allowed them to recruit their strength and spirits, and must have weakened that of the enemy, especially as any delay on the part of the king's party would have been ascribed to fear; and, besides, they themselves had determined, in the interim, to call a parliament in the queen's name. But the regent, perceiving how necessary it was to proceed in assembling the parliament, determined to hold it on the day appointed, even although all the strength of his opponents were united to oppose it.

XIV. In the parliament it was debated with great keenness, whether all, without exception, who had borne arms against the king, should be declared guilty of high treason, and their estates confiscated. William Maitland, however, who still secretly favoured the rebels, obtained that a few only should be condemned at present as a terror to the rest, and the hopes of mercy be held out to the others, if they returned to their duty. This proceeding wonderfully increased the conspiracy of the rebels, and encouraged their obstinacy, when they saw the punishment of their own crimes deferred, and were assured that neither the queen, her neighbour and relation, nor the Guises, who were then so powerful at the French court, nor the French king himself, would patiently endure such an invasion of the royal prerogative; nor even if they were deserted by them, did they think themselves so weak as to be unable to defend their own cause, as they were both numerous and powerful, and wanted nothing to secure a victory, except the empty shadow of the royal name, which had been usurped by force. The regent, in the meantime, wholly occupied in restoring public tranquillity, having slightly fined a few of the neighbouring chiefs, received them into favour. The earl of Rothes, on the intercession of his friends, was banished for three years; others he earnestly entreated, by their mutual acquaintances, to return to their allegiance; but when he saw that many of them were obstinate, and bent on revenge, he levied an army, and marched into Annandale, Nithsdale, and the lower part of Galloway, where he took some castles, and garrisoned them; others, whose owners were more obstinate, he razed, and, in a short time, would have entirely quelled

the whole country, if letters, from the queen of England, had not interrupted his victorious career, stating:—that the exiles had informed her that the queen of Scots had suffered great injustice, and had been loaded with ungrounded odium by her disaffected subjects; but she particularly urged:—The royal name would be disgraced, and the authority of sacred majesty despised, if suffered to be wantonly exposed by the seditious; that the injury of the atrocious act would only, it was true, affect one, but the example would reach all; therefore, it was necessary instantly to oppose such proceedings, lest the contagion of dethroning kings should spread wider.

xv. After a number of remarks to this effect, directed against the avengers of the king's death, the queen of England demanded, that the regent should send commissioners to her, to inform her of the whole proceedings, and to reply to the charges, whether criminal or reproachful, which had been laid against him in his absence. It appeared to the regent both distressing and offensive, that a case, already decided, should undergo a new trial; and it seemed both derogatory and dangerous for him to stand, as it were, capitally arraigned before foreign kings, often enemies and rivals, and whose minds were already prepossessed by his adversaries; yet there were many considerations which forced him to comply with the demand, although unjust.—Abroad, the cardinal of Lorraine, the queen's uncle, possessed the whole power in the court of France; and at home, a great majority of the nobility were leagued in favour of the queen, and if he should offend the queen of England also, he would have no force left to oppose to so many difficulties.

xvi. When the regent had determined to send ambassadors, and was uncertain whom to appoint, the principal of the nobility declining the office, he determined at length to go himself, and carry select companions along with him, one of whom, William Maitland, was reluctant, and, indeed, unwilling; but he was a factious man, whom the regent saw somewhat inclined to the queen's party, and thought unsafe to be left at home, in the then precarious state of the kingdom. He, therefore, induced him, by great promises and presents, to go along with him, not doubting but he would be able to bend, or

overcome his avaricious mind by gifts; the rest went willingly. James Douglas, and Patrick Lindsay, of the nobility; the bishop of Orkney, and the abbot of Dunfermline, of the clergy; lawyers, members of the college of justice, James Macgill, and Henry Balnaves; and to these a ninth was added, George Buchanan. Surrounded with so many difficulties, two considerations supported the regent's mind, the justice of his cause, and the last letters of the queen of England, in which she affirmed:—If the accusations were true, which were alleged against the queen of the Scots, she would think her unworthy of reigning. Encouraged a little by these letters, the regent set out upon his journey, attended by above a hundred horsemen, although he had received certain information, that the earl of Westmoreland was placed, by the order of the duke of Norfolk, in an ambuscade, to intercept him before he came to York. On the 4th of October, however, he entered York, the place appointed for the conference, and on the same day, nearly at the same hour, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, came thither. The reason for waylaying the regent was—the duke was at that time, by his secret agents, negotiating a marriage with the queen of Scots, and to take away the suspicion of the king's death, and facilitate the queen's return to Scotland, it was determined to murder the regent, and having by this means obtained possession of the letters written by her to Bothwell, containing the proofs of the crime, to destroy them; but because the duke was so near, that the business could not be effected, without involving him in the infamy of so foul a murder, the ambush was withdrawn at that time. There were added, for hearing the controversies of the Scots, two other commissioners, besides the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sandler—the one commonly reported to be attached to Howard, the other free from all party contagion.

XVII. A few days after, commissioners arrived from the queen of Scots, who complained of her ungrateful subjects, and demanded from the queen of England, assistance to reduce them without waiting for any disputation. These were heard separately, apart from the regent and his companions, and having first protested:—That they did not appear before the

commissioners as judges, who had any right of passing sentence; proceeded at great length, to detail the injuries the queen had received from her subjects, and demanded from the queen of England, that she should either persuade her ungrateful subjects to receive back their prince, or if they refused to receive her, that she should give her such an army, as should reinstate her in spite of her enemies. After some hours, the regent was heard. In reply, he appealed to the judgment of all impartial men, for the justice of his proceedings. Nothing, he contended, was done by the king's adherents, but according to justice, the laws, and ancient customs of the nation, and that in public convention; nor could he, privately, and with a few, abrogate what had been done unanimously, in full assembly of all the estates, some of those who now accused him, being themselves present, and subscribing the acts. The English commissioners denied that the Scottish act, passed at home, and now produced, could be satisfactory, unless the reasons were likewise produced, which influenced the nobles to pronounce such severe decrees against their queen. The regent, who greatly deprecated accusing his queen and his sister, and divulging her flagrant infamy before stranger, and not unwilling auditors, refused, unless the queen of England should promise, that in the event of his proving satisfactorily, that the king of the Scots had been murdered by his wife, she would defend the cause of the young king, and take him, as it were, under her protection. To which the English ambassadors replied, that they had only the power of hearing the demands of both parties, and referring the whole to the judgment of their queen. On which, the regent requested them to obtain from their queen some such promise, or at least, procure from her full powers for hearing and pronouncing upon the whole cause, which if they did, he, on the other hand, promised, that unless he plainly proved that the king was killed by the contrivance of his wife, he would consent to suffer any punishment usually inflicted on traitors.

xviii. The commissioners, in consequence, wrote an account of the proceedings to their queen, to whom she wrote back, that the adherents of the Scottish king, should send one or more of their party to court, by whom she might be clearly

informed of the whole state of the case, and when that was done, she would see what course she ought to pursue. In compliance with this, the regent sent William Maitland, against whom many unpleasant suspicions were daily arising, and James Macgill, not so much as an assistant in transacting the public business, as an observer of the manner in which he conducted it. Maitland had been previously suspected, for several reasons, particularly on the following account. Before his journey to England, although he sedulously endeavoured to conceal his design, yet, it was apparent from his words, his actions, his familiarity with those of the opposite party, and more clearly from some intercepted letters, in which he endeavoured to persuade the queen, that his assistance might yet be of service to her, like the lion in the fable, who, when caught in a net, was liberated from the toils by a mouse, the weakest of animals. But after he came to York, almost no night passed, in which he did not meet with the principal ambassadors of the adverse party, communicate to them his own designs, and acquaint them with all the arrangements of the regent. But although the regent wished to prohibit these meetings, he knew his prohibition would have answered no purpose, except that of making them be held more secretly. These circumstances, although pretty clear evidences of his treachery to the public cause, yet accident produced unexpectedly the most indubitable proof.

xix. It happened, that under pretence of hunting, Maitland had gone with the duke of Norfolk, into the adjacent country, where, after canvassing the whole subject at great length, they agreed to manage the business slowly, and if possible, by going repeatedly over the same ground, in such a manner, that nothing decisive should be concluded, and yet the business not altogether neglected; by which means, the regent would be obliged to return without accomplishing the object for which he came, or internal disturbances at home would force him to depart; and moreover, some other remedy would arise during the time, for Norfolk already meditated a civil war, by which he would remove the one queen, and marry the other. Maitland communicated these arrangements to John Lesly, bishop of Ross, who was intimately acquainted with all

the queen's secrets, and he sent letters to her, directing her in what manner the duke wished her to write back to court, what course to pursue in future, nor from the slowness of the issue, to lay aside her hopes of success. These letters, being read by the queen, and by several other persons, were afterward thrown aside as waste paper, and at last brought to the regent, and thus it happened that the most secret designs of his enemies were by them made known to him. But he had had many proofs of Maitland's perfidy before. When the ambassadors I have mentioned reached the queen at London, it appeared most proper to her and her council, that the regent himself should attend, and in person argue the controverted points. Wherefore, having dismissed part of his attendants home he went with the rest to London. But there he encountered the same difficulties as at York, while he refused to bring forward an accusation against the queen, his sister, unless the queen of England would, upon her detection, take the party of the king of the Scots under her protection, which, if she would promise, he would immediately proceed with his accusation, on the same condition he had proposed to the commissioners.

xx. Whilst these proceedings were taking place in London, the queen of the Scots endeavoured, by James Balfour, to excite internal disturbance at home. In order the more easily to accomplish this, she wrote not only to the exiles and friends of Bothwell, to harass those of the opposite faction by every species of hostility in their power, but she created lieutenants through the whole kingdom, on whom she bestowed kingly power, and she caused rumours to be everywhere spread, that the regent and his attendants were closely confined in the Tower of London. But when she saw that that lie would not be of long duration, she pretended that the regent would subject the kingdom of Scotland to the English, and had promised the fortified places, and the king himself as his security. The reason of her continuing this story, was believed to be, that as she herself had offered the same thing to the English commissioners, and the offer had been rejected by them as foolish, because she had nothing that she had promised in her power, she might preoccupy the mind of the

common people by the falsehood, and create hatred against the regent; or, if she could not wholly avert the ignominy from herself, at least she wished to share it with the adverse faction.

XXI. Pressed on every hand by these difficulties, the regent determined to have the business settled in whatever manner, and to return home as expeditiously as possible. Wherefore, the English having often, and earnestly entreated him to explain the nature of the Scottish transactions—as while ignorant of them, they could determine nothing—and as he was extremely desirous of satisfying the queen of England, whom, without the greatest injury to the cause he supported, he dared not offend; and wished besides, to return home, that he might extinguish in its birth the civil war with which he was threatened, which he could not do, unless the queen of England were friendly, at least not opposed to him, he protested before the council, that, in opposition to his own inclination, but forced by the importunity of his enemies, he accused his queen and his sister, before strangers, of the most enormous crimes. He did that not from any wish to criminate her, but impelled by the necessity of exculpating himself, and he unwillingly dragged to light, what he wished, had it been possible, to have buried in everlasting oblivion. If there was any thing invidious in what he did, the blame belonged to those, by whose means he had been prevented from fully obtaining his early desire—of cheerfully obeying good princes, or performing the more ungracious task of reproving bad ones. One request he preferred, that they who had dragged him, against his inclination, into this dispute, should be present to hear the accusation he would prefer, and if any false deed was alleged, disprove it before the council, and he would likewise employ their testimony in many grave matters. The procurators for the Scottish queen, who had but little confidence in their own cause, refused this, and persevered in demanding this only, that the queen, who had been expelled by force of arms, should be restored. On which, a day was fixed for the regent to explain the reasons why the avengers of the king's death—for he himself was then in France—had

taken arms, and deposed the queen from the government of her kingdom, and the rest of their proceedings till that time.

XXII. On the day appointed, the regent gave a connected account of all the transactions, and adduced in evidence, the confessions emitted by the accomplices of the king's murder, before their execution—the act of parliament which many of the regent's accusers had themselves subscribed, and then the silver casket was produced, which the queen had received from Francis, her former husband, and given to Bothwell. In it was contained letters in the French language, written with the queen's own hand to Bothwell, a French song, not inelegantly written, likewise by her, together with three contracts of marriage, the first written in the queen's own hand, before the parricide, in which, as by bond, she engages to marry him when released from her former husband; the next, before the divorce from his former wife, in Huntly's handwriting; the third done openly, at the time of the marriage; all which being exhibited, and read in council, the whole crime was so evident, that no doubt could possibly remain with regard to the author.

XXIII. The queen of England, although fully convinced by these proofs, yet still fluctuated. There was on the one side, rivalry, and mutual hatred, the magnitude of the crime, and the clearness of the evidence, which, the English queen thought, rendered the queen of Scots unworthy of assistance. But although she rather inclined to justice, she hesitated, sometimes, at the sympathizing recollection of her former fortune, then she trembled for the dignity of the royal name, and feared, lest the example of dethroning kings might pass into the neighbouring kingdoms; besides, she was afraid of France, the friendship between the countries not being very secure, and then the French ambassador constantly pled the cause of the exiled queen. But the Spanish ambassador, although he had been asked to interpose in the name of his king, was deterred by the baseness of the crime, and refused to intermeddle. Wherefore, the queen of England, that she might leave herself room to retract, if affairs did not succeed in France, and not deprive herself of all power of gratifying them, adopted a middle course, declaring:—That as far as she was able to

judge at present, all the proceedings in Scotland appeared to have been lawful and regular; and yet, as if she had delayed her decision till another time, she desired, that seeing the disturbed state of the country recalled the regent home, he would leave some one of his attendants to answer to any charges that might be brought against him in his absence. But the regent, who saw that the queen of England thus delayed the business, that she might be at liberty to pass sentence as suited her own interest, and the issue of her foreign negotiations, exerted every nerve, in order not to leave the cause apparently undetermined. He insisted, that if his enemies had any charge against him, it was but equitable, that they who had so long premeditated an accusation, should now bring it forward, and not watch an opportunity to calumniate him in his absence, while they avoided all personal discussion. He was not ignorant, he said, of the reports his enemies had spread, not only among the vulgar, but what some had openly affirmed before the council, and to the French ambassador, and, therefore, he earnestly requested the council, that they would order those who thus muttered clandestinely, to proceed openly; nor was he so anxious to return home, notwithstanding his great personal inconvenience, and the public detriment, occasioned by his delay, as to do so until he had fully cleared himself.

XXIV. At last the procurators of the exiled queen being sent for, and asked if they had now any charge to bring against the regent or his companions, as privy to the death of the king, and desired to produce it, they replied:—That they had nothing at present, but when ordered by their queen they would accuse them. To which the regent answered:—That he would always be ready to give an account of all his actions, nor would he shun it at any time or place. But in the meanwhile, until the queen should order that accusation, he asked his accusers now present, if any of them had any charge against him, that they would now bring it forward; that it would be far more fair and honourable to produce it openly before this illustrious assembly, than to calumniate his character in private parties during his absence. This they refused likewise for a long time, till at last, taken by surprise, the

whole council urging, and almost quarrelling with them, they confessed individually:—That they had no reason to suspect either Moray or his companions of having been accessory to the king's death. Thus, after a long altercation between the parties, the council broke up; nor, from that time forward, was there any mention made of accusing the regent or his companions. During the detention of the regent on public business in England, several vigorous efforts were made by some of the queen's faction both at home and abroad, but without success. James Hamilton, who had been regent some years before, disappointed at home, had retired to France, where he lived with a very few companions, attended by only one or two servants, wholly removed from the bustle of all public business. But the queen of Scots, having escaped from prison, then, being conquered in battle, and, within a few days, compelled to flee to England, the French, who, when the earl of Moray was recalled by his countrymen, and was returning through France, had been unable to bring him over to their party, conceived it would be most conducive for their interest, as, on account of their own intestine disturbances, they could neither send soldiers nor money to Scotland, to set up Hamilton as a rival there, especially at that time, when the regent, with the greatest part of the nobility, was absent.

xxv. He was in consequence, therefore, dragged from his retreat, furnished with a little money, and loaded with promises. As he hastened through England home, he was urged by his friends, since the queen of Scots favoured his party, and the queen of England was not averse to apply to the latter to persuade Moray, by her authority, to resign to him the regency of Scotland, which situation belonged to him, as the nearest kinsman and heir by the laws and customs of all nations, and particularly by the institutions of his own. Nor was it necessary, for ascertaining this, to make a search into the annals of ancient times, as all who had hitherto ascended the throne, during their minority, had had guardians appointed to them from their nearest relations. Thus, on the death of Robert III., during the absence of James I., the government was intrusted to his uncle Robert, and to Robert succeeded his son Mordac; and recently, John, duke of Albany, had

exercised the regency during the childhood of James V.; and he himself—Hamilton—until Mary was of age to reign, or to be married, had possessed the supreme power, only a few years before. And now he had been excluded, not by legitimate votes, but by rebels, through violence and the greatest injustice; and what was more shameful, in contempt of legitimate affinity, a bastard had been raised to the supreme rule; which honour, if it were again given to him, he would in a short time tranquillize all domestic troubles, and the queen would be restored, without violence or arms, to her former dignity.

xxvi. To this the king's ambassadors answered:—That Hamilton desired an office, not only contrary to the laws and customs of their ancestors, but, setting aside the authority of the law, the demand was in itself exceedingly unjust; for our ancestors, they continued, on account of the murders in the royal family, committed by their relations, changed, in their assemblies, nearly one thousand three hundred years ago, the whole manner of creating a king. And whereas before, upon the death of a king, his successor was created by suffrage from the family of Fergus, our first king, not the nearest in blood, but the most capable of reigning, Kenneth III., in order to protect the kings against the plots of their relations, and remove from court those bloody strifes among kindred, confirmed, by a decree, the order of succession, which now is, that the nearest blood relation should succeed the deceased king. But, when by more of experience they perceived, that in such inconstancy of fortune, it must sometimes happen that boys, or others unfit for governing, would succeed as heirs to the chief magistracy, they enacted, that the government should, in the interim, be administered by him who exceeded the rest in power and wisdom. And our ancestors, acting upon this rule for nearly six hundred years, have transmitted the crown safe to their posterity. Thus, on the death of Robert Bruce, there were successively elected by vote as regents, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, Donald, earl of Marr, Andrew Moray, John Randolph, and Robert Stuart; sometimes an individual, and sometimes more being appointed by parliament to that office. Thus, during the childhood of James II., Alexander

Levingston was made his guardian, no blood relation of the king's, and not even of the first rank among the nobility, being only a knight, more distinguished for his wisdom than his descent. Nor can it be alleged, as an excuse, that any scarcity of the royal blood occasioned this.

XXVII. There was, at that time, John Kennedy, the chief of his family, James I. sister's grandson, eminent for his integrity and wisdom; there were his uncles, James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrews, confessedly the most virtuous man in the whole kingdom, his brother, born of the king's aunt, and William Douglas, earl of Angus. There were likewise of the royal line, not very distant, Archibald, earl of Douglas, almost equal in power to the king, and far superior to all the other noblemen, yet no one on that account ever complained of the injustice of our parliament. Not long after, four tutors were assigned to James III., and all these were chosen by suffrage, not assumed for their relationship. Lately, John, duke of Albany, being sent for by the nobility from France, to govern Scotland during the minority of James V., was confirmed in that office by an act of the estates; nor was this bestowed upon him on account of his proximity, for he had an elder brother, Alexander, perhaps inferior to him in birth, but far superior in every virtue to James Hamilton, who had several times anxiously attempted to gain that situation. But during the absence of James I., Robert, his uncle, you assert, governed the kingdom. By what right did he do so? Was it in right of consanguinity? Not in the least. Was he then elected by the people? No, truly! How then was he created? When king Robert III. had neither strength of mind nor body for discharging the functions of a king, he placed Robert as his lieutenant, and committed his children to his care. That guardian starved David, the eldest, to death, and threatened James, the youngest, had not his life been preserved by flight; and being thus in possession of the government, when his brother died for grief, he retained it without the consent of parliament, and transmitted it to his son Mordac. What the affection of Robert, the last, for his brother was, is plain; when dying, he cursed him as the executioner of his sons, and he never would in health have appointed him their guard-

ian. We are told of the time when, after the death of James V., he himself was regent, as if he had done any thing legally during the whole of that time. When cardinal Beaton, by fraud, endeavoured to invade the chief magistracy, he, rather from the hatred of the people towards Beaton than from any love the people had for himself, crept into the vacant office. He governed with cruelty and rapacity, and not many years ago, sold both the magistracy he had procured by force, and the queen, who was intrusted to his tutelage; and the love of the people towards him appeared in that they preferred the government of a woman, and a stranger, to the wretched slavery they had endured under him.

XXVIII. You see, I suppose, that this request of Hamilton is contrary both to the laws of the country, and the institutions of our ancestors; so contrary, that destitute of arguments, he has supported it by falsehood alone. But if there had been any custom of this kind, yet nobody, I suppose, will deny that it must be unjust; for what can be more unjust than to commit the innocence and weakness of infancy to his care, who must always be looking or wishing for the death of his pupil? Whose whole tribe has borne, and will bear, the most inveterate hatred to the reigning family! For what safeguard is there in propinquity of blood, against ancient hatred, insatiable avarice, and a rash desire after the tyranny he has just tasted? Laodice, queen of the Cappadocians, is said to have killed her children every one as they came of age, and to have purchased the short enjoyment of limited power by the blood of her sons. When a mother destroyed her own progeny, only to retain her power for a short time, what do we think ancient enemies will dare, or rather, when their cruelty is inflamed by avarice, what will they not dare against a boy, the only obstacle between them and perpetual empire? If any one think this example old and obscure, or far fetched, I shall add more eminent ones, and nearer home. Who is so ignorant of modern history as not to know that Galacia Sforzza, of full age, married, and son-in-law to a powerful sovereign, was killed by his uncle Louis, or who does not know what calamities followed that cruel parricide? The most beautiful portion of Italy reduced almost to a desert; the family of the Sforzza,

from whom sprung so many brave men, extinguished; barbarians introduced into the delightful fields around Padua, from whose rapine nothing was secure, and from whose cruelty no person was safe. Who, in Britain, has not heard of the cruelty of Richard III., king of England, against his brother's children, or with how much blood that parricide was expiated? If then men, not otherwise deficient in intellect, have not dreaded to perpetrate such atrocities towards their nearest relations, impelled solely by the desire for reigning, what shall we expect from him whose instability of mind all his countrymen are acquainted with? Whose unskilful government we have discovered by so many disasters; whose family, not satisfied with the murder of this king's great grandfather, persecuted his maternal grandfather with their treacheries as long as he lived, and his paternal, when they could not kill, they forced him to leave the country in indigence; his father they led as a victim to be sacrificed; his mother, and the kingdom, in her infancy, they sold to strangers, from which captivity, when she escaped by the providence of God, they involved her in those difficulties with which she is now surrounded. What estimate the public formed of their conduct may easily be understood, by the people's considering themselves rescued from the bondage of a wretched slavery, and introduced to the joyful precincts of liberty, at the time the Hamiltons sold, to a foreign female, that government they did not know how to manage.

xxix. On hearing these arguments, the queen, through her council, informed Hamilton:—That he made an unjust request, and must expect no assistance from her; that she had been requested, by the ambassadors of the king, not to dismiss Hamilton himself, who only meditated sedition, until they likewise had received leave to depart; which equitable demand she had granted, and therefore she forbade him to depart before that time. The exiled queen, too, flattered her partisans with the hopes of her speedy return. Several of her letters were intercepted, in which she exhorted them to seize as many castles and fortified places as they could, and extend the war as widely as possible, nor regard the report of a truce; for if affairs were brought to terms, all past offences would be

covered by a peace; but if the dissensions should break out into open war, the more garrisons they held, the more would they be prepared for annoying the enemy.

xxx. When the regent had settled every thing in England as far as he was able, and had obtained leave to return, there were brought him from Scotland some letters of the exiled queen, lately intercepted, in which she complained to her friends, that she had been treated by the queen of England otherwise than she had at first expected, or than she herself had promised, some English courtiers having prevented her being sent back with an army, as she affirmed, the queen of England had promised her. She, however, expected a favourable issue soon from another quarter—for frequent messages had passed between her and Howard respecting their marriage—that they should not therefore despond, but increase the strength of their faction, throw every thing into confusion, and prevent the return of the regent to Scotland, by every art in their power. The contents of these letters, when published, produced various effects. The queen of England was highly offended at being accused of having violated her faith, also at the infringement of the truce of which she was the author; and her anger being excited against the exile queen, she became more and more favourable to the cause of justice. The English, who were friendly to the regent, lest he should suffer on his journey through the treachery of his enemies; for the greatest part of the country, through which he had to travel, was inhabited either by papists or robbers, who infested the borders of both kingdoms, almost all of whom were stirred up to hope for a change, and, it was evident, had been solicited to intercept the regent; on which account, the English courtiers eagerly offered their assistance to protect him during his journey; but he, satisfied with his own retinue, set out upon his journey about the 13th of January. The queen of England, however, thinking her good faith and dignity interested in his safe return, had, of her own accord, written to the wardens of the borders, that when he came to suspected places, and places infested by robbers, they should provide against his being circumvented by treachery. This they sedulously attended to, and a strong guard of horse and foot hav-

ing been disposed along the road, he arrived safely at Berwick, and the day after, February 2d, to the great joy of his friends, who had assembled in vast crowds, he entered Edinburgh, as it were, in solemn procession. His enemies, at first, could scarcely believe his arrival, because of the false reports rashly spread about his being detained in the tower of London; but when it was ascertained that he was actually at Edinburgh, they who had beset the highways during his absence to intercept travellers, releasing their captives, slunk home in trepidation, and immediately the perturbed horizon became serene.

xxxI. A few days after, the king's party had a numerous meeting at Stirling, when the proceedings in England were related, and highly approved of, and confirmed by all present. About the same time, James Hamilton, the chief of his family, arrived, adopted, with new and unheard of arrogance, by the queen of Scots as her father, and appointed lieutenant of the kingdom. He, having issued proclamations, forbidding all the lieges to obey any other officers than those appointed by him, the king's party immediately collected money to raise horsemen, and prepare themselves, if necessary, for the last resort. On an appointed day they assembled at Glasgow; but when the people did not resort to Hamilton as he expected, by the mediation of friends, after several conferences, terms of accommodation were proposed. Hamilton was ordered to come to Glasgow, upon condition:—That he should acknowledge the king as chief magistrate; which if he did, the rest would easily be brought to an adjustment; but if he refused, he would come in vain. He, by the advice of his friends who were with him, at the same time, seeing himself deserted by the people, and terrified at the enemy's army in the vicinity, determined to yield to necessity, and, at present, to promise every thing, but when the king's party had dismissed their forces, to concert his measures at his leisure.

xxxII. When he came to Glasgow, a day was appointed on which he and his allies were to profess their allegiance to the king, and receive back their estates and former honours. In the meantime, they were to remain in prison, or give some of their relatives as hostages. A condition was also added, that

any of their party, who were inclined, would be received upon the same terms. Argyle and Huntly refused to accede to the treaty, either incensed at Hamilton, because he had surrendered himself to the enemy without consulting them, or thinking, by the dread of their power, that they would procure more liberal conditions, or induced to follow their own inclinations, by the frequent messages they received from England; for, during these transactions in Scotland, letters were brought from the exile queen, containing great promises, in which she exhorted them:—Not to allow themselves to be terrified with vain terrors, for in a few days she would be among them with a large force. And this they were the more readily inclined to believe, because the queen was allowed more liberty than formerly, and the rumours of her marriage with Howard increased daily.

xxxiii. When Hamilton came to Edinburgh on the day appointed, he, for a while, eluded his promises by various requests, and was always framing new excuses, such as, that he awaited the arrival of the other chiefs of his party, that they might unite in the bond with common consent, and that they might have time to learn the opinion of the absent queen; for which reasons, he desired that the business might be deferred until the 10th day of May. To this evident trifling it was replied:—That he waited in vain for Argyle and Huntly, for they had declared that they wished to settle their own affairs separately. And with regard to the queen, it was asked if she also did not approve of the transaction, what he would then do. To which Hamilton ingenuously, but imprudently, replied:—That he had been compelled to consent to the conditions by the terror of an army, and if left free, he would never consent to one of them. On this open confession, the regent committed both Hamilton and Maxwell prisoners to Edinburgh castle.

xxxiv. The remaining subject of deliberation then was the treatment of Argyle and Huntly. Argyle, whilst the regent was in England, had come to Glasgow, to consult upon the public business, attended by about one thousand five hundred men, whither those of the neighbouring countries, who belonged to the same party, also came. There, amid a variety of

discordant opinions, they agreed on nothing except to disturb the peace. The Hamiltons required Argyle to harass the Lennoxmen, his neighbours, who were most firmly attached to the king, by driving away their cattle, and either to force them, though unwilling, to join their party, or reduce them to such poverty, that they would be of little service to their own. But he, on communicating this advice to his friends, found no one among them who approved the design; they recollected that, for many years back, the Lennoxmen had been most closely attached to Argyle, and united to him by many ties; then, why were the men of Argyle nearer than the Hamiltons to the Lennoxmen, who lay between them both? Or why throw on them so odious an undertaking? Let those who were chiefly concerned appear as principals; if they did this, the inhabitants of Argyle would not be deficient on their part; they would be companions, but not leaders in such an expedition. After sitting a few days without adopting any resolution, the meeting broke up, and Argyle returned home through Lennox, which was his shortest road, without doing any injury; which moderation endeared him both to the common people and the leaders of the opposite party, and rendered it more easy for him to obtain pardon.

xxxv. Huntly, during the absence of the regent, having made a vain attempt to break through by Mearns, Angus, and Strathearn, after wasting the adjacent country, tormenting the people, and carrying off every kind of plunder, appointed, as his lieutenants, around the Dee, Crawford and Ogilvy, and endeavoured to usurp all the offices of a king, which rendered a reconciliation more difficult with him. These two, therefore, as they wished each to negotiate for himself, were both ordered to appear before the council at St. Andrews. Argyle arrived first. With him there arose very little difficulty, as he had abstained from plundering during this and the former year, was a near relation of the regent, had been educated from his earliest infancy along with him, and was joined in the strictest bonds of friendship. He was only desired to swear:—That in future, without fraud, he would obey the king; if he failed, besides the common penalties of law, he would allow himself to be stigmatized as the most de-

graded and detestable of men. The rest having subscribed the same oath, but with very different conditions, were received into favour. But Huntly's case was discussed at great length in the council before his arrival; for the nuptials of the exile queen with Howard, and their proceeding to Scotland being secretly prepared in England, their faction in Scotland had by degrees acquired confidence, and encouraged the rebellious to proceed to acts of open disobedience; and they hoped, in a state of confusion, that the access of a new king to the throne would be more easy, and being perfectly persuaded that it was impossible to induce the regent to betray the king, whose uncle and tutor he was, endeavoured by art to lessen his power; and, besides those who had openly borne arms against the king, a great part of the counsellors, not privately, as frequently before, but avowedly favoured Huntly. These contended with the greatest violence:—That all his former conduct should be suffered to pass with impunity, for it was the safest plan, the most likely to promote concord, and the most honourable to heal civil wounds without violence, rather than to exasperate them by confiscations and executions; and, besides, peace at home, and reputation abroad, would be thus secured; but if recourse were had to arms, the contest must be maintained with an enemy, formidable from his ancient power, and his numerous connexions and vassals, who, although he were conquered, which is still uncertain, yet could fly to the hills and mountainous solitudes, or find refuge with some foreign kings, and thence, in time, from these small sparks of hatred, a mighty flame of war might be kindled.

xxxvi. In opposition to this, it was contended:—That a war would not be so very formidable as some wished it to be considered. Huntly's father, considered a man of established prudence, while his power was unbroken, was overturned without much exertion; nor would this young man, whose authority was not yet confirmed, and who was scorched by the recent calamity of his family, be a match for the whole power of the kingdom, and the majesty of the royal name. And if vanquished in battle, or conscious of inferior strength, he should fly affrighted to the mountains, those whom he had

lately attached to him by gifts, might, by equal or greater, be induced to put him to death, or betray him to the regent; for the faith of mercenaries changes with fortune, they follow the prosperous, and desert the wretched. Among foreign kings, persons have influence only in proportion to their wealth, for it is not the calamities of others, but their own advantage, that interests them. But if there should ever be found among kings such humanity and benevolence, as would incline them to favour the wretched and exiled, yet these are not times in which we have any thing to dread from abroad; for England, who is favourable to the cause of our king, alone, of all the powers of Europe, enjoys peace; the other neighbouring kingdoms are so occupied with their domestic dissensions, that they have no leisure to attend to foreign affairs; but if they had leisure, it is to be hoped that justice would have greater influence with them, than compassion for exiles, rebels to their own kings, and faithless to strangers. As to impunity, it would be called cowardice, and not clemency, as our opponents pretend; it would be timidly to shun a just contest, that we might imprudently nourish war under the shadow of peace. Yes, the shadow of peace, which already refreshes the fainting spirits of the rebels, and cools the ardour of the faithful friends of the king; for what do we imagine the sensations of the parties will be, when the one perceives that they may act as they please with impunity, and hope to be allowed to do the same in future; and the others see their perfidious enemies enjoying the rewards of their crimes, while they themselves are spoiled of their goods, and tormented with all the calamities of war? When, instead of being rewarded, as they had hoped, for their fidelity and constancy, they feel that they are punished for their love towards their king and country? Who then can doubt, but if arms be resorted to afterward—which they necessarily must, unless the flame be now extinguished in its origin—who can doubt, but that that party who reaps such advantage from their crimes, and who are allowed to do as they list with impunity, will be stronger than they who must endure every species of injury and violence? But if even these disadvantages were not to follow this foolish species of clemency, yet neither the regent nor the king himself could,

with any justice, bestow the property of those who had been robbed, upon the robbers, unless they themselves chose to be classed with banditti; and it would be even more cruel for kings thus to treat the spoilers of their people with impunity, than to allow the people to be plundered by the incursions of an enemy. Many other arguments of similar import having been adduced on both sides, they who advocated for impunity were eventually left in a minority; the regent, however, declared, that for the sake of concord, he would willingly forgive any private loss which he himself or the king had sustained; but the losses sustained by others, he neither would nor could pardon; but if Huntly or his friends could agree with those whom they had spoiled, he should undertake, with the consent of the parties, to appoint arbiters to determine the damages.

XXXVII. Concord being established, as it was thought, upon these conditions, another dispute followed, small in appearance, but which was agitated with greater keenness than the former. The question was—a general pardon having been granted to Huntly's adherents—Whether the merits of each cause should be tried separately. Some who were inclined to believe that Huntly had been dealt hardly with, on being forced to pay the loss which had been sustained, thought it but fair to indulge him in this point, nor take from him the power of obliging his followers. To which it was answered:—That in this kind of warfare, there was nothing to be more desired, than that factions should be dissolved; nor could this be obtained in any way more easily than by the prince alone, awarding favours or punishment. All understood how unjust it would be to fine every one alike, where there was a disparity of crime; therefore, the distribution of punishment should, least of all, be left to Huntly, who, it was probable, would exact the smallest fines from the greatest criminals, and impose the whole burden on the least guilty; for in inflicting punishment, he would be directed, not by the deserts of the offenders, but by their devotedness to his service; those who had behaved most cruelly and rapaciously in the war, would obtain the greatest favour and friendship; on the other hand, the least criminal, who had not been so active in their plun-

dering, would suffer the heaviest punishment, and be fined for their moderation and loyalty.

xxxviii. These reasons prevailed in the council, and it was determined that each cause should be separately tried. Lest, however, it might seem that no concession had been made, Huntly's domestics were exempted from this sentence, and he was allowed to amerce them as he chose; but what he wished above all things to obtain, that the regent should not march to the north with an army, was absolutely refused. After this most important agreement was settled with Huntly at St. Andrews, the regent, with two regiments of hired regular soldiers, and a great body of friends, proceeded first to Aberdeen, then to Elgin, and afterward to Inverness; at each of which towns, he ordered the inhabitants of the country round to assemble, and all having obeyed, some paid the fines which had been imposed, and others gave sureties. Huntly and the chiefs of the great clans gave hostages. Having thus tranquillized the north, he returned to Perth, accompanied, on his whole journey, by the gratulations of all good men. Thither he had summoned a parliament, in consequence of letters which Robert Boyd brought to him at Elgin from England. These letters were partly private, and partly public, the private ones were from some English courtiers respecting Howard's conspiracy, and represented it as supported by so much power, and concerted with so much wisdom, that no force nor ingenuity would be able to resist it; no, not although the whole remaining strength of Britain were united against it. His friends, therefore, advised him not to mingle his prosperous lot with the ruined circumstances of others, but to provide separately for himself and his still unshaken fortune.

xxxix. The state of England forces me here to digress a little, because, at that time, the circumstances of both kingdoms were so conjoined, that it is impossible to explain the affairs of the one, without understanding those of the other. The Scots, who, some years before, had been liberated by the assistance of the English from French slavery, were united to them by the profession of a common religion, and that sudden revolution seemed to promise to all Britain repose from every

internal disturbance. From the continent, however, the pope, and the kings of France and Spain, threatened war, and secretly planned an overturn. The pope, by promises and exhortations, urged to action, princes, already sufficiently irritated; but they were so exhausted, by the late contests among themselves, that they could rather wish than undertake a war; and there was, besides, such rivalry between them, that neither could endure the other to acquire so great an accession of strength, as the possession of England, if conquered, would confer. Meanwhile, dissensions arose with their own subjects, which averted their attention from foreign affairs, notwithstanding the novelty of the English government—for a young unmarried woman, whom those who were disaffected affirmed to have been born to Henry VIII. in unlawful wedlock, was then at its head—and the former distractions, respecting both the succession and religion, repressed rather than extinguished, appeared ready again to burst into a flame. Many attempts were, in the interim, made by the English papists, but they were rashly undertaken, and speedily quelled; yet, although always unsuccessful, as foreigners were constantly raising new and varying expectations, without, however, bringing them any assistance, they still obstinately persisted in their designs, and a leader appeared rather wanting to the multitude than either power or courage.

XL. The common people had looked around among the nobility, but had not yet met with any one to whose fidelity they could intrust themselves and their fortunes. Many of the most restless had been cut off in the civil wars; many had gone over to the opposite party; some, through old age, were unfit for weighty business, or, along with weakness of body their minds were so debilitated, that they desired peace almost upon any terms. Thomas Howard alone possessed courage and power to meet the storm, and there were several reasons which induced him, although otherwise of a peaceable disposition, to attempt a revolution. His progenitors were eminent both in peace and war, yet, amid the tempests of an unstable court, their greatest glory had been balanced by the greatest disgrace. His father was put to death for assuming the royal arms, and two of his near relations, queens, were publicly

executed. He himself, was, however, liberally educated amidst all these disasters, and rescued his family from total destruction. In his earliest youth he had afforded proofs of uncommon ability, and, in a few years, by the death of his wives and new marriages, he was so much enriched, that, next to the king, he was the most powerful person in England. In wisdom and wealth, he was superior to all the other nobility; but he had, as yet, given no display of his military talents. In the religious controversies, however, he had acted so ambiguously, that although at heart a papist, yet he associated so much with the adherents of the opposite party, that the majority of them accounted him one of themselves.

XLII. At this time, the queen of the Scots, vanquished in battle, fled to England; and having informed the queen of England, by letter, of the cause of her coming, she was desired by her to remain with lord Scroope, warden of the borders, until her demands were discussed by her council. Now, lord Scroope's wife was Howard's sister, and by her means, first, a treaty of marriage was secretly agitated between the queen of Scots and Howard, and the opportunity appeared as if offered in providence, for Howard's third wife being dead, he was then single. This design, although confidentially intrusted only to a few, yet, by frequent whisperings, gradually became public; for the greatness of the expectation it excited could not be concealed, and the immoderate joy which it produced soon spread it abroad. And here the negotiations had proceeded so far, that a civil war appeared inevitable; nor were there wanting some, who, on considering the strength of the parties, affirmed that Howard would easily accomplish his purpose without violence.

XLIII. In this state of affairs, a full meeting of the Scottish parliament was held at Perth, to discuss the demands of the two queens, for both of them had written letters to the public council of the nation. The letters of the queen of England proposed one of three conditions. The first was simply, that the queen of the Scots should be restored to her rank and authority as before; but if that could not be granted, that she should reign jointly with her son, and enjoy her royal title in the public deeds and acts. In the meantime, the supreme

power to remain with the regent, until the king should reach the age of seventeen. The third was, if neither of the former could be obtained, provided the queen herself could be persuaded to accept of it, that she should live privately, content with those honours which, excepting royal authority, would be granted to her. This last condition was easily granted, if the queen could be induced to accept it; the others were absolutely refused. The better and more uncorrupted part of the nobility persisted in this:—That nothing either could or ought to be agreed to, which might appear to lessen the authority of the king, especially when a legitimate king was created; but the two former proposals endangered not only the honour and authority, but even the life of the innocent minor, unless perhaps the mother, who had displayed such cruelty to her husband, who hated her son, and was exasperated by exile, might now be expected to become more gentle.

XLIH. The letters of the exile queen were next read, in which she demanded, that judges should be appointed to take cognizance of her marriage with Bothwell, and if it should be found to be illegal, that they should liberate her from him. These letters greatly offended the king's party, because she wrote as a queen, and commanded them as subjects; some even thought they should be passed over entirely without any answer, as they considered the king as a private person, and claimed all the power for the exiled queen. That part of the council who were attached to the queen, pretended to wonder greatly why those, who had contended so strongly during the former year, that she should separate her cause from Bothwell, now, when she offered it of her own accord, should endeavour to prevent it more eagerly than they had formerly demanded it; that if any of the expressions in these letters offended them, that fault could be easily corrected; and some even pledged themselves, if the divorce were in the meantime allowed to proceed, that they would procure from her, a commission expressed in whatever terms they chose. The opposite party replied:—That they saw no cause for proceeding with such extreme haste. Sixty days were legally allowed for Bothwell, who was out of the kingdom, to be called in court. Within that time, a new commission might be sent,

nor ought the delay to appear long, especially to one, who had allowed two years to pass over in such silence, and now, at last, sent letters which would prove an impediment to those who were desirous of gratifying her. If she wished a divorce, nothing was more easy. Let her write to the king of Denmark, and desire him to bring Bothwell, the murderer of her former husband, to justice, and, upon his death, it would be in her power to marry whoever she chose, in spite of all her opponents. If she refused this, she acted hypocritically and insincerely with regard to the divorce, in order that she might live likewise with her next husband, if she married again, in a state of doubtful matrimony, of which it was a strong suspicion, that she wished a divorce to be pronounced by judges who had no right to pronounce, or power to enforce it; for what authority has the regent over exiles, with whom he has no connexion, and who, unless they themselves choose, need not obey his judgment? Or how can they, who have no power over themselves, subject themselves to the jurisdiction of another? And, besides, as some hidden fraud seemed to lurk in the business, no decision could be hastily pronounced upon it, for the queen of England must be acquainted with it, who had it in her power either to promote or prevent it. On this, a young nobleman, one of the regent's friends, was sent to England to inform the queen of the proceedings of parliament.

XLIV. It may perhaps appear strange, that, when subjects of the greatest importance were transacted with little debate, so great a contention should arise about the divorce. The reason was—Howard was secretly, by means of his friends, negotiating a marriage with the queen of Scots, and this conspiracy had acquired such strength, both at home and abroad, that it was freely said in common conversation, that the design was to murder both the lawful princes, and seize upon the two kingdoms. The places, times, and circumstances were so arranged, that every thing seemed to be provided against force, and the conspirators were anxiously bent, and strongly insisted upon the divorce, as what seemed to delay the marriage, which if it were obtained, every thing else, they were certain, would spontaneously follow. The king's adherents,

on the other hand, strenuously endeavoured to hinder the marriage, hoping, that by interposing delay, many of the secret plans would break out, and the conspiracy be crushed by the endeavours of both sovereigns.

XLV. In this posture of affairs, the acts of the Scottish parliament were presented to the queen of England, who alleged, that that was not a satisfactory reply to her, nor was the messenger sufficiently qualified for consulting with on important business, in such perilous times; and demanded more information on the subject. Another parliament was therefore held at Stirling, who sent the following answer:—Respecting the third of the former propositions, the terms might admit of discussion, but the second was such as they durst not listen to without the greatest criminality, as it not only would lessen, but altogether destroy the authority of the king; for besides that all partnership in royalty is dangerous, what equality of government could there exist between a boy, hardly past infancy, and a woman in the flower of her age, naturally cunning, and experienced in a variety of fortune, who, when once she shall have crept into a part of the public administration, either by the strength of that faction, which, although she was removed from the government by a public act of the estates, now endeavours to restore her, not by petitions, but by threats, or by the bribed enemies of the king, or by foreign soldiers, whom she is endeavouring to procure, will easily by force seize upon the whole. Or how will she suffer an infant to be equal with her, who would not endure her husband? And in addition, if she should marry any powerful husband, as is now especially in agitation, the power of the queen would be doubled, by her husband being necessarily admitted into the government, and what would be the situation of the prince under that husband, who would not willingly suffer his own children to be excluded from the throne by a son-in-law? What if his friends—as all men are changeable—preferring present favour to future expectations, should transfer their allegiance to the most powerful? What then would remain to a child, thrust from the first to the second, and then to the third rank, but utter ruin? For the rest, they chose rather to leave to her majesty's silent reflections, than to forebode what an irritated

woman, intrusted with supreme power, urged by the violent counsels of her uncles, having proved her cruelty upon her husband, and exasperated by exile, would dare against a boy, bereaved of all his natural and fortuitous guardians, and exposed as an expiatory victim to her rage! And what would be the fate of his friends, by whom she thought herself so grievously wronged? What too, would be the state of religion, when she could indulge the anger her fear had formerly constrained her to conceal, especially when her native cruelty was excited by the known haughtiness of her husband? How easily would the young king's friends be destroyed if he were cut off, or how easily could he be disposed of, if left alone by their extinction? Such being the state of the case, there was no necessity for saying any thing with respect to the first proposition.

XLVI. Robert Pitcairn, a man of equal wisdom and fidelity, was sent to carry this answer to England, and he arrived at court at the very time the conspiracy for murdering the two sovereigns, and seizing on their kingdoms was discovered. This conspiracy was so strong, that the queen of England, doubtful of her own safety, having imprisoned Howard in the tower of London, and not daring to punish the exile queen, deliberated about sending her by sea to the regent of Scotland. But that design, when the tempest was a little calmed, was laid aside.

XLVII. In the meantime, the strength of the opposite faction greatly increasing, the regent sent for William Maitland, the soul of the whole conspiracy, to come to him at Stirling, from Perth. He, conscious of guilt, although he had witnessed the constant lenity of the regent towards all his friends, even when they had seriously offended, yet came hesitatingly, and, having first anxiously examined whether there was any new design against him, he prevailed with the duke of Athol to come along with him, that he might, if necessary, employ him as an arbiter. While sitting at the council in Stirling, Thomas Crawford, a vassal of the earl of Lennox, accused him of the king's murder, on which, he was ordered to be confined in a chamber by himself in the castle, and messengers were despatched to apprehend James Balfour, who

was absent. The more wary members of the council, thought that both ought to have been proceeded with according to law, as being the authors of all the disturbances for some years past, and as they had been privy to the murder of the late king, so they were the chiefs of the faction against his son; but the lenity of the regent overcame the pleas of public utility, calamitously for his country, and fatally for himself.

XLVIII. At the entreaty of friends, he pardoned Balfour the new conspiracy so lately entered into. Maitland, when carried to Edinburgh, he allowed to lodge in a friend's house, not far from the castle, some horsemen being appointed as a guard, under the command of Alexander Hume, an active young nobleman; but William Kirkaldy, governor of the castle, about ten o'clock at night, brought forged letters, in imitation of the handwriting of Moray, to Hume, ordering Maitland to be delivered up to him, and he, as he knew the friendship which Moray entertained for Kirkaldy, without hesitation obeyed the letters. Thus Maitland was carried to the castle by the governor, who till that day had secretly favoured the public enemy. The nobility, being greatly enraged at it, and almost uncertain whether to blame Kirkaldy for such an action, or the regent, who well knew his boldness, the circumstance would apparently have produced a sedition, if the purity of Moray's whole life had not raised him above all calumny. He had, indeed, esteemed Kirkaldy till that day a brave man, admitted him to his most intimate friendship, and among other marks of his kindness, had given him the command of the castle, in preference to all his other friends and relations, although the more prudent, even at that time, suspected him; but such was the indulgence of the regent toward those whom he had formerly loved, that even when taken in a crime, he could not behave to them with much severity. Kirkaldy being sent for next day, refused to come to the regent, which happened unfortunately, for the queen and Howard being daily expected, it encouraged the opposite faction, and the most unfavourable reports were spread among the common people; that the regent was deserted by his most intimate friends in his adversity; that, unable to resist his enemies, by the loss of the castle, the rest would follow so

glaring an example; and in a short time, the chief being cut off, the innocent king and his adherents, would be exposed to whatever punishment the cruelest tyranny could devise.

XLIX. The regent, however, unmoved by these reports, next day went up to the castle, and, as if reconciled to the governor, after holding a conversation with him, returned, and set cut upon the expedition he had undertaken against the robbers. In his progress through March, he lodged familiarly, as usual, with Alexander Hume, the chief of the clan. Here, likewise, he received no marks of friendship, for Hume, who was avaricious, had been seduced to the opposite faction by great promises, and his wife, an arrogant woman, treated him almost even with contempt. Thence he went to Teviotdale, with a small force, scarcely more than his usual retinue, but amid this desertion of his friends, the freebooters, awed by his bravery and decision, came to him, and surrendered in such numbers, that they frequently equalled, and sometimes exceeded the whole number of his vassals and attendants; yet he did not descend from his former loftiness of spirit, but conducted himself in a manner consistent with his own dignity, and that of the public, and he would undoubtedly have succeeded in tranquillizing the borders without force, had he not been opposed by the neighbouring nobility, who were favourable to Howard, and daily expected to take arms. As he advanced, however, his troops assembling on the appointed days, he led them against the thieves, although several of the neighbouring chiefs, by stating the difficulty and danger, endeavoured to deter him, and having advanced through Liddisdale, Eusdale, and Eskdale, with his army, he received hostages, not only from these districts, but even the more distant voluntarily sent them. A few who, on account of the greatness of their crimes, despaired of pardon, were outlawed.

L. During this expedition, the regent received certain information of the detection of the English conspiracy, that Howard was thrown into prison, and the queen of Scots more straitly confined, and Robert Pitcairn having executed his embassy according to his wish, returned, and informed him that the queen of England was highly gratified with his conduct, in tranquillizing the borders; by his having apprehended, and

thrown into prison, the earl of Northumberland, one of the conspirators, who had fled into Scotland; his pursuing the rest as enemies; and in that he had spontaneously offered the governor of Berwick his assistance in all cases. These services, she promised, she would always remember, nor desert him in his difficulties, and that he might command the entire strength of England if requisite. During the whole of this expedition, the regent was constantly receiving from his faithful adherents, many intimations of a great conspiracy entered into against himself at home, and almost all the letters glanced at the governor of the castle, but the regent still remembering their ancient kindness, and former familiarity, frankly sent him a copy of all the accusations. To these he replied so coldly, that he rendered himself much more suspected than before. He denied that any man could show his subscription to any agreement which had a reference to any conspiracy.

LI. In the meantime, the day for Maitland's trial drew near, for after he was received into the castle, he, as if he would outbrave his danger by his impudence, greatly desired that his trial should be proceeded in, for he was persuaded that such was the strength of the conspiracy in England, and in Scotland, of which he was one of the leaders, that nothing could be regularly and judicially done against him, for a great assemblage of friends and vassals used to attend capital trials, according to the faction, estimation, or rank of the accused, which also occurred upon this occasion, for all the chiefs of the faction opposed to the king, of which Hamilton, Gordon, and the earl of Argyle were the principal, had prepared their vassals, in the hope that if the proceedings were interrupted by force, which it was very easy to do, they being superior in the number of men, the advantage of the place, and all the apparatus of war, would finish the dispute in one engagement. The regent, who had expected a legal trial, and not a contest by force, being unprepared, and at the same time unwilling, without necessity, either to hazard his last stake, or to bring the government into contempt, by descending to a contest with inferiors, deserted the diet against him, and the day after, on the 1st of January, having sent the earl

of Northumberland prisoner to Lochleven castle, he set out for Stirling.

LII. The adverse faction, when contrary to their expectation, they perceived the power and authority of the regent again increase, and in addition to his popularity at home, that he received the favour and support of the English, they proceeded to that, which—induced partly by rivalry, and partly by the magnificent promises of the queen of Scots, who assured them in her letters, of speedy assistance from the French and Spaniards—they had long intended, to cut off the regent, during whose life they expected no success in their designs. Messengers were accordingly sent through all the country, to the chiefs of their faction, to enter into a bond for this purpose, which bond was subscribed by the Hamiltons, those even who were themselves, or had their children prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh. Neither was the governor himself believed ignorant of the plot; which suspicion was greatly increased by the events that almost immediately followed. James Hamilton,* nephew of the archbishop of St. Andrews, promised to perpetrate the deed, and was seeking out a fit time and place for laying his snares. It happened, at the same time, that a hope was held out to the regent of the surrender of Dunbarton castle by capitulation; on which, he went thither, but returned without accomplishing his object. Hamilton, who was watching every opportunity, when he saw that his plans did not succeed, first, at Glasgow, and next, at Stirling, determined upon Linlithgow as the most convenient place for executing his design; which town belongs to the clanship of the Hamiltons, and his uncle, the archbishop, had a house there, not far from that in which the regent was accustomed to lodge; in that house he concealed himself, intent upon the murder. The regent, who had been often warned before,† was on that very day before dawn informed of the plot,

* Of Bothwellhaugh.

† Knox, among others, warned the regent of the designs which his enemies had formed against his life. “When the Mr. of Grahame came, and drew him to Dumbartane, he [Knox] plainlie said to the regent then, that it was onlie done for a trane, be that meanis to cut him off, as it came to pas; also, when he was in Stirveling, being returned from Dumbartane, he sent

and his informer added, to confirm the fact, that the assassin lay hid within three or four houses from his lodging, and if he would give him a few attendants, he would drag him from his lurking place, and discover the whole plan and arrangement of the secret conspiracy. He, however, changed nothing of his original design, except that he proposed to go out at the same gate by which he had entered, and continue his journey by another route; but he did not even persist in this intention, either because he despised such danger, and committed his life to the keeping of that God at whose call he would cheerfully resign it, or because the number of horsemen who came to meet him, blocked up the road. He had already mounted his horse, and thought to avoid the danger by passing the suspected places quickly; but this design being rendered abortive by the crowd which had collected, while he halted, the assassin, from a wooden balcony,* over which linen had been hung, as if for another purpose, took aim and shot him. The bullet entering a little below the navel, came out near the reins on the other side, and killed George Douglas's horse, who was standing a little beyond him. The assassin escaped by a back door of the garden, which had been broken out for that purpose, upon a fleet horse, which he had received from John Hamilton, abbot of Aberbrothick, to secure his safety after the perpetration of the murder, and was carried to Hamilton, amid the congratulations of his associates, who waited the result of the audacious attempt, and where his relations highly applauded, and richly rewarded him, as if the crown had already been transferred to their family.†

* Scotice—a fore-shot.

me to my ladie, the regentis wyfe, tuo sundrie tymes, and desyrit her to signifie my lord, her husband, that he suld not come to Lynlythgow. But God thought vs not worthy of sic a rewlare above vs, and also he wald thairby have the wickitnes of utheris knawin, whilk then was hid."—Bannatyne's Journal, p. 428, 429.

† Some other writers make the assassination a matter of mere private revenge, on account of the treatment Hamilton's wife received, who had been, it is said, turned out naked from her house, in an inclement season, and through grief and cold had gone distracted. Spotswood says that Bothwellhaugh had redeemed his life, by "making over the lands of Woodhouselee, which were his wife's portion, to Bellenden, justice clerk, and he refusing to part with

LIII. Meanwhile, the crowd at Linlithgow being startled at the sudden report, the regent leaped from his horse, saying, he was struck, and walked into his lodgings, as if he had not felt the wound. At first the surgeons pronounced it not mortal, but in a short time, severe pain arising, with great composure of mind, he began to think of death. When some, who were present, said repeatedly, that his own too great lenity had caused his ruin, as he had spared too many flagrant offenders, and, among these, his own assassin, who had been condemned for high treason, he replied mildly, as he was wont:—Your importunity will never make me repent my clemency. He then settled his family affairs, and having commended the king to those who were present, without having uttered one harsh expression, he departed before midnight, on the 23d of January, A. D. 1570.

LIV. The death of the regent was severely felt by the whole community, but especially by the common people, who loved him when alive, and wept over him when dead, as a public parent, because, beyond all his other brilliant actions, they remembered that the country, from being everywhere in a state of disorder and confusion, had, within a year, been so completely quelled, that a person was not more safe at home than upon a journey, or at an inn; and now, laying aside envy, they who were unjust to him when alive, followed him with merited encomiums to his grave. They admired his bravery in war, joined with a decided predilection for peace. The rapidity, and, at the same time, felicity with which he conducted business, seemed as if the peculiar favour of God accompanied all he did. He displayed great lenity in inflicting punishment, and such was his love for the administration of justice, that often, when free from the cares of war, he would sit whole days in the courts, inspiring such an awe by

them, Bothwellhaugh made his quarrel [vented his indignation] upon the regent, who was most innocent, and had restored him both to life and liberty." There appears, however, no reason to believe that the account in the text is incorrect, or that the regent's was any thing else than a political murder; and this is farther confirmed by the assassination, in Fife, of his secretary, Mr. John Wood, a few days after.—Anderson's coll. iii. 84. quoted in M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. II. p. 167.

his presence, that the weak were neither oppressed by false accusations, nor exhausted by their lawsuits being delayed to gratify the powerful. His house, like a holy temple, was not only free from impiety, but free from improper conversation. At dinner and supper a chapter was always read from the sacred Scriptures, and although he had constantly learned men to officiate, yet if there happened to be any illustrious scholar present, as there frequently was—for he held them in high estimation—he required their opinion upon the passage, and this not through vanity or ostentation, but from a wish to order his life by the holy law. His liberality was almost excessive, he gave much and frequently, and the gift was enhanced by his readiness in giving; and often, lest he should offend the delicacy of those who received a favour, he bestowed it secretly by his own hand. In his domestic circle, he was distinguished for frankness and simplicity; but if any of his friends or servants were in fault, he reprobated them more sharply than strangers. By his uprightness of manners, and the purity of his life, he was rendered dear to, and venerated not only by his countrymen, but by strangers and foreign nations, especially the English, among whom his virtues were more particularly known in every variety of fortune.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XX.

I. **T**HE period which immediately followed the death of the last regent, although it was tolerably free from murders, was yet almost constantly disturbed by the struggles of the factions. Before the assassination, great numbers of the Hamiltons had assembled at Edinburgh, under pretence of petitioning the regent for the liberation of James, their chief, who was still confined a prisoner in the castle; but after the deed was perpetrated, they sent messengers to the rest of the Hamiltons, to persuade the other clans—so they wished to have it believed—not to join the public parricides, or afford them any protection. But many suspected it was rather to hold themselves ready and prepared for every opportunity, because, the very night following the murder, Walter Scott, and Thomas Ker of Fernihurst, entered England, and wasted everywhere, more barbarously than was usual in former times. Nor was it so much the desire of plunder or of vengeance which impelled them to this unwonted cruelty, as a resolution formed, not long before, by the archbishop of St. Andrews, and the chiefs of that faction, to embroil the English with the Scots, and, if by no other means, they would, by their outrages, force them to war.

II. The governor of the castle, although he had given many indications of his intention, and his conduct was the subject of general remark, yet he persevered in his original simulation of loyalty towards the king; and it was at his request that William Maitland was released from his imprisonment. Maitland had been accused as privy to the murder of the king,

and the regent, and as the author of the late civil war in England, but, after a long defence before the council, the charges were abandoned as not proven, and he was dismissed—or rather the trial was postponed—protesting his innocence upon oath, and promising to appear when called upon by the king's relations. Soon after, in consulting on the state of the kingdom, when it was almost agreed, that some one, from among those whom the mother, when she abdicated the throne, had named as tutors to her son, should, if he were willing to accept the office, be appointed regent, Maitland, who already meditated a confusion in the commonwealth, advised that the absent nobles should be again summoned to parliament, if they chose to attend on a certain day, to choose a regent, in order that no cause of quarrel might arise from an affair of such magnitude being precipitated in their absence. Athol, with a few, agreed, and the rest did not oppose it, rather that they might remove any occasion from their enemies for calumniating them, than that they expected any advantage to the public from delaying the parliament.

III. After this had been decided on, Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, was admitted to an audience. The queen had sent, while the regent was yet alive, ambassadors to demand the English exiles, who, upon the detection, and punishment of Howard's conspiracy, afraid of being brought to trial, had fled into Scotland. The regent, having received these ambassadors at Stirling, had deferred the consideration of the business till his return to Edinburgh; but upon the confusion occasioned by his death, they departed without an answer. When a parliament, however, was to be held about choosing a regent, Randolph was despatched to attend, for having been in Scotland some years before, he was supposed to be well acquainted with the affairs and leading men of that nation, and from the advantages which both countries had reaped from his former embassies, believed to be held in high estimation among all loyal subjects. On being introduced to the council, he declared:—That the queen's affection towards Scotland was the same as ever it had been; that, as in their former times of confusion she had assisted them, so now she would not be backward. He then narrated the late incursions

into England, the murders, rapine and burnings. These, her majesty was well aware, were not done by the authority of the parliament, and therefore should not interrupt her present good will towards them; and, although so grievously and unmeritedly injured, she would not insist upon her right to demand public reparation, nor punish the whole for the fault of a few. She was not ignorant what great confusion had lately arisen in the country, yet she did not doubt the affection of all good men towards herself, and for their sake, would not only free the innocent public from blame, but if they, on account of their domestic commotions, could not restrain these disturbers of the peace, she would join her forces with theirs, to punish conjointly the violators of the treaty; or, if they could not even do that, she, with her own soldiers, would avenge their injuries, protect the peaceful districts, and inflict punishment only on the guilty.

iv. The remaining heads of this embassy contained admonitions always useful in national assemblies, but absolutely necessary in the then present state of affairs:—First, religion was to be protected with the greatest care, as the only rule of our duty towards God and man; and, inasmuch as no commonwealth at discord within itself can long stand, it was principally to be inculcated, and by every possible method enforced upon the people, that they should assiduously cultivate peace among themselves; and as God, the ruler of the universe, had granted that nation a kingly government, it was their bounden duty to honour, obey, and render all homage to their kings; that peace, concord, and friendship, as far as possible, with all men, extinguishes, or at least alleviates that thirst of shedding human blood—a vice which the Almighty especially curses—is at once agreeable to God, increases the wealth of individuals, and makes a people more formidable to their enemies; that impartial justice is the preserver of the public safety, and the principal part of it is the punishment of offenders; that as treason is the most detestable of all crimes, under every legitimate government, traitors, wherever they are found, ought to be prosecuted without mercy, favour, or indulgence.

v. Such was Randolph's address, whose advice seemed

wholesome and pious, and his demands equitable; but, because no chief magistrate was yet elected, no certain answer could be returned, and he was desired to wait till the 1st of May. At last, William and Robert Douglas, maternal brothers of the regent, lately murdered, were heard, who demanded that the assassination of their brother should be punished, not on any private, but on public grounds. Respecting this, there were different opinions, all indeed, agreed, that punishment ought to be inflicted on the parricides, but some thought a day should be appointed for the trial of those who were suspected, and many persons were named. Others were of opinion, that no trial was necessary, when those who had committed the execrable deed, had already taken arms, and were prepared to defend it; that force should be employed immediately, not only against them, but likewise against all who had been condemned at the former meeting of parliament. Those of the third order who were present, supported this proposal, but could not carry their point, chiefly through the opposition of Athol, who said they should wait for a more full meeting of the nobles, and Morton, who alleged that if so many accusations were joined together, the punishing of the regent's murder would be lost, and a civil war would be occasioned, in which all those who dreaded peace, would join themselves to the murderers. Wherefore, the accusations ought to be separated, and if possible, brought before a court of justice, and no innovation attempted before the 1st of May, the day on which the parliament was summoned to meet; and thus this session was dissolved, the majority of the people condemning the backwardness of the nobility, whose proceedings had all been directed by the nod of the king's enemies, who devised these delays, that by allowing time to intervene, the odium of the murder might diminish, and the adverse party gain strength.

VI. This opinion of the common people was confirmed by several circumstances, which happened before, and many which took place afterwards. Immediately upon the death of the regent, and almost before it was divulged, James Hamilton, received money from John Sommerville, of Cambusnethan, upon a mortgage of his own lands, and this, with a sum which he borrowed from his friends, he expended in raising soldiers.

He likewise sent to his friends, whom he had already forewarned, to hold themselves in readiness, on account of the sudden change which had happened by their inveterate enemy's being cut off; and not long after, continual meetings of the queen's partisans were held in many and distant parts of the country. Upon the 15th of February, almost all the chiefs of the rebellious faction assembled at Glasgow, whence Argyle and Boyd wrote to Morton, that as they were still ignorant who were the assassins, or privy to the death of the regent, they would willingly take any measures with the rest of the nobility, for discovering and punishing them. They would not, however, come to Edinburgh, but if the king's adherents would allow themselves to be persuaded to come to Linlithgow, or Falkirk, or Stirling, they would meet them without delay. On the proposal, however, being communicated to Maitland by Morton, as the letters desired, it came to nothing. About the same time, Thomas Ker, wrote from Linlithgow to his father-in-law, the governor of the castle, that if he could prevail upon the queen of England to pass over the late incursions, he would endeavour in future, to keep the borders tranquil, and in proper subordination; but if she refused this condition, he would continue as he had begun, nor did he doubt but that he would be joined by all good subjects, who remained loyal to their queen, and that assistance would speedily arrive from France.

VII. On the 3d of March, the Hamiltons, Argyle, and Boyd, met at Linlithgow, but the murder of one hired soldier, having raised a sudden tumult, interrupted all their deliberations, and the day after, Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, returned home. The rest of the rebels, particularly Huntly, Athol, Crawford, and Ogilvy, likewise those on this side of the Forth, Hume, Seton, and Maitland, went to Edinburgh, where Morton still was, with only a very few attendants, till the earls of Glencairn and Marr arrived with their vassals. On the 4th of March, the chiefs of the party met to consult about the government, but their deliberations proceeded slowly, on account of the absence of Argyle, whose power and authority was then great. Huntly therefore went to him, in order to persuade him to join with the rest of the faction, but

returned without effecting his purpose, through the deceit of Maitland, as was generally believed, who wished to retard all the proceedings, that, while the country remained in a distracted state, he might find a better opportunity for bringing about a revolution. There was besides, another impediment to Argyle's movements, which prevented his strength being equal to the report of former times; although he himself most keenly favoured the cause of the queen, yet neither his friends, vassals, nor even his brother, were willing to follow him against the king. The following night, a sudden terror, without any visible cause, struck the whole confederacy, on which they ran to arms, and remained on the alert till daybreak, then early in the morning, left Edinburgh in great trepidation.

VIII. The whole time of this parliament was occupied in discussing what right the Scots had to create a regent. Some argued, that according to the deed of the queen, in which three years before, eight of the principal noblemen had been mentioned, from among whom one or more, as should seem proper—might be nominated as tutors to her son—some one of these ought now to be appointed chief of the government. Others contended, that a regent having been already created, according to that deed, there was no authority for more; that it was granted for a particular purpose, and was not of perpetual obligation. There were besides, several who thought the whole should be referred to a convention of the nobility; but these were chiefly of the Maitland faction, who wished to raise a disturbance, which, among a great multitude without a head is easily excited, but quelled with difficulty. A third party condemned both these opinions; the first, because the queen's deed, in point of law, from the beginning had never been of any value, and now was, if possible, of less; the other, because a prorogation carried danger in it, and long delay was what the present state of the country could not bear, therefore, they would order all those to assemble, who originally had crowned the king, and had constantly adhered to him, to provide for the public welfare, and speedily elect such a regent, as was able and willing to take care of both the safety of the king, and of the commonwealth. This opinion also

was rejected, on which the meeting dissolved, without coming to any conclusion.

ix. So many meetings having been held in vain, the rebels, in order to win the populace to their party, had again recourse to the English war, and employed the same chiefs of banditti as formerly, to exercise every species of extreme cruelty, while the leaders of the faction, at the same time, circulated the most mischievous calumnies respecting the queen of England, accused the Scottish nobles of being her vassals, and threatened them, that if they sent for English auxiliaries, they would apply for assistance to the French and the Spaniards.

x. About the same time, M. de Verac, one of the king of France's gentlemen of the bedchamber, happened to arrive at Dunbarton, who greatly encouraged the queen's party by his magnificent promises. In consequence of this, the Hamiltons appointed a meeting of their partisans to be held at Linlithgow, on the 9th of April, at which a number of the queen's faction having assembled, began publicly to propose what they had long been meditating in their private clubs, that war should be undertaken against the English, in order, that during the public confusion, their private crimes and the prosecutions for the murders of the king and the regent, might either be wholly forgotten, or at least less keenly followed. The proceedings at Linlithgow, being confined entirely to the conspirators, and not fully explained to the public, in order to stamp them with greater authority, they resolved to adjourn to Edinburgh, on the 11th April, as besides other conveniences which the place afforded, they hoped to be joined by the citizens, a circumstance to which all parties attached great importance. This seemed easy to be accomplished, as they had already gained William Kirkaldy, the governor, both of the castle and the city; but, because they understood that a watch and ward was kept there, and that the common people were more favourable to the other side, they first sent to the citizens, to ask their permission to meet. The citizens replied:—That they would exclude none of the king's peaceable subjects, but they would not receive the English exiles, nor the Hamiltons into the city, lest they should offend the queen of England, with whose kingdom they carried on a great commerce; or

lest they should appear to favour those who were accused of the regent's infamous murder, nor yet would they allow the publication of any new edicts, which appeared to lessen the king's authority, or to convoke the young men, as was customary, to arms by beat of drum.

XI. On these conditions, although hard, they entered the city, thinking that, by degrees, they would gain upon the unwary multitude, and, by flattering them, obtain the complete sway over them; but they could not induce the citizens, notwithstanding the endeavours of Kirkaldy, the governor, either to deliver up the keys of the gates to them, or to discontinue their usual watch. During the whole of this time, such numbers met daily at Maitland's house, who was either ill, or pretended to be ill of the gout, that it was commonly called the school, and he the schoolmaster; nor did Athol cease, in the meantime, by frequent excursions to different quarters, to endeavour to induce those of the opposite party, to come to the meeting then at Edinburgh. They, however, unanimously refused to assemble before the 1st of May, the day which they had all agreed upon, unless they were informed of the necessity which forced them to assemble before that time; and if any thing of importance occurred which could not suffer delay, they could communicate with the earl of Morton, whose house was only four miles distant, and he would inform the rest. At last, a day was appointed by Athol, on which a few of both factions should meet at Morton's seat at Dalkeith. The place, however, did not please the queen's party; not that they feared any treachery, but lest they should seem to compromise their authority if they went to Morton, rather than that Morton should come to them; wherefore, after many unsuccessful attempts, they were suddenly obliged to break up their assembly. Being desirous of excluding their adversaries from the city, and not being able to bring over the citizens to their side, they resolved to bring such a number of men from the neighbourhood, as should enable them to have the complete command of the city in spite of the inhabitants, and the governor of the castle greatly assisted this design, by liberating all those whom he had in custody, and who were all leaders of the queen's fac-

tion. But a report of the arrival of the English army at Berwick, suddenly deranged their plans.

XII. On this, Alexander Hume and John Maxwell, lately set at liberty without any public authority, went home to protect their estates, and Hume even received part of the money which had been raised for levying soldiers, to defray the expense of fortifying his own castle. Thomas Ker and Walter Scott, who chiefly at the instigation of the archbishop of St. Andrews, had made the inroads into England, perceiving that, from this beginning, a war would break out between the two kingdoms, deserted by their neighbours, and terrified for their estates, sent to the chiefs of their faction to demand assistance, or, if they were unwilling to do this, if they would only come as far as Lauder, and make a show of war. When they could obtain none of their requests, nor that a single fraction of the public money should be applied to the public use, incensed at being betrayed and deserted by those who had involved them in the war, they departed with the most gloomy anticipations of the future, each to provide for his own safety. Thus, so many unexpected incidents happening at once, but especially the unlooked for advance of the English army, disconcerted all their designs. To delay the march of the army, two ambassadors were sent to England; one to Thomas, earl of Sussex, praying for a truce, until they could inform the queen of England, by letter, of the state of their affairs; the other carried despatches to the queen, containing many representations favourable to their own case, and adverse to the king's party; in particular, exaggerated statements of their own strength, and depreciating accounts of that of their opponents, and almost threatening the English with war; for Maitland persuaded his accomplices, that the queen, naturally a timid woman, would do any thing rather than have recourse to arms, especially as the French and Spaniards were, on many accounts, hostile to her, and her situation at home was not altogether tranquil. The rebels required that the queen of England, as arbitress, should annul the decrees of the two former years, although many of themselves had subscribed them; that the whole business should be gone over anew, and a new decree made by the common consent of all.

And, to display the strength of their faction, the names of all the nobility who adhered to them were transmitted to her, along with the despatches, to which the names of many of the adverse, and the majority of the neutral party's were attached, in order to increase the show of numbers, thinking that, on account of the length of the journey, and the ignorance of the English respecting what was transacted at a distance, and because the letters to the queen would only be known to a few, it would be difficult to detect their deceit.

XIII. A circumstance happened at the same time, most opportunely, as they thought, for retarding the English, and terrifying the Scottish common people—the arrival of a low Frenchman, but who, being a servant of Lansac's, had, through his master's interest, crept forward at court. He brought a number of letters, all of similar import, from the king of France, not only to the chiefs of the queen's faction, but to many who had attached themselves to neither party. Great thanks were given to each for having hitherto supported the queen. The king entreated that they would persevere with the same constancy, and he would send them assistance, even greater than they asked, as soon as he conveniently could. The letter carrier adding, on his own authority, that all was now so quieted in France, that Gaspar Colligny, and the other rebels, were reduced to promise, that they would depart from France, lest their presence should interrupt the public tranquillity, and he did not doubt but that, before his return, the soldiers, who were to be sent to their assistance, would be raised.

XIV. The more intelligent, although they knew great part of these to be empty promises, yet readily allowed the common people to be deceived by the reports; but many who had been highly elated with them, had their joy damped on the return of the ambassadors from England without effecting their object; for Sussex could perceive no advantage that would arise to the English from their army lying idle during a truce, nor from the whole war being stopped without any conditions being offered by the enemy; and the letters addressed to the queen being opened by him—for she had authorized him to open them, that no delay might occur by

waiting for her answers—the fraud was easily detected, as the letters were filled with the most idle boasting, and the English were well acquainted with every thing that was going forward in Scotland. The ambassadors were sent back with contempt, and copies of the letters transmitted to the king's adherents in Scotland. Thus, disappointed, and terrified at the sudden arrival of the English army upon the borders, deserted by their friends, who had gone to defend their own estates, without confidence in the citizens, as they knew the enemy would be at Edinburgh about the 1st of May, they departed for Linlithgow, thinking that situation more convenient for collecting their adherents from the more distant parts of the kingdom, preventing the other party from attending parliament, and accomplishing the objects, the discussion of which had occupied them on the preceding days. Here the whole allies and vassals of the Hamiltons being collected, rendered the road which led to Edinburgh unsafe, and as they knew John, earl of Marr, was upon his march thither, they took possession of the adjacent hills to obstruct his progress. He, however, acquainted with the inequality of the ground, crossed the river about two miles above, and entered Edinburgh upon the evening of the 29th of April.

xv. From that day, the king's party remained at Edinburgh, and the queen's at Linlithgow, each accusing the other of being the cause, and having begun the sedition. Those who remained at Edinburgh, declared to the others, that they would easily agree to terms, and if they had wronged any one, they would submit to the arbitration of impartial men, provided only the authority of the king were preserved, and they would join with them to avenge the murder of the former king and the regent. To this, they at Linlithgow returned no satisfactory answer, but published an edict, commanding all the lieges to obey the queen's commissioners. The three earls, Arran, Argyle, and Huntly, summoned a parliament to be held at Linlithgow, August 3d. The king's faction, in consequence, sent Robert Pitcairn to the queen of England, to treat with her about repressing the common enemy, and in order to show the regard of the Scots towards her, they proposed to elect a regent according to her wish.

XVI. Whilst each party was thus endeavouring to thwart the other, the English entered Teviotdale, and burned the seats and villages belonging to the Kers and the Scots, who had, in violation of the peace, made incursions into England, and received the English fugitives under their protection. The earl of Sussex sat down before Hume castle, in which lord Hume had collected a great quantity of provisions, and the whole inhabitants of the neighbourhood had deposited their most valuable effects, as in a secure fortification. A strong garrison defended the place bravely, and the English, next day, were about to retire without being able to take it, when some letters, which lord Alexander had written a few days before to his people, rendered all their plans useless; for, by these letters, he had ordered the garrison to consult with Sir William Drury, an English knight, and obey, without debate, whatever he should command them; of which, when Drury informed the earl of Sussex, he ordered him to procure the surrender of the castle, after which he plundered it, and having placed an English garrison in it, returned to Berwick with great booty. Thus Hume, who feared nothing from the English, but rather esteemed them his best friends, knowing that Drury and Sussex secretly favoured Howard, received the severest injury from them in recompense for his credulity. At last, being left by almost all his allies and relatives, who, in general, belonged to the king's party, he came to Edinburgh, attended by only a few servants, and shut himself up in the castle.

XVII. On the other borders, Scroope, the English commander, entered Annandale, and visited the estates of Johnston, who had likewise made incursions into England, with the miseries of war. Johnston himself, trusting to his knowledge of the places, attended by only a few companions of his flight, eluded all the efforts of the enemy, who were sent in pursuit of him. John Maxwell, who had collected three thousand men from the neighbouring estates, not daring to assist him, kept upon the defensive. A few days after, the English, who were at Berwick, having received hostages, and being persuaded that every thing was transacted with them in good faith, sent three hundred horse, and one thousand foot,

under the command of Drury, against the common enemy. At the report of their advance, the Hamiltons marched to Glasgow, having determined to destroy the archbishop's castle, lest it should afford a shelter to the earl of Lennox, then returned from England, and the seat of war be transferred thither. The castle, they knew, was kept by a few young men in the absence of the governor, and but ill supplied with the means of defence; thinking to surprise it by their rapid advance, they marched into the town so suddenly, that they cut off the major part of the garrison from the castle, and prevented their entering; being disappointed in this expectation, they furiously attacked it, but equally in vain; for the garrison, consisting only of twenty-four, received them so sharply, that they killed more of the assailants than they themselves amounted to, and beat back the rest with many wounded, while they lost only one killed, and had none wounded. But when the Hamiltons heard that the English were arrived at Edinburgh, and John Erskine had come to Stirling to relieve the castle, although they had received re-enforcements from the distant countries, they raised the siege during the evening, and departed in great trepidation, Hamilton and Argyle into Argyleshire, and Huntly home, over almost impassable mountains; the rest shifted as they best could. The English, who were at Edinburgh, after resting two days, proceeded to Glasgow, plundering and destroying, throughout all Clydesdale, the estates of the Hamiltons, and of all who approved of the murder of the regent, or who sheltered the English exiles; but while the cannon were bringing from Stirling for battering Hamilton castle, situate near the village of the same name, Drury, who secretly favoured the English rebels, had almost rendered this expedition useless; for the English troops, not being regularly paid, mutinied, and threatened that they would depart; and as he did not check them, it was generally believed, that he himself had been the author of the sedition. But the money being paid, the soldiers were retained, and the cannon being brought forward, the castle surrendered in a few hours. Among the booty, the wardrobe, and other household stuff which had belonged to James V., were recognised, and which,

the proprietor of the castle, when he was deposed from the regency, had solemnly sworn were not in his possession. The castle was left half demolished, but the village, and the magnificent seat of the Hamiltons which was in it, the furious soldiery burned in spite of the orders of their leaders. After these operations, the army was disbanded, the English marching to Berwick, and the Scots wherever they chose. At the request of Drury, the garrison were dismissed safe, but Robert Semple, as he returned home securely, thinking the expedition finished, was carried away from the house of his son-in-law, and made prisoner; which circumstance, strongly increased the suspicions against Drury.

XVIII. These proceedings were scarcely finished, when Pitcairn returned from the queen of England with the following answer:—The queen was astonished, that now, in the fourth month after the regent's death, she had, for the first time, been made acquainted with the state of their affairs, and, on account of this delay, she was uncertain how to proceed with regard to them. In the meantime, having been often urged by the petitions of the French and Spanish ambassadors, in the name of their kings, and worn out by the almost daily complaints of the queen of Scots, she had promised to give her cause a hearing, but upon condition, that the queen of Scots should write to her party, that until the conferences were ended, they should abstain from hostilities of every kind; that whatever innovations they had attempted by their public proclamations, they should revoke by counter proclamations; and that every thing should remain in the same state as during the life of the regent; that the English exiles should be faithfully sent back, and if, at the end of the discussions, every thing else should be adjusted agreeably, the parties should provide, by hostages and other sufficient pledges, that the league between them should remain firm and secure. Upon these conditions she promised a conference; but having bound herself by this agreement, she could not be a party to the creation of a regent, lest she should seem to prejudice the cause of the queen of the Scots without hearing it. She would, however, watch over Scotland, and requested that, in the interim, they would abstain from hostilities, and from electing

a regent, assuring them she would prevent any mischief arising to them from a short delay.

xix. The Scots were variously affected by this answer. The exigencies of the times forced them to accommodate their plans to the will of the queen of England, yet they were not ignorant, how necessary it was for the public interest, that there should be a chief magistrate, to whom the whole government should be intrusted. The delay in creating one, during the last months, had given time to their enemies for collecting themselves, for holding new courts, for daily issuing new proclamations, and for exercising all the offices of kings, whilst the spirits of the king's party had been depressed, and the multitude, in the relaxed state of government, would not long continue obedient, when they were uncertain whom they should obey. After the return of the ambassadors, they were informed that new tumults had been excited in England, a papal bull having been affixed to the doors of the churches, partly exhorting the English to free themselves from the unlawful government of the queen, and partly promising rewards for their return to the Roman Catholic religion; nor was the queen of Scots supposed to be unconnected with these proceedings. But although they learned by letter, from the earl of Sussex, that these tumults were quieted, and Thomas Randolph, in person, also assured them of the fact, they scarcely could be restrained from electing a regent. At length, in order to have some kind of chief magistrate, they adopted a middle course, and determined to nominate an inter-regent, to govern till the 12th of July, which would leave time for ascertaining the pleasure of the English queen, whose friendly disposition they chiefly augured from her having inserted among the conditions, that the rebels should deliver up the English exiles; which if they did, the rebels knew the whole Papists in England would be alienated from the queen of Scots; but if they refused, the conference would be broken off, and the suspicions of the common people, which they wished to remove, would daily increase. They perceived, too, that the other points would not be easily adjusted, as long as the liberation of the captive queen threatened greater danger to the English than to the Scots; nor, if the other points were arranged,

would the queen of England consent to dismiss her without receiving hostages, and she had not such hostages as would be considered sufficient to give. Encouraged by these considerations, they created Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, grandfather of the king, inter-regent.

xx. Whilst the new inter-regent, with the assistance of his council, endeavoured to repair the disorders of the former years, on the 10th of July, letters arrived very opportunely from the queen of England, in which, with many expressions of regard towards the king, and kingdom of Scotland, she kindly offered them her assistance, but declined the nomination of a regent, as invidious in itself, and of bad example; yet, if her opinion were asked, she knew no person who ought to be preferred before the king's grandfather to that office, because none could be asked who would be more faithful to the pupil while a minor, and who, besides, had the preferable right. Encouraged by these letters, the earl, from inter-regent, was declared regent, by the unanimous suffrages of all the estates.

xxi. Lennox, immediately on being declared regent, having taken the oath, according to custom, to preserve the established religion, and to observe the laws and institutions of his country, issued a proclamation, commanding all who were capable of bearing arms, to appear at Linlithgow, on August 2d, to prevent the assembling of the seditious meeting, called in the name of the queen, and then he summoned a parliament in the name of the king, to be held the 10th day of October. He sent likewise to the governor of Edinburgh castle, who still zealously pretended a regard for the king's party—although all his actions contradicted his professions—to require some brass cannon, together with the necessary apparatus for managing them, more to expose his disposition, than from any hopes he had of obtaining them. At first he freely promised them, but upon the day of the meeting of parliament, when reminded of his promise, he impudently refused, saying, he would always be ready to assist in promoting concord, but never to shed the blood of Scottishmen. Notwithstanding, the regent, on the day appointed, went to Linlithgow, attended by five thousand armed men, but when he heard of no move-

ment on the part of the enemy, except that Huntly had stationed one hundred and sixty hired soldiers, at Brechin, and issued orders to the inhabitants, to provide provisions for some thousands more, by the 2d of August, and that the garrison not only plundered the inhabitants, but beset the highways, and robbed all travellers, the regent, with the advice of his council, determined to march thither, to take possession of the place, which was of considerable importance, before the arrival of Huntly, and there, if necessary, give battle before the rest of his forces should assemble, destroy the only regiment of musqueteers which he possessed, and take unawares, certain leaders of the faction, for he had heard that the earl of Crawford, James Ogilvy, and James Balfour were there.

XXII. He therefore despatched Patrick Lindsay, and William Ruthven, men of the first rank, and James Halyburton, provost of Dundee, to raise what force they could at Perth and Dundee, and to proceed with such celerity, as if possible, to anticipate the news of their approach. These used the utmost expedition, and next night, hastened forward with their foot mounted on horseback, but having marched more slowly when they drew near, that they might not encounter a fresh enemy, while fatigued with the journey, the alarm reached Brechin, that they were advancing. On which, Ogilvy and Balfour, who were present, briefly addressed the soldiers, encouraging them to remain firm, and promising to return within three days, along with Huntly, then immediately mounting their horses, proceeded across the adjacent mountains, to join their own troops. The soldiers who were left, snatched whatever weapon was at hand, and about twenty of them took possession of the tower of the neighbouring church, the rest fled into the earl of Marr's seat, which, like a castle situated on the next rising ground, commands the town. James Morton, earl of Douglas, with eight hundred horse, having come by a longer road, arrived the next day. The regent having sent the Lennox, and the Renfrew soldiers, to protect their own districts, if Argyle should attempt any movement, he himself, on the third day, followed those he had sent before to Brechin. At the report of his advance, the neighbouring nobility flocked to him, and he quickly mustered seven thousand men. The

party on the tower immediately surrendered. The rest defended themselves vigorously for a few days, and killed some, and wounded others, who advanced incautiously. At last, having heard of artillery being brought against them, and being deserted by Huntly, they also submitted at discretion. The regent, after hanging thirty, chiefly consisting of those who had been taken before and pardoned, or who were pertinaciously attached to the rebel cause, dismissed the rest nearly half dead. Huntly, in the meantime, who was about twenty miles distant, having in vain endeavoured to collect a larger force—because the great majority in the country, when left at liberty to declare their sentiments, abhorred so base a cause—retired affrighted, with a few attendants, to provide for his safety in the remote countries.

XXIII. The regent, on his return came to Edinburgh, to attend the meeting of parliament, summoned to deliberate on the distracted state of the country. The concord of this assembly having left the rebels, especially the assassins of the king, and of the regent no hope, they endeavoured, through the medium of the queen of England, to retard the public business, for she had promised to the French and Spanish ambassadors, that she would hear the parties, and, if possible, produce an agreement. Having gained a delay, for nothing was done this session, except that the election of the regent was confirmed, the rebels incessantly solicited the French and Spaniards, to send assistance to Britain, to restore the queen, and as the restoration of the ancient religion depended upon her restoration, they applied to the pope, that although he was at a great distance, he might at least assist them with money. In consequence, he sent an agent to Scotland, to obtain information respecting the state of affairs, who, when he found the Romish party the weakest, and likewise, that all the rebels were not agreed about restoring popery, abstained from intermeddling in the dispute. He, however, not to be idle, endeavoured to raise another commotion in England, as he understood his party was the most powerful there, by affixing to the church doors during the night, curses, and indulgences, and promises of pardon for all past offences.

XXIV. The regent having summoned a parliament for the

25th of January—before which time he hoped to satisfy the foreign ambassadors—he returned to Edinburgh, to settle as far as he could, all differences legally and judicially. The rebels immediately after, obtained a renewal of the truce, by means of the queen of England, until the commissioners of both parties should have debated the subject before her. They did not, however, desist from new attempts to disturb the peace, trusting, it was believed, chiefly to the earl of Sussex, commander of the English army in Northumberland, who favoured the rebels, either because the cause of the duke of Norfolk was not quite desperate, or because he had been seduced by the promise of the exile queen, of whose return he did not despair. Aware of this circumstance, the Scots communicated their designs to him with caution.

xxv. At the end of winter, the regent, on account of the truce being renewed, prorogued the meeting of parliament, from the 25th of January, to the month of May. Meanwhile, the Hamiltons, who had frequently in vain attempted the life of the regent, at length driving out the keepers, took possession of Paisley tower, thinking, that while his attention was occupied with affairs of primary importance, this might be done with impunity. But he, [the 5th of February,] having despatched the earl of Morton, Robert Pitcairn, and James Macgill, to England, as his principal commissioners, to hold a conference with the foreign ambassadors, marched in person to Paisley, and having summoned only the nobility of his own party, besieged the tower, when the water being cut off, the garrison were forced to surrender. He afterward went to Ayr, as Gilbert Kennedy was harassing the king's party, by his plundering incursions into Carrick, but Kennedy, afraid at the appearance of a few troops, and doubtful even of his vassals, who had constantly maintained their fidelity to the king's party, gave his only brother as a hostage, and appointed a day when he would come to Stirling, and ratify his agreement. After his surrender, Hugh, earl of Eglinton, and Robert Boyd came to the regent, and were received by him into favour.

xxvi. During the time the regent was employed in receiving the submissions of the rebels, and the earl of Morton was absent on the English embassy, they who kept Edinburgh

castle, free from the fear of any immediate danger, were constantly employed in raising soldiers, taking military possession of the most advantageous posts in the city, seizing the provisions brought into Leith by the merchants, and by every means in their power, making preparations for standing a siege, until the expected assistance should arrive from abroad. The regent having been severely hurt by a fall from his horse, and having in consequence returned to Glasgow, while there, by means of a common soldier, had his desires for the recovery of Dunbarton castle gratified. This soldier had formed one of the garrison, and his wife, who was accustomed frequently to visit him, having been accused of theft, was whipped by order of Fleming, the governor. He being very uxorious, naturally thought his wife had received the most flagrant injustice, and, deeply affected by her treatment, deserted from the castle, solely intent upon the means of being revenged upon Fleming. Eager to accomplish his purpose, he communicated his designs to Robert Douglas, a relation of the regent's, and promised him, if he would give him the command of a small party, that he would put him in possession of the castle. John Cunningham, who had been informed by Douglas of the proposal, having interrogated the projector very minutely about the method of accomplishing so great an undertaking, the rude soldier, thinking they doubted the accuracy of his promises, because he could not clearly explain the manner by which they were to be performed, replied:— Since you will not believe my words, I offer to risk myself first, if you follow me, I will make you masters of the castle, if you do not like this, let it alone.

xxvii. The soldier's speech being told the regent, the magnitude of the object strongly induced his council to favour the enterprise. Yet, although they did not doubt the fidelity of the proposer, he did not seem to them altogether fit for a leader; they therefore having acquainted Thomas Crawford, a brave and experienced officer, with their undertaking, he was of opinion, that however hazardous, such an opportunity ought to be seized, and not by their cowardice be allowed to pass by. Having spent a few days in preparing scaling ladders, and other necessities, they determined upon carrying

their design into execution on the 1st of April, because on that day, the truce which the rebels had obtained by the mediation of the queen of England, would have expired.

xxviii. But before I relate the success of this attempt, it is necessary to describe the nature and situation of the castle. At the confluence of the rivers Clyde and Leven, lies a plain, about a mile in extent, stretching to the roots of the adjacent hills. On this plain, at the very angle where the rivers meet, stands a two headed rock, one of which, the highest, looks to the west, and has its summit topped by a watchhouse, whence there is a most extensive prospect in all directions. The other, somewhat lower, verges towards the east. Between these two horns, the side which faces the north, and the land, has steps cut out with great labour, obliquely in the rock, by which only one person can ascend at a time. The rock is very hard, and is with difficulty shaped by any iron tool, but when broken by force, or falling down of itself, it diffuses widely a strong sulphureous smell. In the upper part of the castle, there is a huge rock, of a species of loadstone, but so closely cemented to the rest of the rock, and adhering so intimately to it, that no line of junction at all appears. On the south, along which the Clyde flows, the rock, precipitous on every other quarter, slopes a little, and stretching out two arms, embraces a small spot, which, partly from the nature of the place, and partly by human industry, is so enclosed, that it affords space for several houses on the transverse sides, and forms a roadstead in the river, commanded by the batteries, sufficiently safe for friends, but dangerous for enemies. Small boats may approach to the very castle gate. The middle part of the rock, by which is the ascent, is occupied by buildings, and forms, as it were, another castle, cut off from the upper. Besides the natural fortification of the rock, the two rivers, the Leven on the west, and the Clyde on the south, supply the place of ditches. On the east side, the tide, when flowing, washes the foot of the rock, at ebb, it leaves a plain, not sand or gravel, like almost every other shore, but slimy, the unctuous soil being diffused through a solution of clay, and that cut into chasms by the torrents precipitated from the neighbouring hills. The remaining side overhangs a plain grass field. The

castle possesses three perennial fountains, besides several living springs of running water. The ancient Britons, according to Bede, called the place *Alclutha*; the Scots, who were formerly separated from the Britons by the river *Leven*, because this castle stood on the confines of the Britons, called it *Dunbarton*—the name also of a small town on the banks of the river *Leven*, not more than five hundred paces from its confluence with the *Clyde*.

xxix. This castle seemed impregnable, and in both foreign and domestic wars, was often of the greatest advantage to those who had possession of it, and as prejudicial to their enemies. It was then held by *John Fleming*, in the name of the exile queen, who, because he was not of himself sufficiently strong to cope with the king's party, although he had not conspired the death of the former king, yet joined himself to the faction of the parricides, and for four years past, had been supplied with the means of supporting the garrison by the king of France—whom he had persuaded, that almost all the Scots were subject to the queen of England by secret treaties—and by a grand species of gasconade, assured him, that he held the fetters of Scotland, and whenever the French were at leisure from their other wars, if a little assistance were given him, he would easily reduce the whole country under their power. The king of France, by equally ridiculous promises, encouraged his folly, and sent him some trifling warlike stores by one *Verac*, whom he ordered to remain there, and observe the proceedings in Scotland. The perfidy of the governor of *Edinburgh* castle, who had lately deserted the king's party, increased his insolence; the sickness of the regent, who, besides the fall from his horse, was afflicted with the gout, and the truce lengthened out, by the influence of the English queen, to the end of *March*, all combined to render the garrison so negligent and secure, that numbers of them were wont to spend the night in the neighbouring village, in wanton revellings, as if they had been in the bosom of the most profound peace.

xxx. Such was the state of the garrison, when the preparations for the present expedition being completed, as well as the hurry would allow, *John Cunninghame* was sent before

with some horsemen to intercept all passengers, and prevent any intelligence of their approach reaching the enemy; Thomas Crawford followed with the foot, having orders to rendezvous at Dumbuck, a hill nearly a mile distant from the castle, about midnight. At that place, Crawford, according to his instructions, informed the soldiers of the service upon which they were going, and explained the plan of their operations. He showed them their guide, who had promised to ascend first, and assured him, and those who should follow him, that they would be distinguished by high military honour. The soldiers being thus easily persuaded to follow their leaders, scaling ladders, and the other implements necessary for climbing the rocks, were brought, and a little before day-break, the foot soldiers marched to the castle. The horsemen remained where they were to wait the event.

xxxI. As they were approaching the castle, two impediments occurred. The bridge, over the torrent which intersects the plain, was broken, and a flame suddenly appearing in the neighbourhood, occasioned a suspicion that the bridge had been broken on purpose to delay their march, and that the fire had been kindled to give warning to the garrison of the approach of an enemy. But the bridge was speedily rendered passable for the foot, and a scout having been sent to the place where the flame had appeared, on his return, informed them, that he could perceive no vestige of a fire near it; whence they understood, that the light was that kind of flame which, sometimes generated in the air, sinks into the earth, and suddenly evanishes from the sight. They had, however, a better grounded object of fear—lest the sky which was clear with stars, and the day which approached, should discover their attempt to the watches above, when suddenly a thick mist covered the heavens, but so that it did not descend beneath the middle of the castle rock, but involved the upper part in such darkness, that it hid from the garrison the view of every thing that was going on below. But while the mist came so opportunely, another most unlucky accident happened at the same time, which had almost rendered all the rest of the undertaking abortive. The height of the rock rendering several ladders necessary to overcome the ascent, and the first, on account of

their length being difficult to manage, the weight of those who ascended hurriedly overbalancing them, as they could not be firmly fixed on the slippery rock, they suddenly fell, together with those who were upon them. The terror and alarm occasioned by this accident, on finding that no person was hurt, soon subsided, and their almost sinking spirits were so revived, that, as if inspired by a favouring Deity, they returned with greater alacrity to their perilous attempt. Having placed their ladders with more circumspection, they reached the middle of the rock, a spot less rugged, where they could rest, and found by chance, growing among the stones, an ash tree, which afforded them many advantages, for they tied ropes to it, which they let down, and drew up the companions they had left below; thus, almost at the same moment, some, assisted by the ropes, reached the middle of the rock, while others, by removing the other ladders, scaled the summit.

XXXII. Here, however, a new and unexpected misfortune occurred, which had almost frustrated the whole design. One of the men in ascending, when at the middle of the ladder, was seized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and held so firm a grasp of the steps, that he could not be torn, by any means, away, and obstructed the passage of those who were coming behind; but this danger, too, was overcome by the readiness and activity of the soldiers; they bound their companion in such a manner to the ladder, that he could not fall in recovering from his fit, and silently turning the ladder, the rest easily ascended. Having reached the summit of the rock, there was a wall to scale with their third ladders. This Alexander Ramsay ascended, accompanied by two soldiers, whom the watch perceiving, instantly gave the alarm, and threw stones at them. Ramsay, unprepared for this kind of warfare, having neither stones to throw back upon the enemy, nor a shield to defend himself, leaped from the wall, and although attacked by three of the guard, sustained the contest till his companions, more anxious about his safety, than concerned for their own danger, leaped down after him, and soon killed the three sentinels. In the meantime, the rest striving to follow, the old wall, loosened by their weight and their exertions, fell, and the ruin not only presented a practicable

breach, but the rubbish filling up the inequalities of the rock, facilitated the descent on the opposite side; on which, they rushed in, the leaders shouting, God and the king, and at intervals exclaiming:—A Darnly! a Darnly! the name of the regent. The astonished garrison, without attempting to fight, fled in every direction. Many shut themselves up in their houses, till the first fury of the assault was over. Fleming, as he was escaping by the oblique rock, had his only attendant knocked down, and, terrified at the noise of his fall, made a quick descent by an almost impassable precipice. Being let out at a postern gate, and the tide having flowed up to the walls, he seized a small boat that he found there, and fled to Argyleshire. The watch of the lower castle, and twenty-five more of the garrison, who had spent the night in debauchery in the town, roused by the noise, made not even a show of resistance, but ran away, each by the nearest opening. The prisoners taken in the castle were John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews; John Fleming of Boghall; a young Englishman, who had fled from the late English sedition; Verac, the French resident, who had some time before arrived from the king with warlike stores, and remained to send his master information respecting the state of Scotland; and Alexander, the son of William Levingston, who was taken as he attempted to escape in disguise.

xxxiii. The regent, being informed of the capture of the castle, arrived before noon. First, he greatly praised the soldiers; next, he consoled Fleming's wife, and not only restored her all her own wardrobe, silver plate, and household furniture, but also allowed her one of her husband's estates, which had been some time before confiscated, to support her honourably. The rest of the plunder he bestowed on the soldiers. Having arranged all these matters, he took a leisurely view of the castle. When he came to that part of the rock by which the soldiers had ascended, the ascent seemed so arduous to all, that the soldiers themselves confessed, if they had previously seen the danger, no reward whatever would have induced them to make the attempt. Verac being accused, by many merchants, of having plundered them in an hostile manner, upon his coming into the Frith of Clyde, many

of the council thought he ought to be tried for piracy; but the empty name of ambassador, which he had violated by his crimes, prevailed with the regent. In order, however, to give the merchants some hopes of recovering their property from him, he was ordered to be kept for trial, and sent to St. Andrews, to lodge with a person who favoured the rebels; whence being rescued, apparently by force, as was desired, he suddenly left the kingdom. The Englishman, notwithstanding strong suspicions were entertained against him, which were confirmed by his letters of recommendation from John Leslie, bishop of Ross, to Fleming, found when the castle was taken, was sent to his friends in England. After his departure, he was discovered to have been sent by the Norfolk faction to poison the king of Scots. Boghall was detained in prison.

xxxiv. There still remained one among the prisoners, the archbishop of St. Andrews, and him the regent anxiously desired to be put to death, he having formerly, during the regency of his brother, been the adviser of much cruelty and rapine, and during the reign of the queen, was the reputed author of almost all the most infamous transactions, and the regent was afraid, if any long delay intervened, that the queen of England would interfere to prevent his punishment. The archbishop's friends, also, indulged this hope, and lest the shortness of the time should prevent their making any effectual application, he himself violently insisted upon being tried in the ordinary course of law, that some space, however little, might be gained. But all these endeavours were in vain, it not being considered necessary to have any new trial in the archbishop's case, as he had been already condemned by parliament. He was therefore hanged at Stirling, as guilty of the death of the former king and regent.

xxxv. Immediately before his execution, many new proofs of his guilt were adduced, for the most positive had remained undiscovered till then. The archbishop of St. Andrews, who lived in the house next to that where the late king lodged, when the conspiracy for killing the king was communicated to him, cheerfully entered into it, both on account of the ancient enmity between the families, and from the hope of bringing the crown nearer his family; and the perpetration of it was

intrusted to six of the most daring of his vassals. They having received the keys of the king's dwelling, entered with the utmost silence, and strangled him when asleep, then carried out the dead body to the next garden, opposite the city walls, through the little door already mentioned, and afterward, upon a given signal, blew up the house. The proof of the archbishop's criminality proceeded from John Hamilton, one of the principal actors in this tragedy. This man, tormented night and day by a consciousness of the crime, suffered not only the pangs of an awakened conscience, but his body also, affected by the distress of his mind, gradually pined away under a wasting disease. In his inquiries after relief, he recollected a schoolmaster at Paisley, a simple man, and still attached to the papal religion, and going to him, he confessed the whole transaction, and named all his accomplices. The priest sedulously endeavoured to comfort him, and reminded him of the mercy of God; but his sense of guilt had penetrated too far, and his melancholy taken too deep root, to be removed by such consolations. In a few days after, he died in despair. The awful death of the murderer not being concealed sufficiently by the priest, the report reached the king's friends, and they, many months after the assassination, when the regent had taken and carried the archbishop to Stirling, caused the priest also to be brought thither. When examined respecting what he had said about the king's murder, he persisted in his story; on which, he was asked by Hamilton how he had learned it, and whether it was revealed to him in an auricular confession. Having acknowledged that it was, then, said the archbishop, you are not ignorant, I suppose, of the punishment awaiting those who divulge confessions, and asked him nothing more respecting the accusation; but upwards of fifteen months after, when the same priest was apprehended officiating at mass a third time, on being carried to execution, in conformity to the act, he publicly repeated, at greater length, what he had said before; and on the publication of these declarations, the vassals of the Hamiltons quarrelled among themselves, and accused each other of the king's death.

xxxvi. In the meantime, the rebels had procured a little

money from France, by the governor of Edinburgh castle's brother; and Morton having returned from his English journey, a parliament was assembled at Stirling, to whom Morton gave a summary account of his embassy, nearly as follows:—When we arrived at London, [February 20th] we were referred by the queen to seven commissioners chosen from her council, by whom, after various conversations, two points were proposed to us for discussion. The first, that we should explain the reasons of our proceedings during the past years, and support them by such arguments as would satisfy her of the justice of our cause, and enable her to give a satisfactory answer to those who asked her respecting it; and although we could not, yet the queen would omit nothing which might conduce to our safety. To this we replied by a memorial, stating:—The crimes, of which our king's mother, in the beginning, complained that she was falsely accused, were so clearly demonstrated by the earl of Moray, and the ambassadors who accompanied him, that neither the queen of England, nor those appointed by her to take cognizance of the affair, can be ignorant of the author of the late king's murder, from which source, all the rest of our misfortunes have arisen; it is not therefore necessary to repeat them before the queen, who, we doubt not, is perfectly satisfied upon this subject already; nor shall we, who are dragged against our inclinations into this dispute, willingly recal them to remembrance; yet they who cannot deny that the deed was cruelly and wickedly perpetrated, exclaim against the transference of the supreme government from the mother to the son, and her removal from power as a novel, cruel, and violent measure. First, then, the ancient practice of our ancestors in punishing their kings, proves that there was nothing new in the fact, and our moderation must free us from the imputation of any thing invidious in the manner. It is unnecessary to enumerate the number of kings our fathers have punished by death, imprisonment, or exile, much less do we need to defend our act by foreign examples, of which so many are offered us in ancient history.

xxxvii. For the Scottish nation, originally a free people, created themselves kings upon this condition:—That the gov-

ernment, being intrusted to them by the suffrages of the people, if the state of the country required it, could be taken from them by the same suffrages; of which law, many vestiges remain even in our own day; for in the circumjacent islands, and in the places on the continent in which the ancient language and customs are retained, this custom is still observed in creating their magistrates; besides, the ceremonies used at the inauguration of our kings, have an express reference to this law; from all which, it is evident that government is nothing more than a mutual compact between the people and their kings. At the same time, the inoffensive tenor of this ancient law, is evident from no one ever having attempted to abrogate, alter, or even mitigate it, from the first erection of monarchy in Scotland to this present time; and although it were tedious to enumerate the kings whom our fathers have dethroned, banished, imprisoned, and also put to death, yet never was it hinted that the law was too severe. Nor perhaps was this omission improper; for it is not one of these laws which are obnoxious to the change of times, but is one of those statutes which, in the primary constitution of our nature, are stamped upon the heart, are verified by the mutual consent of almost every people, and, like the universe itself, must remain unbroken and eternal. They acknowledge no power, but all are governed and regulated by them. This principle, which presents itself to our observation in every action, which, in spite of us, dwells in our bosoms, always influenced our ancestors, armed them against oppression, and taught them to repress the insolence of tyrants. But this law is not peculiar to the Scots alone, it is common to all well governed nations and people.

xxxviii. For, passing over in silence the illustrious states of Athens, Lacedemon, Rome, and Venice, who never suffered this law to be torn from them but with liberty itself, even in those times in which the Roman republic was oppressed by the most cruel tyranny, when by accident any virtuous man was made emperor, he considered it his highest glory to acknowledge himself inferior to the people, and liable to the empire of the law. Trajan, when, according to custom, he delivered the sword of justice to the prefect of the city, is said

thus to have addressed him, Use it for me, or against me, as I shall deserve; and Theodosius, an excellent emperor in the worst of times, wished to leave enrolled among the records of the empire, a declaration that it was not only consistent with the dignity of majesty, but that it conferred an additional honour upon an emperor, to acknowledge himself subject to the laws. Nor were the most barbarous, and uncivilized nations, ignorant of this right, as all experience, and the history of all nations can bear witness. But that we may not seem to rest our argument upon obsolete examples, we shall adduce two within our own recollection. Christiern, king of Denmark, was lately, on account of his cruelty, driven from his kingdom, together with his whole family, certainly a more severe punishment than the people ever inflicted upon any of our kings, they never visited the sins of the fathers upon their children. He, indeed, a monster infamous for every species of crime, was deservedly punished, but the mother of the emperor Charles V., what did she do to render herself worthy of perpetual imprisonment? A woman left a widow in the bloom of life, by the death of a young vigorous husband, was accused of wishing to marry again, nor was she accused of any greater crime, than a species of legal incontinence—to use the most severe term—opposed to their public customs, but an honourable connexion, approved by the laws both of God and man. It in calamity, to call it by no other name, our queen be compared with Christiern, the Dane, she has not sinned less, but has been more moderately punished. If with Joan of Austria, the mother of Charles, what a pitiful trespass did she commit, who only asked lawfully to enjoy a gratification necessary at her age? And yet she, though innocent, endured a punishment, of which the other, convicted of the most enormous wickedness, complains; and the murder of a lawful husband, and an illegal marriage with a public parricide, find now as their apologists, the same persons who, in assassinating the king, inflicted the punishment due to the guilty upon the innocent.

xxxix. But these do not reflect upon what they owe to the examples of their forefathers, and forget those eternal laws, which have been held sacred since the foundation of the monarchy, and enforced by the illustrious nobles, who set bounds

to the despotism of the crown. As for us, what have we done more than followed the footsteps of so many kingdoms, and free nations, when we checked the licentiousness of a power raising itself above all law? Not, indeed, with the severity our ancestors were accustomed to employ, who would never have suffered any one convicted of such a crime to escape a capital punishment; whom, if we had imitated, we would now, not only have been free from danger, but even have avoided the annoyance of our calumniators, as is evident from the demands of our adversaries. How often have they accused us to the neighbouring kings? What nations have they not excited against us? What at last do they urge by this importunity? That the controversy may be legally and equitably determined! We never refused this, they never would accept of it when frequently offered. What therefore do they demand? That we should arm with public authority, tyrants, openly guilty of the most atrocious crimes, glutted with the spoil of their subjects, stained red with the blood of the king, and breathing vengeance against all virtuous citizens! That we should intrust with our lives, untried wretches, perpetrators of one parricide, and strongly suspected of having planned another! And yet, notwithstanding these their impudent requests, we have been more indulgent than the manner of our country, the severity of the laws, or the equitable demands of justice could require. There is nothing more frequently celebrated, or more distinctly stated by our historians, than the punishment of bad kings, yet who, of all those accused of mismanaging the government, were ever so mildly treated by their irritated subjects? What punishment have we inflicted on the mother of our king, caught in the commission of the most horrible atrocity? When did the son, or the relation of any person, convicted of such a crime, reign in their stead? And when was any such criminal, ever allowed the liberty of appointing whatever guardians they chose to their successor.

XL. But in the very deposition from the throne, what is there that any person can complain of, as being at all hard? A young woman, unequal to the task of managing a boisterous and turbulent people, requests her nobles by letter, to release her from the administration of a government, productive of

more anxiety than glory—It is granted. She further desires that her right may be transferred to her son—her wish is complied with; that she may be allowed to nominate guardians, to preside over the government during her son's minority—this also is conceded to her; and that the transaction might have the greater authority, it is referred to the meeting of the estates, by whom every thing is declared to have been done regularly and properly, and is confirmed by a public act, than which there is no firmer, or more sacred bond acknowledged among us. But it is alleged, that what is done in prison, not being a voluntary act, but extorted by the fear of death, this, like many other deeds which men are forced to execute by terror, must be considered, as they usually and properly are, of no effect. This plea of bodily fear, however, though sometimes admitted with propriety by judges as an excuse, does not always afford a proper reason for rescinding a judgment. If any person, to procure an advantage to himself, excites terror in a pannel, and by means of it, extorts more from him than he is by law entitled to, it is but right, and consistent with the most rigid justice, that a remedy should be provided for the person thus forced by violence, or impelled by fear; but, on the other hand, if a guilty conscience conjures up to itself terror from the dread of merited punishment, or for the sake of avoiding this, consents to certain conditions, that terror affords no proper reason for rescinding any transaction, otherwise, the more wicked any person was, the easier would he be received into any legal shelter, and the remedies which were intended to relieve the innocent would be applied to save the guilty, and the laws themselves, the avengers of injustice instead of affording an asylum to the good, when harassed by the dishonesty of the bad, would offer an iniquitous refuge to criminals afraid of deserved punishment. But be that fear what it may, in what did it make the situation of the queen worse? The title of queen, and the power of government had already been taken from her by the determination of the people, and, reduced to a private station, she was allowed to retain a precarious existence, not because she was innocent, but because the people were compassionate.

XLI. What then, when her crown was surrendered, did she lose through her terror? Already divested of royalty, she threw away an empty name, and what might have been forced from her by law, she laid aside of her own accord, and in exchange for the shadow of a title, she rescued the remainder of her life from a load of reproach, and the perpetual dread of death, even worse than death itself. It is astonishing that the prevarication of the queen's pleaders, or commissioners, on this point, does not strike every one. They who ask that what the queen did in prison should be revoked, ask that she should be placed in the same situation, from which she complains her fears had driven her. Now, what is that situation to which she is so violently anxious to be restored? Removed from the helm of the kingdom, and the administration of the government taken from her, she lay exposed to the punishment of the laws. Her excellent advisers wish her restored, they say, that she may stand trial—for a crime as manifest, as it is infamous and detestable; or rather, that having been tried and found guilty, she may suffer the penalty of the law, and that she who now enjoys some ease from the compassion of her relatives, and who, though atrociously guilty, is not yet irremediably wretched, should again embark on the stormy element of judicial proceedings, with no other hope of safety than that which arises from the condemnation of so many former kings who have been tried. It is sedulously urged by our adversaries, on purpose to inflame the minds of the weak, that the punishment of tyrants degrades the majesty, and lessens the authority of good kings. But examine this assertion. May we not in opposition affirm, that there is nothing more honourable to society, or to assemblies of good men, than to be free from the contagion of the bad. Who thought the Roman senate polluted by the punishment of Lentullus, Cethagus, or Cataline? When the soldiery mutinied upon the death of Caligula, and loudly demanded who was the author of so audacious an action? Valerius Asiaticus, exclaimed from a high and lofty station:—I wish I could say with truth that I was; and such was the majesty of that free speech of a private person, that the whole of the enraged multitude immediately dispersed quietly.

XLII. L. Junius Brutus, when he extinguished the conspiracy for bringing back the tyranny into the city of Rome, did not think his family polluted by an ignominious execution, but rather that a stain was washed away from the Roman nobility by the blood of his son. Did the imprisonment of Christiern detract any thing from the praises of Christiern, the next king? Did that prevent his being esteemed the best king of his time? No! A noble mind built upon its own virtue, neither increases by the glory of another, nor decreases by his infamy. But waving these considerations, to return to the defence of the accusation, we think we have sufficiently fulfilled the demand of the queen, that we should substantiate our cause by satisfactory arguments, so that she might be convinced of its justice herself, and be able to give a proper answer to others. Respecting the murder—the author of the crime, the manner of its execution, and the causes which led to it, were so clearly stated by the earl of Moray and his companions, to the queen of England and her commissioners, that they can want no additional information to form the most correct opinion. With regard to what has occurred since, we have shown that our conduct has been agreeable to the divine law, the law of nature, which is indeed itself divine, and to the laws and institutions of our country, neither is it opposed to the customs of other nations, among whom justice and equitable governments have been established. We have shown that the interpreters of all law, human and divine, the examples of so many ages, the judgment of so many people, and the punishment of tyrants justify our cause. What is there then so new—we will not say improper—in our conduct, that should prevent the queen from being satisfied of the equity of our cause herself, or of justifying it to others, or that should induce her to think that we have violated either the duty of good men, of subjects, or of Christians.

XLIII. This was the summary of our reply, which we drew up in the shape of a memorial, and on the last day of February, read before the learned and virtuous men, appointed by the queen to confer with us, and gave them a copy to lay before her majesty. Next day, March 1st, we went to court again in the morning, to learn not only what was the queen's

opinion of our memorial, but also of the whole cause. But as her majesty was about to set out to her country seat, three miles below London, near the village of Greenwich, we had no opportunity of seeing her. We therefore, as our next resource, had a conference with the noblemen of her council, who had communicated with us from the beginning, from whom we learned, that although the preparations for her journey, and several other causes, had left her little time, yet she had read our representation, but that she was not altogether satisfied of the justice of our cause, and therefore desired us to advert to the second proposition at first made to us, and point out some plan by which these discords could be honourably settled. In reply, we answered that we had not been sent from home with discretionary powers, but were limited to certain bounds. Nor had we liberty at all to enter into any discussion which could tend to lessen the prerogative of our king; nor if such power had been offered us, would we have accepted or used it.

XLIV. Such being the state of our negotiations, the queen at Greenwich, and we at London, we sent some of our number to her, to learn whether she had any thing else to do with us, and if not, to procure leave for us to depart, and return home to meet parliament, and attend to our own private business; at the same time, to assure her majesty of our desire to oblige her, and that it would be better in our power at home, to convince her of the sincerity of our good will, than when residing in a foreign country. This urgency procured us an order to attend at court, on the 5th day of March. When introduced to the queen, she sharply rebuked us for our obstinacy in persisting in our preconceived opinions, and that we had so pertinaciously avoided any disputation, or rather consultation, on a subject involving our severity, and expressed at great length, her aversion to the king, and those who supported his cause. We contended, that the equity of our cause had been clearly established. She replied, that her mind was not at all satisfied by the examples and arguments we had produced, nor was she quite unacquainted with such disputations, as she had formerly devoted part of her time to the study of the laws. But though, continued she, you seem

thus completely determined to propose nothing else for the preservation of your own safety, and the safety of your king, yet I wish you would, notwithstanding, speak with those of my council on this subject, with whom you have previously conferred.—We replied, that we were not so pertinaciously attached to these opinions, as not to hear cheerfully whatever plan for finishing this business, she or her counsellors had to propose, provided it involved no change in the present state of the kingdom, nor any diminution of the power of the king, concerning which we neither would, nor could deliberate.

XLV. Next day we went down to the queen's palace, as we had agreed with her majesty, and had a conference with her counsellors, in the course of which, many propositions were made by them, for arranging the dispute between the mother and son, respecting the right to the government. After hearing which, because the reasons were many and of grave import on both sides, we desired they should be given us in writing, and that we should be allowed time to deliberate upon them; nor did they, after consulting with their queen, refuse. When we had considered them, the subject appeared to us so arduous, and tending so much to lessen the royal authority, and so much beyond the prescribed bounds of our legation, that we neither wished, nor dared, nor could intermeddle with them. Accordingly, next day, Robert Pitcairn was sent with this answer:—That the subject came under the cognizance of all the estates, and could not be discussed by so small a number as we were; and the day after, March 9th, he returned to court with the same in writing, having been desired, the day before, to do so; at the same time, he earnestly entreated the queen, that the purposes for which the ambassadors had been sent having been answered, she would give them leave to return home. At length, ten days after, we were afforded an opportunity of waiting on her majesty. The members of the council, with whom we had transacted all our business since our arrival, strongly insisted that we should still, along with them, endeavour to suggest some practicable method of settling the business, and represented, at great length, that if foreign war should be added to domestic sedition, the trouble and danger would be doubled, and

every thing become more difficult, especially as we did not possess strength to extricate ourselves; but we persevered in the resolution we had formed, and would accept of no form of pacification by which the power of the king should be abridged. Thus that day ended.

XLVI. Next day, March 20th, we were recalled to court, when the queen, ordering us to be introduced, addressed us nearly in the following terms:—She had examined our answer along with our counsellors, and clearly perceived that none but the supreme council of the Scots, that is, the meeting of the estates, could give any certain answer to what she had required; wherefore, she had discovered a plan by which she could, under a sufficiently honourable pretext, leave the whole matter as it was. She was told there would soon be a meeting of the parliament in Scotland; thither we should proceed, and she hoped would arrive safely, and use our utmost endeavours that a committee should be chosen from both parties, composed of equal numbers from each, to examine carefully the grounds of the controversy; she likewise would send commissioners, who, along with them, would endeavour to effect a reconciliation; she, however, required that the truce should in the meantime be renewed, until the whole was brought to a conclusion. She wished to converse with the ambassadors of the queen of Scots, and if possible, bring them over to her opinion; but they declined, as they could do nothing without consulting their mistress; but they would write to her to learn her opinion. We, however, urgently requested that we might have our promised leave of absence to return home, but were ordered to wait patiently a little, until an answer was received from our king's mother to the bishop of Ross, and the rest of her ambassadors, after which, we should immediately obtain leave to return.

XLVII. In the meantime, it was to no purpose that we incessantly urged, that we had nothing to do with the bishop of Ross, nor was our embassy addressed to him; we had finished the object of our mission, and were astonished why the bishop of Ross, now that it was at an end, should delay us, especially as, during our absence, so many changes had taken place, and so many disturbances arisen, greatly to the disad-

vantage of the king's party; yet neither did this urgency, carried almost to excess, produce any effect; the matter was protracted from day to day, till the queen returned to London, on the last day of March. The proceedings in her own parliament, then so much occupied the queen for the next three days, that she had no leisure for attending to foreign disputes; at last, on the 4th of April, she sent for us, and having apologized for the delay, she informed us, that the mother of our king had written a sharp letter to her ambassadors, for their presumption in descending to treat about her cause in the manner they had done; wherefore, said the queen of England, since she so violently opposes the method of bringing about a peace which I proposed, I shall not longer detain you; but if she should afterward, as I hope she may, repent and accept of my proposal, I do not doubt but you will do your duty. Thus, at last, we were dismissed kindly and courteously, and on the 8th of April set out for home.

XLVIII. This account having been given to the nobles assembled at Stirling, they unanimously approved of the diligence and fidelity of their ambassadors, but the farther consideration was postponed till the 1st of May, when the parliament was summoned to meet, against which both parties were exceedingly active, the one preparing to hold, and the other to prevent its being holden on the day appointed. Men of discernment now almost openly expressed their opinion, that the English queen would never send away the queen of Scots, as she foresaw what danger her freedom would occasion to the whole of Britain. In the meantime, a hint was thrown out about giving the king of Scots as an hostage for his mother, more with the hope of preventing, than of promoting concord; for it was well known the Scots would never consent to that; but there were in Elizabeth's council many persons who secretly favoured the Norfolk faction. These desired the restoration of the Scottish queen, and had long wished the faction opposed to her broken and debilitated, that they might wrest from their necessity, what they could never otherwise expect to obtain; nor did they doubt but that the rebels would be assisted with money and warlike stores from France. The king's party were, on the other hand, devoted entirely to the

queen of England, who kindly, from the first, when she understood the misconduct of the queen of Scots, promised she would take the king and the kingdom under her protection. The French king, at the same time, found it difficult to effect his designs; he wished that the queen should be restored, but he did not wish that the king should be surrendered to the English; and as he knew how powerful the Norfolk faction was, who desired a change, he did not despair but that the queen of Scotland might either be enabled secretly to escape from prison, or be rescued by force. Such was nearly, at that time, the state of British affairs.

XLIX. Morton, after his conduct in the embassy had been approved of in the meeting of the nobles at Stirling, returned to his home, about four miles from Edinburgh, attended by about a hundred foot soldiers, and a few horse, as a guard, in case he should be attacked by the townsmen, or to repress their incursions, till a greater force could be collected. In the meantime, the queen's faction, who held the town, raised soldiers, and garrisoned the most advantageous stations, and bent their whole endeavours to exclude the parliament which the regent had summoned to meet at Edinburgh. Morton sent, as desired by the regent, twenty horsemen, and seventy foot, the rest being absent foraging, to Leith, to publish a proclamation—Edinburgh being in the power of the garrison—forbidding any person to supply the rebels with provisions, arms, or other warlike stores, under pain of being treated as rebels themselves. The detachment, as they knew themselves inferior to the force of the townsmen, sent the foot soldiers round the hill, Arthur's seat, out of sight of the city, and passed with the horse close under the walls, and by the very gates, without being disturbed by the enemy. But having executed their commission at Leith, they were not equally fortunate in their return; for the foot refused to retire by the same way that they had advanced. In order to try their own courage, and that of the enemy, they, in spite of the horse, went along with them past the gates of the city, quite close to the walls, when, on a sudden, two of the gates were thrown open and a sally made. At first both fought bravely, but at length the townsmen were driven in confusion back into the

city, with little loss indeed, yet sufficient to show that they were inferior in bravery, though superior in numbers.

L. On the other hand, the regent, who had nothing prepared for besieging the town, and being so straitened for time by the near approach of parliament, that he could not procure artillery, thought it better to abstain from violence, and resolved to hold the meeting without the gates; for the city extending chiefly in length, they who first surrounded it with walls, excluded a great part of the suburbs, yet in such a manner, that the inhabitants enjoyed the right of citizens equally with those within; there the estates sat, for skilful lawyers gave it as their opinion, it was of no consequence in what part of the city they assembled. In this meeting, the chief of those who held the castle were declared traitors, especially those who, conscious of the murder of the king and regent, fled from trial. The rebels being condemned by act of the estates, whose sentence is of the greatest authority, fearing lest the vulgar—who almost all hang upon the nod of the nobles—should desert them, assembled also a parliament from among their adherents. Few, however, who had a right to vote, remained with them, and of these few, some did not attend, and others who attended, took no part in the proceedings. But when they could neither muster a decent roll of voters, and these even not convoked in the legal time, nor according to the manner of our ancestors, yet, that they might have some appearance of a legitimate number, two bishops, and some others who were absent, sent, what never had been heard of before in any legal meeting, their written votes by proxy, in the doubtful event of a parliament.

LI. During the whole time of their sitting, although the great guns of the castle played upon the place where the nobility met, and the balls frequently fell in the midst of crowds of people, yet nobody was either killed or wounded. There were but few condemned in either convention, and both appointed parliaments to be held in August, the one in Stirling, the other in Edinburgh. The parliament being dissolved, neither party attacked the other, as if a truce had been mutually agreed upon. The greater part of the hired soldiers who were with Morton, having returned to their homes, those who

kept possession of the town, informed of the small number that remained, and desirous of wiping away their former disgrace, sent out two hundred and twenty foot soldiers, musqueteers, and one hundred horse, with two brass fieldpieces, intending either to burn the village of Dalkeith, where Morton then was, or, if they did not succeed in this, to keep the enemy, through fear, within the place, and then blazon their caution throughout the country, as an express confession of cowardice. On this party suddenly showing themselves drawn up in order of battle, on a hill opposite to the village, the alarm was given, and the Mortonians mustering about two hundred foot, and sixty horse, immediately marched round another hill, and descending into a valley, halted and formed in front of their opponents. The skirmishers then of both parties advancing, exercised themselves a little, but the rebels, who thought they would have found the enemy wholly unprepared, on perceiving their mistake, retreated in as good order as possible, and made for the city. In the meantime, as they pressed upon each other, and had reached Craigmiller castle, about half way between Dalkeith and Edinburgh, a few foot soldiers of the Mortons, who had secretly made a circuit of the castle, rising from an ambush, attacked the enemy at a narrow part of the road, and having thrown them into confusion, put them to flight. The garrison of Edinburgh seeing, from the height, the discomfiture of their friends, sent eighty horse, and thirty foot, to their aid. Re-enforced by them, the enemy turned, and the king's horse, who were scarcely half the number of the rebels, unable to stand the charge, ran back in as much haste as they had pursued before. The foot on both sides were almost of no service, owing to a sudden and heavy fall of rain. In the flight there were a few of the Mortons slain, many wounded, and about twenty-six taken. The number of killed among the rebels was greater, but there were fewer prisoners. An accident nearly equalized the loss upon both sides. The party from Edinburgh brought with them a barrel of gunpowder, and as they hurriedly and carelessly were taking out some of the powder, it took fire, and exploded with so much violence, that the horse who carried it, the commander of the foot, James Melville, and many of

the soldiers, were severely scorched. The greater part of the men died a few days after.

LII. While these affairs, of little advantage to either party, were carrying on around Edinburgh, a regiment of Scottish mercenaries, who had fought in the pay of Denmark for some years, under Michael Weymss, a young nobleman of the greatest virtue and learning, returned home, and offered their services to the king, the townsmen having in vain endeavoured to enlist them on their side. These, having had a few days allowed them to visit their friends, when they reassembled at the day appointed, were informed the rebels had fitted out vessels to intercept them. Morton, aware of the design, having collected what force he could upon the moment, without acquainting them whither he led them, came to Leith so quickly, that he had almost made the whole of the enemy prisoners, as they were going on board; sixteen, however, of the laziest, who had not launched their boats, were taken. Next day, as the tide would not allow it sooner, he provided vessels to follow, or intercept them in their return. The regent also being informed that night, he himself set out early next morning, with an irregular force, and marched along the left bank of the Forth, to attack the enemy upon their landing. But the expedition of the Danish soldiers rendered all these exertions unnecessary, for the greater part of them having found a large vessel, passed over safely, the rest, about twenty-six, who embarked on board a smaller vessel, were taken at a distance from Leith, and carried to the castle.

LIII. The affair being thus ended, the regent returned to Stirling. Morton, worn out with watching and fatigue, and being, besides, afflicted with colic, was confined to bed at Leith. Drury, the English envoy, for several days had endeavoured to negotiate a truce between the parties, but without success, for the regent would hearken to no terms, until the places which had been seized during the former peace were restored. He being now about to depart, the rebels, as an ostentatious mark of respect, drew out their whole force before him, thinking that Morton being confined, they would extort a confession of fear from their enemy, who were inferior in numbers, or if they ventured to engage without their leader,

they would be able to perform some brilliant service. Morton, on being informed of this circumstance by his horseguard, immediately rose from his bed, put on his armour, and having led out all his men, drew them up in order of battle, about half a mile from the enemy. Drury rode between the two armies, and entreated them both to return home, nor destroy all hope of an accommodation by their rashness. To which they consented, only they could not agree who should leave the ground first. This also Drury endeavoured to arrange, and desired that both should wait till he, standing in the middle between the armies, gave the signal, and then mutually retire at the same moment. Morton made no objections; the rebels, on the other hand, threatened him, that unless he departed of his own accord, they would drive him ignominiously away, and could scarcely be restrained from advancing.

LIV. On receiving this message, Morton, who was unwilling to offend Drury and the English, and was glad to have had them witness his moderation, thinking he had already borne sufficiently, suddenly marched against the enemy. The horse, at the first charge, left the flanks uncovered; the foot then made only a feeble attempt at fighting, and almost immediately ran away with the utmost speed towards the nearest gate; which not being wide enough to admit the fugitives, many were slain in the entrance, many trodden down, and a great number of prisoners taken, none making any resistance except a party of foot, who, trusting to the situation of an adjacent churchyard, rallied, but again fled at the first charge of the enemy. The flight into the city was so disorderly, that, leaving the gates unguarded, all fled together to the castle, and if the pursuing enemy, too intent upon plunder, had not neglected the opportunity, the city might have been taken. Of the rebels there were about fifty killed, and about one hundred and fifty taken. Among these, Alexander Hume was slightly hurt by his horse falling under him; Gavin Hamilton was killed; James Cullen, captain of foot, a relation of Huntly's, was taken in a poor woman's pantry, where he had concealed himself, and brought to Leith. On seeing him, the common people raised such a shout, that nothing short of his death would satisfy them, as, in the former civil wars, he had been

an avaricious and cruel robber. In France he was infamous as a soldier, and in the wars between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, he received money from both to raise soldiers, and promised his assistance to each, but fulfilled his engagements to neither; and many other shameful actions had he been guilty of, till at last, being taken as mentioned, he was carried out to execution, amidst the greatest rejoicing.

LV. After a few days' rest, the townsmen, having refreshed themselves, again appeared in arms, and almost daily slight skirmishes took place with various fortune. The king's troops were the bravest; but the situation of the place, well adapted for ambushes, and the lofty castle, whence, as a watchtower, every motion of the enemy could be seen, were favourable to the rebels; nor did the latter almost ever risk an engagement beyond the range of the great guns of the fortress. The regent remained in Leith watching their sallies, and intercepting their supplies by sea, for he was unable to prevent their receiving these on the land side, on account of the ruggedness of the ground, and the extent of the city, in surrounding which, many favourable opportunities were lost.

LVI. Whilst these skirmishings were carried on about the city, a French vessel, laden with gunpowder, iron bullets, small brass cannon, and some money for the besieged, was captured. The money was applied to pay the soldiers, the powder, shot, and part of the cannon, were sent up the river without a sufficient convoy to Stirling. The rebels, informed of this, prepared some vessels in another harbour, surprised them, and retook the spoil; but being unable to get it conveyed safely to the castle, sunk it in the river. About the same time, another vessel was taken, but she carried nothing except letters filled with magnificent promises of speedy assistance from the French king; for during the whole two years past, in which war had been carried on in Scotland, the queen of England had supported the spirits of the king's party, and the French monarch, and the English papists, had encouraged the rebels, by pitiful sums of money and magnificent promises, while neither of the sovereigns appeared to wish that their respective faction should conquer, only that they might not be overcome; but both wished that their allies should be reduced

to extremity; the queen of England, that those whom she supported, tired of the protracted struggle, might willingly consent to send their king to England, and thus become wholly dependant upon her; the French king, that the rebels might surrender to him Dunbarton and Edinburgh castles, and by having possession of these two garrisons commanding both seas, he might keep the Scots, however unwillingly, always in subjection; but despairing of the queen's liberation, and Dunbarton castle being lost, he moved more slowly in the cause of the rebels, not thinking it advisable to undertake a new and unnecessary war, in a country exhausted by domestic seditions, for one castle only; at present, he considered it sufficient if it were not taken. The Scots were determined never to surrender their king to the English, as well on account of ancient controversies, as from a dread of the power of the English papists, who placed the safety of their cause in his death; for he being removed, the queen of England would not only appear weaker, when the life of one prince only prevented the accomplishment of their hopes, but the queen of Scotland would become the undoubted heir of the whole island, and by her marriage, could gratify whom she chose with the crown, and put the state of religion, throughout all Europe, in danger of a change. The conspirators were men of influence in the English court, who preferred the hope of a change to their ancient offices; but those of them who belonged to the privy council, feared lest, if they should put to death the queen of England while the Scottish king was alive, the known bad conduct of the queen of Scots should weaken her authority, and increase the power of her son, whom the fear of tyranny would render dearer to the English. The English rebels, therefore, wished to destroy both the king of Scotland and the queen of England at once, and when their open efforts had been unsuccessful, they determined to carry them off by poison.

LVII. In this state of the country, both the Scottish factions prepared themselves for the approaching meeting of parliament. The rebels had only three votes of the first rank, two of whom had been named commissioners, for holding a parliament in the queen's name; the third, Alexander Hume,

only had a right to vote; of the ecclesiastical rank, two bishops, the one had been banished thither some months before by the regent, since when, the state of the city being changed, he dared not depart without a passport, and unwillingly remained; the other, a bankrupt, having squandered his estate, was forced thither by necessity. By the decrees of this assemblage, above two hundred persons were condemned, some of them still children; besides whom, the most licentious of the soldiers, as if already victorious, marked out estates and property for themselves, and inserted, among the number of the proscribed, many innocent and quiet subjects, who were on that account peculiarly exposed to injury.

LVIII. The regent proceeded to Stirling with a great concourse of the nobility, and there held a parliament, in which about thirty of the most obstinate of the queen's party were condemned, proceedings against the rest were delayed, and hopes of pardon held out to them. During the absence of the nobles, the rebels, thinking the opportunity favourable, led out their troops from the city, and to swell the appearance of their host, carried all the townsmen along with them. These they drew up in line, with the greater part of the soldiers, on purpose that, as had happened formerly, they might by light skirmishing, entice the king's troops from Leith, and while they kept the attention of the enemy completely occupied, the rest, marching secretly by a circuitous route, should enter the town at an opposite gate, while the garrison was absent, and set it on fire. Patrick Lindsay, a skilful and active officer, who commanded at Leith, having drawn up his forces, after leaving a guard to prevent any ambuscade, led his men right against the enemy. At first the engagement was briskly contested, until one general charge threw the rebels into confusion, and they were driven back with considerable slaughter to the city gates. A great many prisoners were taken, but chiefly town's people. Alexander Hume was taken, but rescued. In the evening, as the king's party returned rejoicing on account of their victory, James Halyburton, an excellent man and experienced officer, who commanded the foot, having strayed farther than he imagined from his company, was taken prisoner in a cross road by a troop of horse, not being

able to distinguish to what party they belonged in the dusk, and carried to the city.

LIX. Having occasioned this loss, the rebels were encouraged to attempt another action, which as it was accompanied with greater danger, and required more boldness, so it promised, if successful, to put an end to the whole war. They had learned, by their spies, that the nobles of the adverse faction at Stirling were so careless, that, as if in the midst of peace, although in an open town, they had not so much as night watches; they, therefore, set out thither with three hundred foot, and two hundred horse; and that the journey might be less fatiguing to the foot, who were hastily marched, they seized the horses of all the country folks who had come in the day before to the market, and likewise pressed into the service all the horse they met upon the road. The leaders of this expedition were George Gordon, Claude Hamilton, and Walter Scott; and they were greatly aided by George Bell, an ensign of a foot regiment, a native of Stirling, who knew all the streets and entries into the town, was acquainted with all the noblemen's lodgings, and assured them that, beyond a doubt, he would put the whole of them into their power. They themselves, too, advanced with such confidence, that they had already designated those they meant to kill, and those they meant to save. Early in the morning, when they approached the town, they found every part so carelessly guarded, that not even a dog barked at them; on which, in the utmost silence, they entered, and penetrated to the market place, without meeting any person. Having placed guards in all the avenues, they then proceeded to the houses of the nobility, all of whom they overcame with little difficulty. At the lodging of James Douglas, earl of Morton, alone they met with any resistance, which when they could not obtain possession of by force, they set fire to. He, after some of his servants were killed bravely defending the passages, and after all the house was filled with flame and smoke, escaped with difficulty through the burning into the street, and surrendered himself to Walter Scott, his kinsman, who met him. The regent, too, at the same moment, his servants having but carelessly protected him, as he endeavoured to defend himself,

was taken prisoner. Alexander, earl of Glencairn, and Hugh, earl of Eglinton, were delivered to a guard to be kept for execution; for Claude Hamilton had informed his friends, that all the nobles, without exception, of the adverse party, as soon as ever they passed the gates of the town were to be put to death.

LX. Every thing succeeding beyond their expectation, the common soldiers flew to plunder, when John Erskine, governor of the castle, who had before in vain attempted to break through the guarded streets to the market-place, at last ordered a body of his musqueteers to occupy his new house, which was then nearly finished, and overlooked the whole market-place, the enemy having neglected to take possession of it as it was empty, and not completed; this afforded a safe station to the king's party, whence they could annoy the enemy. The rebels, when they perceived themselves attacked from this commanding station with superior arms, immediately took to flight, with such trepidation, that when they came to the narrow lane that leads to the gate, they trod down one another. Their safety consisted in there being few to pursue. Those who had driven them out of the market-place coming out only one by one from the house, by a small door, the only one which looked toward the town, and that half shut, were joined by but a few armed, from the other houses. Thus the whole multitude, who the day before had undertaken so bold an enterprise, and had so nearly accomplished it successfully, were driven by sixteen men out of the town, with such trepidation and tumult, that, leaving their prisoners, each consulted only his own safety. In all this disturbance, only one person of note fell, George Ruthven, a youth of the highest promise, who was killed while he pressed too eagerly upon the enemy. Alexander Stuart of Garlies, too, as he was leading away prisoners, was mortally struck, but whether by his own men, or the enemy, is uncertain. When the rout became general, those who had been kept within doors by fear, came out everywhere; those who had taken James Douglas, and Alexander Cunningham, when they saw they could not escape, surrendered themselves prisoners to their captives.

LXI. David Spence, captain of horse among the rebels, who

was leading away the regent, when he knew that snares were laid for his life, exerted himself so anxiously to preserve him, that he himself was struck by the blows aimed at the regent, and died the same day, greatly lamented by both factions; for in all the accomplishments of body and mind, he was inferior to none of the Scottish youth. After his death, the horse performed nothing worth recording. Two of those who struck at the regent, not being able to escape to their friends, were taken, and suffered death, for having wounded him after he surrendered. The rest ran with such trepidation, that the prisoners they had taken everywhere escaped; indeed, all the enemy might have been destroyed, had there been cavalry sufficient to have followed the fugitives, but the thieves of Teviotdale, when they first entered the town, had carried off all the horses, and that preserved them. The number slain on both sides were nearly equal. None of the king's party were made prisoners. Of the other side there were many, the most of whom had gone into the houses, intent upon spoil, and were taken in the act of plundering.

LXII. The regent died that day of his wounds, and being hurriedly buried, with as much decency as the turbulence of the times would allow, the nobles who were present, assembled to elect a successor; they selected three of their number, to whom they administered an oath, that they would obey the votes of the nobility as candidates, who should await the decision of next parliament. The three were, Gillespie Campbell, earl of Argyle, James Douglas, earl of Morton, and John Erskine, earl of Marr. All the votes were in favour of Marr. The first thing to which he turned his attention, was the siege of Edinburgh, for which object the former regent had ordered an army to be levied by the 1st of October, but the sudden alteration of circumstances, caused it to be deferred till the 15th of that month, a delay highly detrimental to the operations, because time was given to the townsmen, who worked night and day, to complete their fortifications. Then the early winter, the lengthened nights, and the severe weather usual in cold countries, the difficult transport of provisions, and the want of warlike stores, altogether forced him to depart, without doing any thing.

LXIII. For some months after, sallies were made, but with no great advantage to either party, for the prospect round the castle on every side being so open, prevented the rebels from ever coming to action, or ever falling into any ambush; for a signal from the heights easily admonished them to retire in time. Once, however, when all the horse and foot had marched out of the town, to intercept a few of the king's party, and pressed closely upon them, who pretended to fly towards the standards of some horsemen, who being observed emerging out of a neighbouring valley, by the garrison in the castle, they immediately gave the signal of retreat, on which the rebels, before they approached where the ambush lay, began hurriedly to retire, and fled in the greater perturbation, because, although they were warned of immediate danger, they could not understand where, or how great it was. The few horse who had before pretended flight, turning, so pressed upon the rear of those who now retreated, that the foot breaking their ranks, ran for the city, each as fast as he could. Many were wounded and taken, among whom were some captains, and cornets of horse.

LXIV. Whilst these skirmishings were carried on about the city, more disastrous events took place in the north country, particularly on the following occasion. The two families of the Gordons and Forbeses, were possessed of the greatest power and authority in the whole of that district. The Gordons lived in the greatest harmony among themselves, and had, with the king's permission, presided for many years over several of the adjoining countries and greatly increased their ancient wealth and influence. On the other hand, the Forbeses, constantly disagreeing among themselves, had wasted their strength in their disputes; but neither of the families had attempted any thing against the other for a number of years, for they were connected by intermarriages, and rather indulged in secret envy than open hatred. There was in the family of the Forbeses, Arthur, a man of an active and ardent spirit, and who, from the first of the discords, had always adhered to the king. He, thinking the opportunity favourable for illustrating his own name, and that of his clan, and, at the same time, increasing the power of the party to

which he was attached, first endeavoured to restore concord to the family, which, if effected, he dreaded no power in that country. Having appointed a day, on which the whole clan was to assemble for this purpose, Adam Gordon, brother of the earl of Huntly, used every exertion to prevent the meeting, and having secretly collected a number of his relatives and vassals, went with a great body of them to the place, and as soon as he perceived the Forbeses coming in two parties, before they could join, he attacked the one, and Arthur fell at the first onset. On his fall, the rest fled. Some gentlemen were killed, and many taken. The others were afraid to stir for some time, lest those who were taken prisoners should be cruelly treated, and this fear was increased by the burning of Alexander Forbes's house, together with his wife, who was pregnant, her children and servants.

LXV. The elder brother of Arthur Forbes, the chief of the family, on his house being taken and spoiled, narrowly escaped himself, and came to court, where, although they were in considerable difficulty themselves, they gave him, and the nobles who were attached to his party, two hundred foot soldiers, and letters to the neighbouring nobility, exhorting them to assist him. With this re-enforcement, joined to the other Forbeses, and some neighbouring clans, he thought himself sufficiently strong, but they wanted a leader, for the chiefs of all the families were youths, and scarcely one sufficiently eminent above the others; and thus, through their discordant counsels, John Keith departed home, with five hundred horse to his house, which was at no great distance. Alexander Forbes, with his vassals, and about two hundred foot, marched to Aberdeen, to drive Adam Gordon thence, and refresh his men after their journey. Adam being informed of this, advanced to meet his enemy, with no great force. Having led his men out of the town, and forced the citizens to follow, that he might have a greater show, he immediately, in the fields adjoining to the town, briskly commenced the attack. The royal infantry, through their keenness for the fight, followed the Gordons too far, and running short of gunpowder, and not being supported by their own men, betook themselves to flight, chiefly annoyed by the archers. There were not many

killed of the vanquished, the battle having been fought in the dark. A few were taken prisoners, among whom was Alexander Forbes, after a long and obstinate resistance.

LXVI. This success in the north, encouraged the rebels to attempt greater undertakings, and therefore, in another part of the kingdom, they determined to attack Jedburgh, a small town, unfortified, as is the custom of the country, but inhabited by the bravest of citizens, who, in former years, had always strenuously resisted the attempts of the rebels. In the neighbourhood of this town, lived Thomas Kerr of Fernihurst, and Walter Scott. These, besides their numerous ancient vassals, had associated with them the three adjacent counties of Liddisdale, Eusdale, and Eskdale, always notorious for robberies, but then, through the licentiousness of the civil wars, plundering without control, even distant places. There were also in Teviotdale, some great families, who, infected by the contagion of the country, as well as by the practice of driving away booty from the enemy, were infamous for theft and robbery; and not these only, but several from the English borders, allured by the hope of spoil, had joined them, and in addition, they received from Edinburgh, one hundred and twenty musqueteers, picked from all the regiments. The citizens of Jedburgh, aware that they were aimed at, informed the regent by express, of their danger, and asked but a few light armed troops as auxiliaries. In the meantime, they were not themselves inactive. They sent to Walter Kerr of Cessford, and having collected a great number of soldiers from the neighbourhood, erected temporary fortifications round the town, and the arrival of William Ruthven at daybreak, with one hundred and twenty musqueteers, partly brought with him, and partly collected out of the adjoining county of March, was announced to both parties nearly at the same moment. But the rebels, trusting to their numbers, for they were three thousand strong, marched early in the morning towards the town, to anticipate the arrival of the auxiliaries. Ruthven, having suspected that they would do this, marched rapidly after, and hung upon their rear, annoying them with slight skirmishing. Walter Kerr likewise, having joined the townsmen, marched straight towards the enemy, who perceiving this,

in order to avoid a doubtful conflict, retired immediately to safer stations. The robbers, who had been attracted by the hopes of plunder, when they perceived the town secured from violence, and the king's party prepared for fighting, departed each to his own home, with as much expedition as possible. The rebels, never imagining that their enemy would attempt any thing more, especially as the winter was uncommonly severe, and there had been a very heavy fall of snow lately, went direct with their vassals, and a body of horse to Hawick. But Ruthven, ever on the watch, set out a little after midnight, with his troops for Hawick, and before the enemy were aware of his coming, was already within a mile of the town. The enemy, astonished, were incapable of deliberation, and horse and foot hastening out of the town, followed the course of the next river, and endeavoured to make for a place of safety. Being prevented in this by the celerity of their pursuers, the horse, acquainted with the country, dispersed and escaped. The foot, leaving their plunder, took possession of a small wood, on a rock near the river, where, being surrounded by enemy's cavalry, and not daring to await the arrival of their foot, they all surrendered. But as greater dangers were to be guarded against, and in so severe a winter it was impossible to carry prisoners about with him, Ruthven dismissed them safe, after having disarmed them, and taken their promise that they would appear on a certain day, retaining only a few as hostages. When these were discharged, Kirkaldy, under trifling pretexts, evading their promises, forbade them to appear at the day appointed.

LXVII. The rest of the winter, and the whole of next spring, was spent in skirmishing, in which few men were killed, but more of the rebels than of the king's party. The rebels, when they saw any opportunity, drawing out their men on the neighbouring hills, but, in general, without almost waiting the beginning of a battle they fled back again into the city. In the meantime, many embassies came from England, for negotiating a peace between the factions, but always failed; for the queen of England, although she favoured the king's party, yet wished such a peace as would render both the factions subject to her. The French, who espoused the cause of the

exile queen, prevented peace, and by their great promises, hindered that party from putting an end to the war. They sent, however, only as much money as rather encouraged their hopes than assisted their enterprises, and even of that, a portion always was nibbled away by the envoys.

LXVIII. During these same months, some trifling affairs took place, but nothing decisive on either side; neither did burnings and plunderings cease in other parts of the kingdom. Adam Gordon, having collected a band, entered Angus, and besieged the house of Douglas of Glenbervie, and when he understood that he was from home, he cruelly committed it, and all that were in it, to the flames, which struck such terror into those of Dundee, that they called in the neighbouring garrisons of Fife to their assistance; for they were detested by Gordon, on account of the constant fidelity they had shown to the king's party. About this time, Blackness was betrayed to the Hamiltons by the governor. That castle commands the navigation of the Frith between Leith and Stirling. The regent broke down all the mills near Edinburgh, garrisoned all the noblemen's seats in the vicinity, and shut up every avenue to the city. Many prisoners were taken on both sides. Archibald Douglas, one of Morton's intimate friends, was apprehended on a suspicion—which the baseness of his former conduct, some letters seized when he was taken, and others which passed between him and the rebels, afterward confirmed—that he had assisted the rebels by his exertions and advice, and aided in transmitting them both money and arms.

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After the destruction of the mills, garrisons being placed in Craigmillar, Merchiston, Redhall, and Corstorphen, to prevent supplies reaching Edinburgh, both the town and castle were reduced to the utmost extremity for provisions, while the war between the parties was carried on with wanton and useless barbarity, no quarter being given on either side, nor was it till both had suffered severely from their mutual mer-

ciless retaliation, that they would consent to return in some degree, to the usual mode of civilized warfare.*

In this state of affairs, about the middle of May, there arrived at Leith, as ambassadors, M. Le Croc, from the king of France, and Sir William Drury, the marischal of Berwick, from the English queen, for the ostensible purpose of negotiating a solid peace. But at this very time, the French monarch had remitted pecuniary aid to the captain of the castle,† and Elizabeth was undermining the power of the regent, and in secret treating with the earl of Morton.‡ Through their mediation, however, an armistice was agreed upon for two months, from the 1st of August, one of the conditions of which was, that before its expiration, the estates should be assembled, to consult upon the best means for establishing a final peace, and if any difficulty should arise, which they could not themselves adjust, they agreed to submit to the determination of his most Christian majesty, and the queen of England.

About this time, the earl of Morton delivered up to lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, the earl of Northumberland, who had been long confined a prisoner in Lochleven, for which he received a considerable sum of money. As he had been indebted to this nobleman, during his own exile, for protection, and had shared in his hospitality, the transaction has been justly stigmatized, as ungrateful and ungenerous, although the politician's usual plea of expediency, has been used in extenuation. The unfortunate earl was carried to England, and soon after, suffered as a rebel at York.

During the suspension of arms, news arrived in Scotland, of the massacre of the protestants in France, a deed of unparalleled infamy, whether the cool deliberate villany with which the plot was laid, the dissimulation with which it was carried forward, or the cruelty with which it was perpetrated be considered. Seventy thousand persons were murdered in one week. In every town and city of the kingdom, assassins were let loose upon their unoffending fellow-subjects, the streets in Paris literally ran with blood for several days, and the monarch with his courtiers, from the windows of his palace, en-

* Bannatyne's Journal, 333, 361. † Spottiswood, 262. ‡ Melville, 234.

joyed the inhuman spectacle, while he amused himself with firing upon the miserable wretches, who sought shelter at his merciless gates.* The virtuous and brave Coligni, and almost all the most estimable characters in France were among the victims, who had been allured to court by the most perfidious promises, and fell the martyrs at once of their religion, and of their unsuspecting integrity. Day after day, brought fresh details of bloodshed and treachery to Scotland, and as a number of the Scottish leaders were acquainted personally with the chiefs of the French protestants, the sensation was deep and powerful. But the blow struck at the Reformed body, inspired the whole people with rage, terror, and abhorrence, while the pulpits resounded with denunciations of wrath against the enemies of God, and his holy evangel. Nothing could have happened more unfortunately for the prospects of the queen of Scots, as it annihilated the French interest in Scotland, and rendered those of her adherents who were protestants, heartless in the cause of a princess, professing a religion which could authorize such horrible atrocities, and give its sanction to the violation of the most solemn engagements, while it directed all eyes towards Elizabeth and England, as the bulwarks of the protestant faith.

At this juncture, the regent came to Leith, and used his most anxious endeavours to effect a general pacification, to which Sir William Kirkaldy, and those with him in the castle, did not appear averse, only they wished for security for themselves and their estates, and indemnification for the loss they had sustained in the course of the war; [also, that the castles of Edinburgh and Blackness, should be put into the hands of persons not inimical to their party.] Articles to this effect were proposed to the regent and council,† besides which, Kirkaldy claimed for himself, that the earl of Morton should resign the superiority of the lands of Grange, and that they should in future, hold of the king. The regent, who sincerely desired to heal the wounds of his afflicted country, and was well acquainted with the duplicity of the English court,

* Sully's Memoirs, vol. i. Edin. Edit. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 210. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 388.

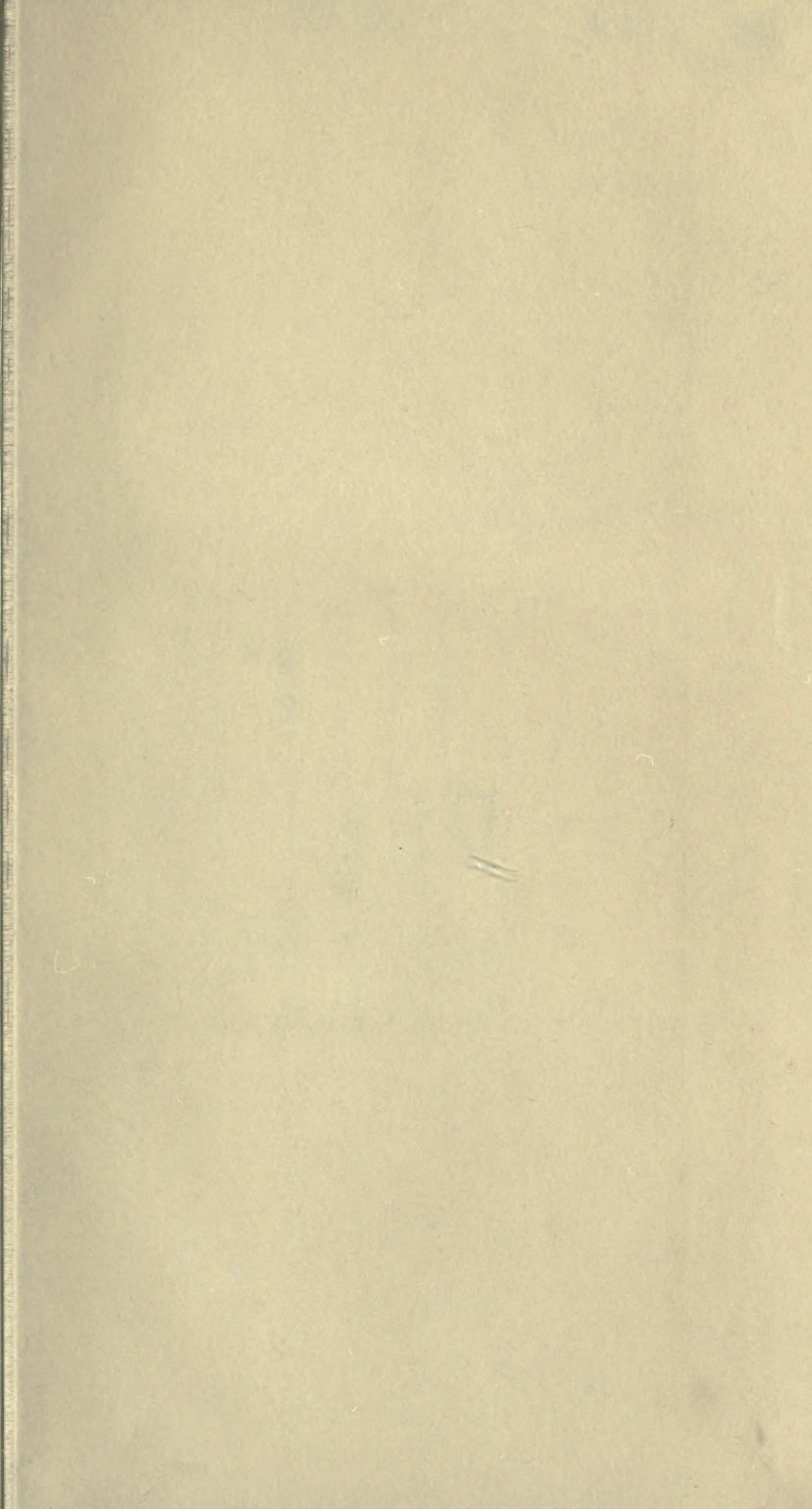
† Spottiswood's Hist. p. 264.

was inclined to agree to these conditions,* but Morton, who was under the influence of England, and who dreaded the superior abilities of Maitland, affected to consider the terms as too high, and his party being the more powerful in the council, the regent was over-ruled, and the proposals were rejected; the truce was, however, extended to the 1st of January.† The regent, finding his pious endeavours thwarted, worn out with the vexations and cares of public life, returned to Stirling, where he died, as was generally supposed, of a broken heart, October 29th. He was a man, respected and beloved by both parties, of mild conciliating manners, and of undoubted integrity, but he wanted that commanding energy of mind, necessary for the ruler of a fierce people in turbulent times, and during his regency, was able to effect nothing of any importance. J. A.

* Melville, p. 236.

† Bannatyne's Journal, 397, 411.

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